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INSTITVTIO THEOLOGICA
ANDOVER FVNDATA MDCCCVII
ΑΚΡΟΓΩΝΙ
ΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ
Ps. CXIX 169.
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JOH. XVII. 17.
ὁ λογος ὁ σος αληθεια ἐστι

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS.

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED,

BY

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VOLUME FIRST.

MYTHICAL AND LEGENDARY ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGIN OF CASTE, WITH AN ENQUIRY INTO ITS EXISTENCE IN THE VEDIC AGE.

SECOND EDITION,

REWRITTEN AND GREATLY ENLARGED.

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Na viśesho 'sti varṇānāṁ sarvam brāhmam idaṁ jagat |
Brahmaṇā pūrva-sṛishṭaṁ hi karmabhir varṇatāṁ gatam |
Mahābhārata.

"There is no distinction of castes. This world, which, as created by Brăhmā, was at first entirely Brahmanic, has become divided into classes in consequence of men's works."—See pages 138 and 140.

HERTFORD:
STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS.

PREFACE.

THE main object which I have proposed to myself in this volume is to collect, translate, and illustrate the principal passages in the different Indian books of the greatest antiquity, as well as in others of comparatively modern composition, which describe the creation of mankind and the origin of classes, or which tend to throw light upon the manner in which the caste system may have arisen.

I have not, however, hesitated to admit, when they fell in my way, such passages explanatory of the cosmogonic or mythological conceptions of the Indians as possess a general interest, although not immediately connected with the chief subject of the book.

Since the first edition appeared my materials have so much increased that the volume has now swelled to more than twice its original bulk. The second and third chapters are almost entirely new.[1] The fourteenth and fifteenth sections of the fourth chapter are entirely so. Even those parts of the book of which the sub-

[1] The contents of these chapters are not, however, absolutely new, but drawn from articles which I have contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society since the first edition of the volume appeared.

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stance remains the same have been so generally expanded that comparatively little continues without some alteration of greater or less importance.

In order that the reader may learn at once what he may expect to find in the following pages, I shall supply here a fuller and more connected summary of their contents than is furnished by the table which follows this preface.

The Introduction (pp. 1–6) contains a very rapid survey of the sources from which our information on the subject of caste is to be derived, viz. the Vedic hymns, the Brāhmaṇas, the Epic poems, and the Purāṇas, in which the chronological order and the general characteristics of these works are stated.

The first chapter (pp. 1–160) comprehends the mythical accounts of the creation of man and of the origin of castes which are to be found in the Vedic hymns, in the Brāhmaṇas and their appendages, in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas. The first section (pp. 7–15) contains a translation of the celebrated hymn called Purusha Sūkta, which appears to be the oldest extant authority for attributing a separate origin to the four castes, and a discussion of the question whether the creation there described was intended by its author to convey a literal or an allegorical sense. The second, third, and fourth sections (pp. 15–34) adduce a series of passages from the works standing next in chronological order to the hymns of the Rig-veda, which differ more or less widely from the account of the creation given in the Purusha Sūkta, and therefore justify the conclusion

that in the Vedic age no uniform orthodox and authoritative doctrine existed in regard to the origin of castes. In the fifth section (pp. 35–42) the different passages in Manu's Institutes which bear upon the subject are quoted, and shewn to be not altogether in harmony with each other. The sixth section (pp. 43–49) describes the system of great mundane periods called Yugas, Manvantaras, and Kalpas, as explained in the Purāṇas, and shews that no traces of these periods are to be found in the hymns of the Rig-veda, and but few in the Brāhmaṇas (compare p. 215 f.). Sections seventh and eighth (pp. 49–107) contain the accounts of the different creations, including that of the castes, and of the primeval state of mankind, which are given in the Vishṇu, Vāyu, and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, together with references (see pp. 52 ff., 68 ff.) to passages in the Brāhmaṇas, which appear to have furnished some of the germs of the various Puranic representations, and a comparison of the details of the latter with each other which proves that in some respects they are mutually irreconcileable (see pp. 65 ff., 102 ff.). The ninth section (pp. 107–114) adduces the accounts of Brahmā's passion for his daughter, which are given in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Matsya Purāṇa. In the tenth section (pp. 114–122) are embraced such notices connected with the subject of this volume as I have observed in the Rāmāyaṇa. In one of the passages men of all the four castes are said to be the offspring of Manu, a female, the daughter of Daksha, and wife of Kaśyapa. The eleventh section contains a collection of texts from the Mahābhārata and its appendage the Hari-

vaṁśa, in which various and discrepant explanations are given of the existing diversity of castes, one of them representing all the four classes as descendants of Manu Vaivasvata (p. 126), others attributing the distinction of classes to an original and separate creation of each, which, however, is not always described as occurring in the same manner (pp. 128 ff. and 153); whilst others, again, more reasonably, declare the distinction to have arisen out of differences of character and action. This section, as well as the one which precedes it, also embraces accounts of the perfection which prevailed in the first yugas, and of the gradually increasing degeneracy which ensued in those that followed. The twelfth section (pp. 155–158) contains extracts from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which coincide for the most part with those drawn from the other authorities. One text, however, describes mankind as the offspring of Aryaman and Mātṛikā; and another distinctly declares that there was originally but one caste. The thirteenth section (pp. 159 f.) sums up the results of the entire chapter, and asserts the conclusion that the sacred books of the Hindus contain no uniform or consistent theory of the origin of caste; but, on the contrary, offer a great variety of explanations, mythical, mystical, and rationalistic, to account for this social phenomenon.

The second chapter (pp. 160–238) treats of the tradition of the descent of the Indian nation from Manu. The first section (pp. 162–181) contains a series of texts from the Ṛig-veda, which speak of Manu as the progenitor of the race to which the authors of the hymns

belonged, and as the first institutor of religious rites; and adverts to certain terms employed in the hymns, either to denote mankind in general or to signify certain tribal divisions. The second section (pp. 181–196) adduces a number of legends and notices regarding Manu from the Brāhmaṇas and other works next in order of antiquity to the hymns of the Rig-veda. The most interesting and important of these legends is that of the deluge, as given in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which is afterwards (pp. 216 ff.) compared with the later versions of the same story found in the Mahābhārata and the Matsya, Bhāgavata and Agni Purāṇas, which are extracted in the third section (pp. 196–220). Some remarks of M. Burnouf and Professor Weber, on the question whether the legend of a deluge was indigenous in India, or derived from a Semitic source, are noticed in pp. 215 f. The fourth section adduces the legendary accounts of the rise of castes among the descendants of Manu and Atri, which are found in the Purāṇas; and quotes a story given in the Mahābhārata about king Vitāhavya, a Kshattriya, being transformed into a Brāhman by the mere word of the sage Bhṛigu.

In the third chapter (pp. 239–295) I have endeavoured to shew what light is thrown by a study of the hymns of the Rig- and Atharva-vedas upon the mutual relations of the different classes of Indian society at the time when those hymns were composed. In the first section (pp. 240–265) the various texts of the Rig-veda in which the words brăhmăn and brāhmaṇa occur are cited, and an attempt is made to determine the senses in which those

words are there employed. The result of this examination is that in none of the hymns of the Rig-veda, except the Purusha Sūkta, is there any distinct reference to a recognized system of four castes, although the occasional use of the word Brāhmaṇa, which is apparently equivalent to Brāhmă-putra, or "the son of a priest," and other indications seem to justify the conclusion that the priesthood had already become a profession, although it did not yet form an exclusive caste (see pp. 258 f., 263 ff.). The second section (pp. 265–280) is made up of quotations from the hymns of the Rig-veda and various other later works, adduced to shew that persons who according to ancient Indian tradition were not of priestly families were in many instances reputed to be authors of Vedic hymns, and in two cases, at least, are even said to have exercised priestly functions. These two cases are those (1) of Devāpi (pp. 269ff.), and (2) of Viśvāmitra, which is afterwards treated at great length in the fourth chapter. This section concludes with a passage from the Matsya Purāṇa, which not only speaks of the Kshattriyas Manu, Iḍa, and Purūravas, as "utterers of Vedic hymns" (*mantra-vādinaḥ*); but also names three Vaiśyas, Bhalanda, Vandya, and Sankīrtti, as "composers of hymns" (*mantra-kṛitaḥ*). The third section (pp. 280–289) shews by quotations from the Atharva-veda that at the period when those portions of that collection which are later than the greater part of the Rig-veda were composed, the pretensions of the Brāhmans had been considerably developed. The fourth section (pp. 289–295) gives an account of the opinions expressed by Professor

R. Roth and Dr. M. Haug regarding the origin of castes.

The fourth chapter (pp. 296–479) contains a series of legendary illustrations derived from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas, of the struggle which appears to have occurred in the early ages of Indian history between the Brāhmans and the Kshattriyas, after the former had begun to constitute an exclusive sacerdotal class, but before their rights had become accurately defined by long prescription, and when the members of the ruling caste were still indisposed to admit their pretensions. I need not here state in detail the contents of the first five sections (pp. 296–317) which record various legends descriptive of the ruin which is said to have overtaken different princes by whom the Brāhmans were slighted and their claims resisted. The sixth and following sections down to the thirteenth (pp. 317–426) contain, first, such references to the two renowned rivals, Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra as are found in the hymns of the Rig-veda, and which represent them both as Vedic rishis; secondly, such notices of them as occur in the Brāhmaṇas, and shew that Viśvāmitra, as well as Vasishṭha, had officiated as a priest; and, thirdly, a series of legends from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata which describe the repeated struggles for superiority in which they were engaged, and attempt, by a variety of fictions, involving miraculous elements, to explain the manner in which Viśvāmitra became a Brāhman, and to account for the fact which was so distinctly certified by tradition (see pp. 361 ff.), but appeared so un-

accountable in later ages (see pp. 265 f., 364 ff.), that that famous personage, although notoriously a Kshattriya by birth, had nevertheless exercised sacerdotal functions.[2] The fourteenth section (pp. 426–430) contains a story from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa about king Janaka, a Rājanya, renowned for his stoical temperament and religious knowledge, who communicated theological instruction to

[2] As I have omitted in the body of the work to say anything of the views of Signor Angelo de Gubernatis about the purport of the Vedic texts relating to Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra, I may state here that this young Italian Sanskritist, in his Essay, entitled "Fonti Vediche dell' Epopea" (see the Rivista Orientale, vol. i. pp. 409 ff., 478 ff.), combats the opinion of Professor Roth that these passages refer to two historical personages, and to real events in which they played a part; and objects that Roth "took no account of the possibility that a legend of the heavens may have been based upon a human foundation" (p. 409). Signor de Gubernatis further observes that the 33rd and 53rd hymns of the third Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda "may perhaps have been recited at a later period in connection with some battle which really occured, but that the fact which they celebrate seems to be much more ancient, and to be lost in a very remote myth" (p. 410). Viśvāmitra, he considers, is one of the appellations of the sun, and as both the person who bears this name, and Indra are the sons of Kuśika, they must be brothers (p. 412. See, however, the remarks in p. 347 f. of this volume on the epithet Kauśika as applied to Indra). Sudās, according to Signor de Gubernatis (p. 413), denotes the horse of the sun, or the sun himself, while Vasishṭha is the greatest of the Vasus, and denotes Agni, the solar fire, and means, like Viśvāmitra, the sun (p. 483). Signor de Gubernatis is further of opinion (pp. 414, 478, 479, and 483) that both the 33rd and 53rd hymns of the third, and the 18th hymn of the seventh Maṇḍala are comparatively modern; that the names of Kuśikas and Viśvāmitras claimed by the authors of the two former, are fraudulently assumed; while the last (the 18th hymn of the seventh Maṇḍala) was composed by a sacerdotal family who claimed Vasishṭha as its founder. I will only remark that the theory of Signor de Gubernatis appears to me to be an improbable one. But the only point of much importance for my own special purpose is that ancient Indian tradition represents both Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra as real personages, the one of either directly divine, or of sacerdotal descent, and the other of royal lineage. They may, however, have been nothing more than legendary creations, the fictitious eponymi of the families which bore the same name.

some eminent Brāhmans, and became a member of their class. In the fifteenth section (pp. 431–436) two other instances are adduced from the same Brāhmaṇa and from two of the Upanishads, of Kshattriyas who were in possession of truths unknown to the Brāhmans, and who, contrary to the usual rule, became the teachers of the latter. The sixteenth section (pp. 436–440) contains an extract from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa regarding king Viśvantara who, after at first attempting to prevent the Syāparṇa Brāhmans from officiating at his sacrifice, became at length convinced by one of their number of their superior knowledge, and accepted their services. In the seventeenth section (pp. 440–442) a story is told of Matanga, the spurious offspring of a Brāhman woman by a man of inferior caste, who failed, in spite of his severe and protracted austerities, to elevate himself (as Viśvāmitra had done) to the rank of a Brāhman. The eighteenth section (pp. 442–479) contains a series of legends, chiefly from the Mahābhārata, regarding the repeated exterminations of the Kshattriyas by the warlike Brāhman Paraśurāma of the race of Bhṛigu, and the ultimate restoration of the warrior tribe, and a variety of extravagant illustrations of the supernatural power of the Brāhmans, related by the god Vāyu to king Arjuna, who began by denying the superiority of the priests, but was at length compelled to succumb to the overwhelming evidence adduced by his aerial monitor.

In the fifth chapter (pp. 480–488) I have given some account of the opinions entertained by Manu, and the

authors of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, regarding the origin of the tribes dwelling within, or adjacent to, the boundaries of Hindustan, but not comprehended in the Indian caste-system.

The sixth and concluding chapter (pp. 489–504) contains the Puranic accounts of the parts of the earth exterior to Bhāratavarsha, or India, embracing first, the other eight Varshas or divisions of Jambudvīpa, the central continent; secondly, the circular seas and continents (dvīpas) by which Jambudvīpa is surrounded; and, thirdly, the remoter portions of the mundane system.

The Appendix (pp. 505-515) contains some supplementary notes.

As in the previous edition, I have been careful to acknowledge in the text and notes of this volume the assistance which I have derived from the writings of the different Sanskrit Scholars who have treated of the same subjects. It will, however, be well to specify here the various publications to which I have been indebted for materials. In 1858, I wrote thus: "It will be seen at once that my greatest obligations are due to Professor H. H. Wilson, whose translation of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, with abundant and valuable notes, derived chiefly from the other Purāṇas, was almost indispensable to the successful completion of such an attempt as the present." In this second edition also I have had constant occasion to recur to Wilson's important work, now improved and enriched by the additional notes of the editor Dr. Fitzedward Hall. It is to his edition, so far as it has yet ap-

peared, that my references have been made. I acknowledged at the same time the aid which I had received from M. Langlois' French translation of the Harivaṁśa, and from M. Burnouf's French translation of the first nine books of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which opened up an easy access to the contents of the original works. A large amount of materials has also been supplied to me, either formerly or for the preparation of the present edition, by Mr. Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays; by Professor C. Lassen's Indian Antiquities; Professor Rudolph Roth's Dissertations on the Literature and History of the Vedas, and contributions to the Journal of the German Oriental Society, and to Weber's Indische Studien, etc.; Professor Weber's numerous articles in the same Journals, and his History of Indian Literature; Professor Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, Chips from a German Workshop, article on the Funeral rites of the Brāhmans, etc.; Professor Benfey's Glossary of the Sāma Veda, and translations of Vedic hymns; Dr. Haug's text and translation of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa: while much valuable aid has been derived from the written communications with which I have been favoured by Professor Aufrecht, as well as from his Catalogue of the Bodleian Sanskrit MSS. I am also indebted to Professor Müller for pointing out two texts which will be found in the Appendix, and to Professor Goldstücker for copying for me two passages of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's Mīmansā-vārttika, which are printed in the same place, and for making some corrections in my translations of them.

I formerly observed that at the same time my own researches had "enabled me to collect a good many texts which I had not found elsewhere adduced;" and the same remark applies to a considerable portion of the new matter which has been adduced in the present edition.

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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 23, line 19, *for* "beingy ellow" *read* "being yellow."
" 38, " 17 ff., *for* "59-64" *read* "58-63."
" 42, " 4 from foot, *for* "p. 36" *read* "p. 37."
" 46, " 26, *for* "p. 42" *read* "p. 43."
" 47, " 8, *for* "12,826" *read* "iii. 826."
" 51, " 17, *for* "Purushottasna" *read* "Purushottama."
" 123, " 19, *for* "*to*" *read* "*tu.*"
" 127, " 18 f., *for* "the two by which these three are followed," *read* "two of those which follow, viz. in pp. 134 and 139."
" 136, " 18, *for* "116" *read* "11 and 12."
" 169, " 26, *for* "Vivaswat" *read* "Vivasvat."
" 170, " 28 and 33, *for* "Mātariśwan" *read* Mātariśvan."
" 171, " 26, *for* "Aświns" *read* "Aśvins."
" 180, " 28, *before* "*Prajāpatir*" *insert* "ii. 33."
" 194, " 5, *for* "*mā bhaja*" *read* "*mā ābhaja.*"
" 221, " 20, *before* "*Prishadhras*" *insert* "iv. 1, 12."
" 222, " 7, *for* "ix. 2" *read* "ix. 2, 16."
" — " 13, *before* "*Nābhāgo*" *insert* "iv. 1, 14."
" 235, " 19, *for* "iv." *read* "ix."
" 251, " 27, *for* "3" *read* "2."
" 258, " 3 from the foot, *for* "viii." *read* "vii."
" 274, " 8, *for* "*Dilipāt*" *read* "*Dilīpāt.*"
" 280, " 14, *for* "was" *read* "were."
" 307, " 10, *for* "*virāṭ*" *read* "*virāj.*"
" 308, " 24, *before* "*Nahusho*" *insert* "12460."
" 318, " 4, *for* "139 f." *read* "161 f."
" 371, " 12, *for* "vii." *read* "viia."
" 399, " 18, *for* "58, 18" *read* "56, 18."
" 487, " 2, *for* "thei rdesertion" *read* "their desertion."

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

PART FIRST.

INTRODUCTION

CONTAINING A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

I PROPOSE in the present volume to give some account of the traditions, legends, and mythical narratives which the different classes of ancient Indian writings contain regarding the origin of mankind, and the classes or castes into which the Hindus have long been distributed. In order to ascertain whether the opinions which have prevailed in India on these subjects have continued fixed and uniform from the earliest period, or whether they have varied from age to age, and if so, what modifications they have undergone, it is necessary that we should first of all determine the chronological order of the various works from which our information is to be drawn. This task of classification can, as far as regards its great outlines, be easily accomplished. Although we cannot discover sufficient grounds for fixing with any precision the dates of these different books, we are perfectly able to settle the order in which the most important of those which are to form the basis of this investigation were composed. From a comparison of these several literary records, it will be found that the Hindus, like all other civilized nations, have passed through various stages of development,—social, moral, religious, and intellectual. The ideas and beliefs which are exhibited in their oldest documents, are not the same as those which we encounter in their later writings.

The principal books to which we must look for information on the subjects of our enquiry are the Vedas, including the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, the Sūtras, the Institutes of Manu, and the Itihāsas and Purāṇas. Of these different classes of works, the Vedas are allowed by all competent enquirers to be by far the most ancient.

There are, as every student of Indian literature is aware, four Vedas,—the Rig-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Yajur-veda, and the Atharva-veda. Each of the collections of works known as a Veda consists of two parts, which are called its *mantra* and its *brāhmaṇa*.[1] The Mantras are either metrical hymns, or prose forms of prayer. The Rig-veda and the Sāmaveda consist only of mantras of the former description. The Brāhmanas contain regulations regarding the employment of the mantras, and the celebration of the various rites of sacrifice, and also embrace certain treatises called Āraṇyakas, and others called Upanishads or Vedāntas (so called from their being the concluding portions of each Veda), which expound the mystical sense of some of the ceremonies, and discuss the nature of the godhead, and the means of acquiring religious knowledge with a view to final liberation.

The part of each Veda which contains the mantras, or hymns, is called its Sanhitā.[2] Thus the Rig-veda Sanhitā means the collection of hymns belonging to the Rig-veda. Of the four collections of hymns, that belonging to the last-mentioned Veda, which contains no less than 1,017 of these compositions, is by far the most important for historical purposes. Next in value must be reckoned those hymns of the Atharva-veda, which are peculiar to that collection, another portion of which, however, is borrowed, in most cases, verbatim, from the Rig-veda.[3]

[1] Sāyaṇa says in his commentary on the Rigveda (vol. p. i. p. 4): *Mantra-brāhmaṇātmakam tāvad aḍushṭam lakshaṇam* | *ata eva Āpastambo yajna-paribhūshāyām evāha 'mantra-brāhmaṇayor veda-nāmadheyam'* | "The definition (of the Veda) as a book composed of *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*, is unobjectionable. Hence Āpastamba says in the Yajnaparibhāshā, 'Mantra and Brāhmaṇa have the name of Veda.'"

[2] This definition applies to all the Sanhitās, except that of the Taittirīya, or Black Yajur, Veda, in which Mantra and Brāhmaṇa are combined. But even this Sanhitā had a separate Brāhmaṇa connected with it. See Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 350, and Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte, p. 83. The general character of the Vājasaneyi and Atharva Sanhitās is not affected by the fact that the last section of the former is an Upanishad, and that the fifteenth book of the latter has something of the nature of a Brāhmaṇa.

[3] For further information on the Vedas, reference may be made to Professor Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, *passim*, and also to vols. ii. iii. and iv. of the present work.

From this succinct account of the contents of the Vedas, it is clear that the Mantras must constitute their most ancient portions, since the Brāhmanas, which regulate the employment of the hymns, of necessity pre-suppose the earlier existence of the latter. On this subject the commentator on the Taittirīya, or Black Yajur-veda, Sanhitā thus expresses himself (p. 9 of the Calcutta edition):—

Yadyapi mantrabrāhmaṇātmako vedas tathāpi brāhmaṇasya mantra-vyākhāna-rūpatvād mantrā evādau samāmnātāḥ | "Although the Veda is formed both of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, yet as the Brāhmaṇa consists of an explanation of the Mantras, it is the latter which were at first recorded."[4]

The priority of the hymns to the Brāhmaṇas is accordingly attested by the constant quotations from the former which are found in the latter.[5] Another proof that the hymns are far older than any other portion of Indian literature is to be found in the character of their language. They are composed in an ancient dialect of the Sanskrit, containing many words of which the sense was no longer known with certainty in the age of Yāska, the author of the Nirukta,[6] and many grammatical forms which had become obsolete in the time of the great grammarian Pāṇini, who refers to them as peculiar to the hymns (*chhandas*).[7] A third argument in favour of the greater antiquity of the mantras is supplied by the fact that the gods whom they represent as the most prominent objects of adoration, such as Indra and Varuṇa, occupy but a subordinate position in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, whilst others, viz., Vishṇu and Rudra, though by no means the most important deities of the hymns, are exalted to the first rank, and assume a different character, in the Puranic pantheon.[8]

[4] See also the passage quoted from the Nirukta in p. 174 of the 2nd vol. of this work, and that cited from Sāyaṇa in p. 195 of the same vol. Compare the the following passage of the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, i. 2, 1: *Tad etat satyam mantreshu karmāṇi kavayo yāny apaśyaṁs tāni tretāyām bahudhā santatāni* | "This is true: the rites which the rishis saw (*i.e.* discovered by revelation) in the hymns—these rites were in great variety celebrated in the Tretā (age)."

[5] See vol. ii. of this work, p. 195, and the article on the "Interpretation of the Veda" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. new series, pp. 316 ff.

[6] See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 178 ff, and my article on the "Interpretation of the Veda" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. new series, pp. 323 ff.

[7] See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 210 ff.

[8] See vol. ii. of this work, 212 ff, and vol. iv. 1, 2, and *passim*.

On all these grounds it may be confidently concluded that the mantras, or hymns, of the Rig-veda are by far the most ancient remains of Indian literature. The hymns themselves are of different periods, some being older, and some more recent. This is shown not only by the nature of the case,—as it is not to be supposed that the whole of the contents of such a large national collection as the Rig-veda Sanhitā should have been composed by the men of one, or even two, generations,—but also by the frequent references which occur in the mantras themselves to older rishis, or poets, and to older hymns.[9] It is, therefore, quite possible that a period of several centuries may have intervened between the composition of the oldest and that of the most recent of these poems. But if so, it is also quite conceivable that in this interval considerable changes may have taken place in the religious ideas and ceremonies, and in the social and ecclesiastical institutions of the people among whom these hymns were produced, and that some traces of these changes may be visible on comparing the different hymns with each other.

No sufficient data exist for determining with exactness the period at which the hymns were composed. Professor Müller divides them into two classes, the Mantras or more recent hymns, which he supposes may have been produced between 1000 and 800 years,—and the older hymns, to which he applies the name of Chhandas, and which he conceives may have been composed between 1200 and 1000 years,—before the Christian era. Other scholars are of opinion that they may be even older (see Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 572, and the Preface to the 4th Vol. of the same author's edition of the Rig-veda, pp. iv.-xiii). This view is shared by Dr. Haug, who thus writes in his introduction to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, p. 47: "We do not hesitate, therefore, to assign the composition of the bulk of the Brāhmaṇas to the years 1400–1200 B.C.; for the Saṁhitā we require a period of *at least* 500–600 years, with an interval of about two hundred years between the end of the proper Brāhmana period. Thus we obtain for the bulk of Saṁhitā the space from 1400–2000; the oldest hymns and sacrificial formulas may be a few hundred years more ancient still, so that we would fix the very commencement of Vedic literature between 2000–2400 B.C."

[9] See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 206 ff., and vol. iii. pp. 116 ff., 121 ff.

Next in order of time to the most recent of the hymns come, of course, the Brāhmaṇas. Of these (1) the Aitareya and S'ānkhāyana are connected with the Rig-veda; (2) the Tāṇḍya, the Panchaviṁśa and the Chhāndogya with the Sāma-veda; (3) the Taittirīya with the Taittirīya or Black Yajur-veda; (4) the S'atapatha with the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā or White Yajur-veda; and (5) the Gopatha with the Atharva-veda.[10] These works, written in prose, prescribe, as I have already intimated, the manner in which the Mantras are to be used and the various rites of sacrifice to be celebrated. They also expound the mystical signification of some of the ceremonies, and adduce a variety of legends to illustrate the origin and efficacy of some of the ritual prescriptions. That in order of age the Brāhmaṇas stand next to the Mantras is proved by their simple, antiquated, and tautological style, as well as by the character of their language, which, though approaching more nearly than that of the hymns, to classical or Pāninean Sanskrit, is yet distinguished by certain archaisms both of vocabulary and of grammatical form which are unknown to the Itihāsas and Purāṇas.[11] The most recent portions of the Brāhmaṇas are the Araṇyakas and Upanishads, of which the character and contents have been already summarily indicated. The remaining works which form the basis of our investigations come under the designation of Smṛiti, as distinguished from that of S'ruti, which is applied to the Mantras, Brāhmaṇas, Araṇyakas, and Upanishads.

The term Smṛiti includes (1) the Vedāngas, such as the Nirukta of Yāska, (2) the Sûtras or aphorisms, *śrauta* and *gṛihya*, or sacrificial and domestic, etc., (3) the Institutes of Manu, (4) the Itihāsas and Purāṇas. To the class of Itihāsas belong (1) the Rāmāyaṇa (said to be the work of Valmīki), which contains an account in great part, at least, fabulous, of the adventures of Rāma, and the Mahābhārata, which describes the wars and adventures of the Kurus and Pāndus, and embraces also a great variety of episodes and numerous mythological narratives, as well as religious, philosophical, and political discussions, which are interwoven with, or interpolated in, the framework of the poem. This

[10] For further details on these Brāhmanas, the reader may consult Professor Max Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 345 ff.; Professor Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte, and Indische Studien; and Dr. Haug's Aitareya Brahmana.

[11] See, for example, the S'. P. Br. xi. 5, 1, 15; and the Taitt. Sanhitā, ii. 2, 10, 2, and ii. 6, 7, 1.

work is said to be the production of Vyāsa, but its great bulk, its almost encyclopædic character, and the discrepancies in doctrine which are observable between its different parts, lead inevitably to the conclusion that it is not the composition of a single author, but has received large additions from a succession of writers, who wished to obtain currency and authority for their several opinions by introducing them into this great and venerated repository of national tradition.[12]

The Purāṇas are commonly said to be eighteen in number, in addition to certain inferior works of the same description called Upapurāṇas. For an account of these books and a summary of their contents, I must refer to the late Professor H. H. Wilson's introduction to his translation of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.[13]

In treating the several topics which are to be handled in this volume, I propose in each case to adduce, first, any texts bearing upon it which may be found in the hymns of the Rig-veda; next, those in the Brāhmaṇas and their appendages; and, lastly, those occurring in any of the different classes of works coming under the designation of Smṛiti. By this means we shall learn what conceptions or opinions were entertained on each subject by the oldest Indian authors, and what were the various modifications to which these ideas were subjected by their successors.

[12] On the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, see Professor Monier Williams's "Indian Epic Poetry," which contains a careful analysis of the leading narrative of each of the poems.

[13] See also the same author's analyses of the contents of the Vishṇu, Vāyu, Agni, and Brāhma-vaivartta Purāṇas in the "Gleanings of Science," published in Calcutta, and those of the Brāhma and Pādma Purāṇas in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. ix (1838) and No. x. (1839).

CHAPTER I.

MYTHICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE CREATION OF MAN, AND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE FOUR CASTES.

It will be seen from the different texts to be adduced in this chapter, that from a very early period the Indian writers have propounded a great variety of speculations regarding the origin of mankind, and of the classes or castes into which they found their own community divided. The most commonly received of these explanations is the fable which represents the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, to have been separately created from the head, the breast or arms, the thighs, and the feet of the Creator. Of this mythical account no trace is to be found in any of the hymns of the Ṛig-veda, except one, the Purusha-Sūkta.

Although for reasons which will be presently stated, I esteem it probable that this hymn belongs to the most recent portion of the Ṛig-veda, it will be convenient to adduce and to discuss it first, along with certain other texts from the Brāhmaṇas, Itihāsas, and Purāṇas, which professedly treat of the origin of mankind and of caste, before we proceed to examine the older parts of the hymn-collection, with the view of ascertaining what opinion the authors of them appear to have entertained in regard to the earliest history of their race, and to the grounds of those relations which they found subsisting between the different classes of society contemporary with themselves.

Sect. I.—*90th Hymn of the 10th Book of the Rig-veda Sanhitā, called Purusha Sūkta, or the hymn to Purusha.*

This celebrated hymn contains, as far as we know, the oldest extant passage which makes mention of the fourfold origin of the Hindu race.

In order to appreciate the character of this passage, we must consider it in connection with its context. I therefore quote the whole of the hymn:[14]

R. V. x. 90. 1. *Sahasra-śīrshā Purushaḥ sahasrākshaḥ sahasrapāt* | *sa bhūmim viśvato vṛitvā atyatishṭhad daśāngulam* | 2. *Purushaḥ evedaṁ sarvaṁ yad bhūtaṁ yachcha bhāvyam* | *utāmṛitatvasyeśāno yad annenātirohati* | 3. *Etāvān asya mahimā ato jyāyāṁścha Pūrushaḥ* | *pādo 'sya viśvā bhūtāni tripād asyāmṛitaṁ divi* | 4. *Tripād ūrdhva ud ait Pūrushaḥ pādo 'syehābhavat punaḥ* | *tato vishvaṅ vyakrāmat sāśanānaśane abhi* | 5. *tasmād Virāḷ ajāyata Virājo adhi Pūrushaḥ* | *sa jāto aty arichyata paśchād bhūmim atho puraḥ* | 6. *Yat Purusheṇa havishā devāḥ yajnam atanvata* | *vasanto asyāsīd ājyam grīshmaḥ idhmaḥ śarad haviḥ* | 7. *Taṁ yajnam barhishi praukshan Purushaṁ jātam agrataḥ* | *tena devāh ayajanta sādhyāḥ ṛishayaś cha ye* | 8. *Tasmād yajnāt sarvahutaḥ sambhṛitam pṛishadājyam* | *paśūn tāṁś chakre vāyavyān āraṇyān grāmyāś cha ye* | 9. *Tasmād yajnāt sarvahutaḥ ṛichaḥ sāmāni jajnire* | *chhandāṁsi jajnire tasmād yajus tasmād ajāyata* | 10. *Tasmād aśvā ajāyanta ye ke cha ubhayādataḥ* | *gāvo ha jajnire tasmāt tasmāj jātāḥ ajāvayaḥ* | 11. *Yat Purushaṁ vi adadhuḥ katidhā vi akalpayan* | *mukham kim asya kau bāhū kā ūrū pādā uchyete* | 12. *Brāhmaṇo 'sya mukham āsīd bāhū rājanyaḥ kṛitaḥ* | *ūrū tad asya yad vaiśyaḥ padbhyāṁ śūdro ajāyata* | 13. *chandramāḥ manaso jātaś chakshoḥ sūryo ajāyata* | *mukhād Indraś cha Agniś cha prāṇād Vāyur ajāyata* | 14. *Nābhyāḥ āsīd antariksham śīrshṇo dyauḥ samavarttata* | *padbhyām bhūmir diśaḥ śrotrāt tathā lokān akalpayan* | 15. *Saptāsyāsan paridhayas triḥ sapta samidhaḥ kṛitāḥ* | *devāḥ yad yajnam tanvānāḥ abadhnan Purusham paśum* | 16. *Yajnena yajnaṁ ayajanta devās tāni dharmāṇi pratha-*

[14] The Purusha Sūkta is also found in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā of the White Yajur-veda (31. 1–16) and in the Atharva-veda (19. 6. 1 ff.) See Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, i. 167 f., and note in p. 309 (or pp. 104, and 197, of Messrs. Williams and Norgate's edition); Burnouf's Bhāgavata Purāna, vol. i. Preface, pp. cxxiii. ff.; Wilson's Preface to his translation of the Rigveda, vol. i. p. xliv.; Professor Roth's remarks in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, i. pp. 78 f.; Müller in Bunsen's Philosophy of Univ. History, vol. i. p. 344; Müller's Anc. Sank. Lit., pp. 570 f.; Professor Weber's translation in Indische Studien ix. p. 5; and my own translation, notes and remarks in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 353 ff., and for 1866, pp. 282 f.

mānt āsan | *te ha nākam mahimānaḥ sachanta yatra pūrve sādhyāḥ santi devāḥ* |

"1. Purusha has a thousand heads,[15] a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. On every side enveloping[16] the earth, he overpassed[17] (it) by a space of ten fingers. 2. Purusha himself is this whole (universe), whatever has been and whatever shall be. He is also the lord of immortality, since (or, when) by food he expands.[18] 3. Such is his greatness, and Purusha is superior to this. All existences are a quarter of him; and three-fourths of him are that which is immortal in the sky.[19] 4. With three quarters Purusha mounted upwards. A quarter of him was again produced here. He was then diffused everywhere over things which eat and things which do not eat. 5. From him was was born Virāj, and from Virāj, Purusha.[20] When born, he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before. 6. When the gods performed a sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation, the spring was its butter, the summer its fuel, and the autumn its (accompanying) offering. 7. This victim, Purusha, born in the beginning, they immolated on

[15] The Atharva-veda (xix. 6, 1) reads *sahasra-bāhuḥ*, "having a thousand arms," the transcriber, perhaps, taking the verse literally, and considering that a being in human form, if he had a thousand eyes and a thousand feet, ought only to have five hundred heads, and not a thousand as in the text of the Rig-veda.

[16] For *vṛitvā* in the R. V. the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 31. 1, reads *spṛitvā*, which seems to mean nearly the same.

[17] The word is *atyatishṭhat*. Compare the S'atapatha Brāmaṇa, xiii. 6, 1, 1, and *atishṭhāvānaḥ* in S'. P. B. iv. 5, 4, 1, 2. Professor Weber renders *atyatishṭhat* "occupies" (Indische Studien, ix. 5).

[18] The sense of this is obscure. Instead of *yad annenātirohati*, the A. V. reads *yad anyenābhavat saha*, ("that which," or, "since he) was with another."

[19] Compare A. V. x. 8, 7: *ardhena viśvam bhuvanam jajāna yad asya ardham kva tad babhūva*: "with the half he produced the whole world; what became of the (other) half of him?" See also ibid. v. 13.

[20] This sentence is illustrated by R. V. x. 72, 5, where it is said, *Aditer Daksho ajāyata Dakshād u Aditiḥ pari* | "Aditi was born from Daksha and Daksha from Aditi"—a text on which Yāska remarks (Nirukta, xi. 23): *tat katham upapadyeta* | *samāna-janmānau syātām iti* | *api vā deva-dharmeṇa itaretara-janmānau syātām itaretatara-prakṛitī* | "how can this be possible? They may have had a common birth; or, conformably with their nature as deities, they may have been produced from one another, and possess the properties of one another." Compare A. V. 13. 4. 29 ff., where Indra is said to have been produced from a great many other gods, or entities, and they reciprocally from him. In regard to Virāj, compare the notes on the verse before us in my article on the "Progress of the Vedic religion," etc., in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, p. 354.

the sacrificial grass. With him the gods, the Sādhyas,[21] and the rishis sacrificed. 8. From that universal sacrifice were provided curds and butter. It formed those aerial[22] (creatures) and animals both wild and tame. 9. From that universal sacrifice sprang the ṛich and sāman verses, the metres, and the yajush. 10. From it sprang horses, and all animals with two rows of teeth; kine sprang from it; from it goats and sheep. 11. When (the gods) divided Purusha, into how many parts did they cut him up? what was his mouth? what arms (had he)? what (two objects) are said (to have been) his thighs and feet? 12. The Brāhman was his mouth;[23] the Rājanya was made his arms; the being (called) the Vaiśya, he was his thighs;[24] the Śūdra sprang from his feet. 13. The moon sprang from his soul (*manas*), the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth, and Vāyu from his breath.[25] 14. From his navel arose the air, from his head the sky, from his feet the earth, from his ear the (four) quarters: in this manner (the gods) formed the worlds. 15. When the gods, performing sacrifice, bound Purusha as a victim, there were seven sticks (stuck up) for it

[21] See on the Sādhyas, Professor Weber's note, Ind. St. ix. 6 f., and the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, p. 395, note.

[22] See, however, Vāj. Sanh. xiv. 30, to be quoted below.

[23] Compare the Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa Upanishad, ii. 9: *atha paurṇamāsyām purastāch chandramasam dṛiśyamānam upatishṭheta etayā eva āvṛitā "somo rājāsi vichakshaṇo pancha mukho'si prajāpatiḥ | brāhmaṇas te ekam mukham | tena mukhena rājno'tsi | tena mukhena mām annādam kuru | rājā te ekam mukham | tena mukhena viśo'tsi | tena mukhena mām annādam kuru | śyenas te ekam mukham "ityādi* | which is thus translated by Mr. Cowell: "Next on the day of the full moon let him in this same way adore the moon when it is seen in front of him (saying), 'thou art Soma, the brilliant, the wise, the five-mouthed, the lord of creatures. The Brāhman is one mouth of thine, with that mouth thou eatest kings, with that mouth make me to eat food. The king is one mouth of thine, with that mouth thou eatest common men, with that mouth make me to eat food. The hawk is one mouth of thine," etc. The fourth mouth is fire, and the fifth is in the moon itself. I should prefer to render the words *somo rājā'si*, "thou art *king Soma*,"—"king" being a frequent designation of this god in the Brāhmaṇas. See also M. Bh. iii. 12,962, where Vishṇu is introduced as saying in the same mystical way: *Brahma vaktram bhujau kshattram ūrū me saṁsthitāḥ viś'aḥ | pādau s'ūdrāḥ bhavantīme vikrameṇa krameṇa cha* | "The Brahman is my mouth; the Kshattra is my arms; the Viśas are my thighs; these S'ūdras with their vigour and rapidity are my feet."

[24] Instead of *ūrū*, "thighs," the Atharva-veda, xix. 6, 6, reads *madhyam*, "middle."

[25] The Vāj. S. xxxi. 13, has a different and singular reading of the last half verse: *s'rotrād vāyus'cha prāṇas' cha mukhād agnir ajāyata* | "From his ear came Vāyu and Prāṇa (breath) and from his mouth Agni."

(around the fire), and thrice seven pieces of fuel were made. 16. With sacrifice the gods performed the sacrifice. These were the earliest rites. These great powers have sought the sky, where are the former Sādhyas, gods."[26]

I have above (p. 7) intimated an opinion that this hymn does not belong to the most ancient portion of the Rig-veda. This view is, however, controverted by Dr. Haug, who, in his tract on "the origin of Brāhmanism" (published at Poona in 1863), p. 5, writes as follows: "The few scholars who have been engaged in the study of the Vedas unanimously regard this hymn as a very late production of Vedic poetry; but there is no sufficient evidence to prove that. On the contrary, reasons might be adduced to shew that it is even old. The mystical character of the hymn is no proof at all of its late origin. Such allegorical hymns are to be met with in every book of the collection of the mantras, which goes by the name of Rig-veda samhitā. The Rishis, who were the authors of these hymns, delighted in such speculations. They chiefly were suggested to them by the sacrificial rites, which they daily were performing. According to the position which is assigned to it in the Yajur-veda (where it is found among the formulas referring to the human sacrifice), the hymn appears to have been used at the human sacrifices. That, at the earliest period of the Vedic time, human sacrifices were quite common with the Brahmans, can be proved beyond any doubt. But the more eminent and distinguished among their leaders soon abandoned the practice as revolting to human feelings. The form of the sacrifice, however, seems to have been kept for a long time; for the ritual required at that occasion is actually in the Yajur-veda; but they only tied men of different castes and classes to the sacrificial posts, and released them afterwards, sacrificing animals instead of them."

If it could be satisfactorily shewn that this hymn, in the same form as we now possess it, existed contemporaneously with the barbarous practice of human sacrifices which Dr. Haug believes to have at one time prevailed in India, we should, no doubt, have in this circumstance a strong proof of its antiquity. But if it was merely adopted as a part of the ceremonial at a later period, when the immolation of human

[26] This verse occurs also in R. V. i. 164. 50, and is quoted in Nirukta, xii. 14. See the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, p. 395, note, already referred to.

beings had ceased to be otherwise than formal and nominal, and animals were substituted as the actual victims, the evidence of its remote antiquity is greatly weakened.

If we now compare the Purusha Sūkta with the two hymns (162 and 163) of the first Mandala of the Rig-veda, it will, I think, be apparent that the first is not adapted to be used at a literal human sacrifice in the same manner as the last two are to be employed at the immolation of a horse. There are, no doubt, some mystical passages in the second of these two hymns, as in verse 3, where the horse is identified with Yama, Āditya, and Trita; and "in the last section of the Taittirīya Yajurveda the various parts of the horse's body are described as divisions of time and portions of the universe: 'morning is his head; the sun his eye; the air his breath; the moon his ear,'" etc. (Colebrooke's Essays, i. 62).[27] But the persons who officiate at the sacrifice, as referred to in these hymns, are ordinary priests of the ancient Indian ritual,—the hotṛi, adhvaryu, āvayaj, etc. (i. 162, 5); and details are given of the actual slaughter of the animal (i. 162, 11). The Purusha Sūkta, however does not contain the same indications of the literal immolation of a human victim. In it the sacrifice is not offered to the gods, but by the gods (verses 6, 7, 15, 16); no human priests are mentioned; the division of the victim (v. 11) must be regarded, like its slaughter (v. 7), as the work of the deities only. And the Purusha mentioned in the hymn could not well have been regarded as an ordinary man, as he is identified with the universe (v. 2), and he himself, or his immolation, is represented as the source of the creation (vv. 8, 10, 13, 14), and of the Vedas (v. 9).

As compared with by far the largest part of the hymns of the Rig-veda, the Purusha Sūkta has every character of modernness both in its diction and ideas. I have already observed that the hymns which we find in this collection are of very different periods. This, I believe, is not disputed.[28] The authors themselves, as we have seen, speak of newer and older hymns. So many as a thousand compositions of this description could scarcely have been produced within a very short space of time, and there is no reason to suppose that the literary activity of the ancient Hindus

[27] Compare the commencement of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad.

[28] See Dr. Haug's own remarks (quoted above, p. 4) on the period when the hymns were composed.

was confined to the period immediately preceding the collection of the hymns. But if we are to recognize any difference of age, what hymns can we more reasonably suppose to be the oldest than those which are at once archaic in language and style, and naive and simple in the character of their conceptions? and, on the other hand, what compositions can more properly be set down as the most recent than those which manifest an advance in speculative ideas, while their language approaches to the modern Sanskrit? These latter conditions seem to be fulfilled in the Purusha Sūkta, as well as in hymns x. 71 and 72, x. 81 and 82, x. 121, and x. 129.

On this subject Mr. Colebrooke states his opinion as follows (Miscellaneous Essays i. 309, note): "That remarkable hymn (the Purusha Sūkta) is in language, metre, and style, very different from the rest of the prayers with which it is associated. It has a decidedly more modern tone; and must have been composed after the Sanscrit language had been refined, and its grammar and rhythm perfected. The internal evidence which it furnishes serves to demonstrate the important fact that the compilation of the Vedas, in their present arrangement, took place after the Sanscrit tongue had advanced from the rustic and irregular dialect in which the multitude of hymns and prayers of the Veda was composed, to the polished and sonorous language in which the mythological poems, sacred and prophane (*purānas* and *cāvyas*), have been written."

Professor Max Müller expresses himself in a similar sense (Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 570 f.): "There can be little doubt, for instance, that the 90th hymn of the 10th book . . . . is modern both in its character and in its diction. It is full of allusions to the sacrificial ceremonials, it uses technical philosophical terms, it mentions the three seasons in the order of Vasanta, spring; Grīshma, summer; and S'arad, autumn; it contains the only passage in the Rig-veda where the four castes are enumerated. The evidence of language for the modern date of this composition is equally strong. Grīshma, for instance, the name for the hot season, does not occur in any other hymn of the Rig-veda; and Vasanta also, the name of spring, does not belong to the earliest vocabulary of the Vedic poets. It occurs but once more in the Rig-veda (x. 161. 4), in a passage where the three seasons are mentioned in the order of S'arad, autumn; Hemanta, winter; and Vasanta, spring."

Professor Weber (Indische Studien, ix. 3) concurs in this view. He observes: "That the Purusha Sūkta, considered as a hymn of the Rig-veda, is among the latest portions of that collection, is clearly perceptible from its contents. The fact that the Sāma-sanhitā has not adopted any verse from it, is not without importance (compare what I have remarked in my Academical Prelections, p. 63). The Naigeya school, indeed, appears (although it is not quite certain),[29] to have extracted the first five verses in the seventh prapāṭhaka of the first Archika, which is peculiar to it."

We shall see in the following chapter that the word *brāhmaṇa* occurs but rarely in the Rig-veda Sanhitā, while *brahman*, "a priest," from which the former is derived, is of constant occurrence. From this circumstance also, it may be reasonably concluded that the hymns in which the derivative occurs are among the latest. The same remark may be made of the word *vaiśya*, as compared with *viś*.[30]

Mr. Colebrooke's opinion of the character of the Purusha Sūkta is given in the following passage of his "Miscellaneous Essays" (vol. i. p. 161, note; or p. 105 of Williams & Norgate's ed. of 1858); "I think it unnecessary to quote from the commentary the explanation of this curious passage of the Vedas as it is there given, because it does not really elucidate the sense; the allegory is for the most part sufficiently obvious.

In his tract on "on the origin of Brahmanism," p. 4, Dr. Haug thus remarks on verses 11 and 12: "Now, according to this passage, which is the most ancient and authoritative we have on the origin of Brahmanism, and caste in general, the Brahman has not come from the mouth of this primary being, the Purusha, but the mouth of the latter became the Brahmanical caste, that is to say, was transformed into it. The passage has, no doubt, an allegorical sense. Mouth is the seat of speech. The allegory thus points out that the Brahmans are teachers and instructors of mankind. The arms are the seat of strength. If the two

[29] See on this subject Weber's foot-note, p. 3.

[30] Professor Aufrecht informs me that the word *vaiśya* does not occur in any other hymn of the Rig-veda but the Purusha Sūkta; only once in the Atharva-veda, v. 17, 9; and not at all in the Vāj. Sanh., except in the Purusha Sūkta. The same scholar remarks, as another proof of the comparatively late date of the Purusha Sūkta, that it is the only hymn which refers to the four different kinds of Vedic compositions *ṛich*, *samān*, *chhandas*, and *yajush*.

arms of the Purusha are said to have been made a Kshattriya (warrior), that means, then, that the Kshattriyas have to carry arms to defend the empire. That the thighs of the Purusha were transformed into the Vaiśya means that, as the lower parts of the body are the principal repository of food taken, the Vaiśya caste is destined to provide food for the others. The creation of the Shudra from the feet of the Purusha, indicates that he is destined to be a servant to the others, just as the foot serves the other parts of the body as a firm support."

But whether the writer of the hymn intended it to be understood allegorically or not, it conveys no distinct idea of the manner in which he supposed the four castes to have originated. It is, indeed, said that the S'ūdra sprang from Purusha's feet; but as regards the three superior castes and the members with which they are respectively connected, it is not quite clear which (*i.e.*, the castes or the members) are to be taken as the subjects and which as the predicates, and consequently, whether we are to suppose verse 12 to declare that the three castes were the three members, or, conversely, that the three members were, or became, the three castes.

But whatever may be the sense of the passage, it is impossible to receive it as enunciating any fixed doctrine of the writers of what is called the Vedic age in regard to the origin of the four castes; since we find, if not in the mantras or hymns, at least in the Brāhmaṉas (which, as we have seen in page 2, are esteemed by orthodox Indian writers as being equally with the hymns a part of the Veda), not only (1) texts which agree with the Purusha Sūkta, but also (2) various other and discrepant accounts of the manner in which these classes were separately formed, as well as (3) third a class of narratives of the creation, in which the production of the human race is described without allusion to any primordial distinction of castes.

To the first of these classes (viz., that of texts which coincide more or less exactly with the Purusha Sūkta) belongs the following passage from the Taittirīya Sanhitā.

SECT. II.—*Quotation from the Taittirīya Sanhitā*, vii. 1. 1. 4 *ff.*

Prajāpatir akāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa mukhatas trivṛitaṁ niramimīta | tam Agnir devatā 'nvasṛijyata gāyatrī chhandro rathantaram

sāma brāhmaṇo manushyāṇām ajaḥ paśūnām | tasmāt te mukhyāḥ mukhato hy asṛijyanta | urasa bāhubhyām panchadaśam niramimīta | tam Indro devatā 'nvasṛijyata trishṭup chhando bṛihat sāma rājanyo manushyāṇām aviḥ paśūnām | tasmāt te vīryāvanto vīryād hy asṛijyanta | madhyataḥ saptadaśaṁ niramimīta | tam Viśvedevāḥ devatāḥ anvasṛijyanta jagatī chhando vairūpam sāma vaiśyo manushyāṇām gāvaḥ paśūnām | tasmāt te ādyā annadhānād hy asṛijyanta | tasmād bhūyāṁso 'nyebhyaḥ | bhūyishṭhāḥ hi devatāḥ anvasṛijyanta | pattaḥ ekaviṁśam niramimīta | tam anushṭup chhando 'nvasṛijyata vairājam sāma śūdro manushyāṇām aśvaḥ paśūnām | tasmāt tau bhūta-saṅkrāmiṇāv aśvaś cha śūdraś cha | tasmāt śūdro yajne 'navakḷipto na hi devatāḥ anvasṛijyanta | tasmāt pādāv upajīvataḥ | patto hy asṛijyetām | "Prajāpati desired, 'may I propagate.' He formed the Trivṛit (*stoma*) from his mouth. After it were produced the deity Agni, the metre Gāyatrī, the Sāman (called) Rathantara, of men the Brāhman, of beasts the goats. Hence they are the chief (*mukhyāḥ*), because they were created from the mouth (*mukhataḥ*). From (his) breast, from (his) arms, he formed the Panchadaśa (*stoma*). After it were created the god Indra, the Trishṭubh metre, the Sāman (called) Bṛihat, of men the Rājanya, of beasts the sheep. Hence they are vigorous, because they were created from vigour. From (his) middle he formed the Saptadaśa (*stoma*). After it were created the gods (called) the Viśvedevas, the Jagatī metre, the Sāman called the Vairūpa, of men the Vaiśya, of beasts kine. Hence they are to be eaten, because they were created from the receptacle of food. Wherefore they are more numerous than others, for the most numerous deities were created after (the Saptadaśa). From his foot he formed the Ekaviṁśa (*stoma*). After it were created the Anushṭubh metre, the Sāman called Vairāja, of men the Śūdra, of beasts the horse. Hence these two, both the horse and the Śūdra, are transporters of (other) creatures. Hence (too) the Śūdra is incapacitated for sacrifice, because no deities were created after (the Ekaviṁśa). Hence (too) these two subsist by their feet, for they were created from the foot."

SECT. III.—*Citations from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, and the Atharva-veda.*

The following texts belong to the second class—*i.e.*, that of those which recognize a distinct origination of the castes, but describe their creation differently from the Purusha Sūkta:

S'. P. Br. ii. 1, 4, 11 ff.—"*Bhūr*" *iti vai Prajāpatir imām ajanayata* "*bhuvaḥ*" *ity antariksham* "*svar*" *iti divam* | *etāvad vai idam sarvaṁ yāvad ime lokāḥ* | *sarveṇa eva ādhīyate* | "*bhūr*" *iti vai Prajāpatir brahma ajanayata* "*bhuvaḥ*" *iti kshattram* "*svar*" *iti viśam* | *etāvad vai idam sarvaṁ yāvad brahma kshattraṁ viṭ* | *sarveṇa eva ādhīyate* | "*bhūr*" *iti vai Prajāpatir ātmānam ajanayata* "*bhuvaḥ*" *iti prajāṁ* "*svar*" *iti paśūn* | *etāvad vai idam sarvaṁ yāvad ātmā prajāḥ paśavaḥ* | *sarveṇa eva ādhīyate* |

"(Uttering) 'bhūḥ,' Prajāpati generated this earth. (Uttering) 'bhuvaḥ,' he generated the air, and (uttering) 'svaḥ,' he generated the sky. This universe is co-extensive with these worlds. (The fire) is placed with the whole. Saying 'bhūḥ,' Prajāpati generated the Brahman; (saying) 'bhuvaḥ," he generated the Kshattra; (and saying) 'svaḥ,' he generated the Viś. All this world is so much as the Brahmaṇ, Kshattra, and Viś. The fire is placed with the whole. (Saying) 'bhūḥ,' Prajāpati generated himself; (saying) 'bhuvaḥ' he generated offspring; (saying) 'svaḥ,' he generated animals. This world is so much as self, offspring, and animals. (The fire) is placed with the whole."

Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 9, 2.—*Sarvaṁ hedam brahmaṇā haiva srishṭam* | *ṛigbhyo jātam vaiśyam varṇam āhuḥ* | *yajurvedam kshattriyasyāhur yonim* | *sāmavedo brāhmaṇānām prasūtiḥ* | *pūrve pūrvebhyo vacha etad ūchuḥ* |

"This entire (universe) has been created by Brahma. Men say that the Vaiśya class was produced from ṛich-verses. They say that the Yajur-veda is the womb from which the Kshattriya was born. The Sāma-veda is the source from which the Brāhmans sprang. This word the ancients declared to the ancients."

To complete his account of the derivation of the castes from the

Vedas, the author had only to add that the Sūdras had sprung from the Atharvāngirases (the Atharva-veda); but he perhaps considered that to assign such an origin to the servile order would have been to do it too great an honour.

Vājasaneya Sanhitā, xiv. 28 ff. (= Taittirīya Sanhitā, iv. 3, 10, 1).—*ekayā astuvata prajāḥ adhīyanta Prajāpatir adhipatir āsīt | tisṛibhir astuvata brahma asṛijyata Brahmaṇaspatir adhipatir āsīt | pañchabhir astuvata bhūtāny asṛijyanta Bhūtanāmpatir adhipatir āsīt | saptabhir astuvata sapta ṛishayo 'sṛijyanta Dhātā adhipatir āsīt | navabhir astuvata pitaro 'sṛijyanta Aditir adhipatny āsīt | ekādaśabhir astuvata ṛitavo 'sṛijyanta ārtavāḥ adhipatayaḥ āsan | trayodaśabhir astuvata māsā asṛijyanta samvatsaro 'dhipatir āsīt | pañchadaśabhir astuvata kshattram asṛijyata Indro 'adhipatir āsīt | saptadaśabhir astuvata paśavo 'sṛijyanta Bṛihaspatir adhipatir āsīt | navadaśabhir astuvata śūdrāryāv asṛijyetām ahorātre adhipatnī āstām | ekavimśatyā astuvata ekaśaphāḥ paśavo 'sṛijyanta Varuṇo 'dhipatir āsīt | trayovimśatyā astuvata kshudrāḥ paśavo 'sṛijyanta Pūshā adhipatir āsīt | panchavimśatyā astuvata araṇyāḥ paśavo 'sṛijyanta Vāyur adhipatir āsīt | saptavimśatyā astuvata dyāvāpṛithivī vyaitām | Vasavo Rudrā Ādityāḥ anuvyāyan | te eva adhipatayaḥ āsan | navavimśatyā astuvata vanaspatayo 'sṛijyanta Somo 'dhipatir āsīt | ekatrimśatā astuvata prajā asṛijyanta yavāś cha ayavāś cha adhipatayaḥ āsan | trayastrimśatā astuvata bhūtāny aśāmyan Prajāpatiḥ Parameshṭhī adhipatir āsīt |*

"He lauded with one. Living beings were formed: Prajāpati was the ruler. He lauded with three: the Brahman (Brāhman) was created: Brahmanaspati was the ruler. He lauded with five: existing things were created: Bhūtānāmpati was the ruler. He lauded with seven: the seven rishis were created: Dhātṛi was the ruler. He lauded with nine: the Fathers were created: Aditi was the ruler. He lauded with eleven: the seasons were created: the Ārtavas were the rulers. He lauded with thirteen: the months were created: the year was the ruler. He lauded with fifteen: the Kshattra (the Kshattriya) was created: Indra was the ruler. He lauded with seventeen: animals were created: Bṛihaspati was the ruler. He lauded with nineteen: the Sūdra and the Arya (Vaiśya) were created: day and night were the rulers. He lauded with twenty-one: animals with undivided hoofs were created: Varuṇa was the ruler. He lauded with twenty-three:

small animals were created: Pūshan was the ruler. He lauded with twenty-five: wild animals were created: Vāyu was the ruler (compare R.V. x. 90, 8). He lauded with twenty-seven: heaven and earth separated: Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas separated after them: they were the rulers. He lauded with twenty-nine: trees were created: Soma was the ruler. He lauded with thirty-one: living beings were created: The first and second halves of the month[31] were the rulers. He lauded with thirty-one: existing things were tranquillized: Prajāpati Parameshṭhin was the ruler." This passage is explained in the S'atapatha Brāhmana viii. 4, 3, 1 ff.

The following text is of a somewhat mystical description; but appears to intimate a distinction in nature between the different castes corresponding to that of the gods with whom they are associated:

S'. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, 23 (= Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, i. 4, 11 ff. (p. 235).—*Brahma vai idam agre āsīd ekam eva | tad ekaṁ san na vyabhavat | | tat śreyo rūpam aty asṛijata kshattraṁ yāny etāni devatrā kshattrāṇi Indro Varuṇaḥ Somo Rudraḥ Parjanyo Yamo Mṛityur Īśānah iti | tasmāt kshattrāt param nāsti | tasmād brāhmaṇaḥ kshattriyād adhastād upāste rājasūye kshattre eva tad yaśo dadhāti | sā eshā kshattrasya yonir yad brahma | tasmād yadyapi rājā paramatām gachhati brahma eva antataḥ upaniśrayati svām yonim | yaḥ u ha enaṁ hinasti svām sa yonim ṛichhati | sa pāpīyān bhavati yathā śreyāṁsam hiṁsitvā* | 24. *Sa na eva vyabhavat | sa viśam asṛijata yāny etāni deva-jātāni gaṇaśaḥ ākhyāyante vasavo rudrāḥ ādityāḥ viśvedevāḥ marutaḥ iti* | 25. *Sa na eva vyabhavat | sa śaudram varṇam asṛijata pūshaṇam | iyaṁ vai pūshā iyaṁ hi idam sarvaṁ pushyati yad idaṁ kincha* | 26. *Sa na eva vyabhavat | tat śreyo rūpam aty asṛijata dharmam | tad etat kshattrasya kshattraṁ yad dharmaḥ | tasmād dharmāt paraṁ nāsti | atho abalīyān balīyāṁsam āśaṁśate dharmeṇa yathā rājnā evam | yo vai sa dharmaḥ satyaṁ vai tat | tasmāt satyaṁ vadantam āhur "dharmam vadati" iti | dharmaṁ vā*

[31] The Taittirīya Sanhitā reads *yāvāḥ* and *ayāvāḥ* (instead of *yavāḥ* and *ayavāḥ* as in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā) and in another passage, v. 3, 4, 5 (as I learn from Prof. Aufrecht), explains these terms to mean respectively months and half months (*māsā vai yāvāḥ ardhamāsāh ayāvāḥ*), whilst the commentator on the V. S. understands them to mean the first and second halves of the month, in accordance with the S'.P. B. viii. 4, 3, 18, and viii. 4, 2, 11 (*pūrvapakshā vai yavāḥ aparapaksha ayavāḥ | te hi idaṁ sarvaṁ yuvate chāyuvate cha*) | Prof. Aufrecht also points out that *yāva* is explained in Kātyayana's S'rauta Sūtras, iv. 11, 8, as equivalent to *yavamayam apūpam*, "a cake of barley."

vadantam "satyam vadati" iti | *etad hy eva etad ubhayam bhavati* | 27. *Tad etad brahma kshattram viṭ śūdraḥ* | *tad Agninā eva deveshu brahmābhavad brāhmaṇo manushyeshu kshattriyena kshattriyo vaiśyena vaiśyaḥ śūdreṇa śūdrah* | *tasmād Agnāv eva deveshu lokam ichhante brāhmaṇe manushyeshu* | *etābhyāṁ hi rūpabhyāṁ brahma abhavat* |

23. "Brahma (here, according to the commentator, existing in the form of Agni, and representing the Brāhman caste[32]) was formerly this (universe), one only. Being one, it did not develope. It energetically created an excellent form, the Kshattra, viz., those among the gods who are powers (*kshattrāṇi*), Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mṛityu, Īśāna. Hence nothing is superior to the Kshattra. Therefore the Brāhman sits below the Kshattriya at the rājasūya-sacrifice; he confers that glory on the Kshattra (the royal power).[33] This, the Brahma, is the source of the Kshattra. Hence, although the king attains supremacy, he at the end resorts to the Brahma as his source. Whoever destroys him (the Brāhman) destroys his own source. He becomes most miserable, as one who has injured a superior. 24. He did not develope. He created the Viś—viz., those classes of gods who are designated by troops, Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, Viśvedevas, Maruts. 25. He did not develope. He created the Sūdra class, Pūshan. This earth is Pūshan: for she nourishes all that exists. 26. He did not develope. He energetically created an excellent form, Justice (*Dharma*). This is the ruler (*kshattra*) of the ruler (*kshattra*), namely, Justice. Hence nothing is superior to justice. Therefore the weaker seeks (to overcome) the stronger by justice, as by a king. This justice is truth. In consequence they say of a man who speaks truth, 'he speaks

[32] *Atra yad ātma-śabdenoktaṁ srashṭṛi Brahma tad Agniṁ sṛishṭvā agre Agni-rūpāpannam Brāhmaṇa-jāty-abhimānavad asmin vākye Brahma-śabdenābhidhīyate* |

[33] This rendering of the last few words is suggested by Professor Aufrecht. The commentators understand them to mean that the Brāhmans give the king their own glory (that of being a Brahman): and they refer to a formula by which at the rājasūya-sacrifice the king, after addressing the priest as Brāhman, is addressed in return with the word "Thou, king, art a Brāhmăn" (*tvaṁ rājan brahmāsi*), etc. See the Taittirīya Sanhitā i. 8, 16, 1, where the commentator remarks. "As in common life domestic priests and others, sitting below a king seated on his throne after his return from conquering a foreign territory, address him with many benedictions and eulogies, so here too service is presented. By this benedictory service the power of cursing and showing kindness existing in the Brāhmans is transferred to the king." Reference is then made to the passage before us, as noticing this custom.

justice;' or of a man who is uttering justice, 'he speaks truth.' For this is both of these. 27. This is the Brahma, Kshattra, Viś, and Śūdra. Through Agni it became Brahma among the gods, the Brāhman among men, through the (divine) Kshattriya a (human) Kshattriya, through the (divine) Vaiśya a (human) Vaiśya, through the (divine) Śūdra a (human) Śūdra. Wherefore it is in Agni among the gods and in a Brāhman among men, that they seek after an abode."

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 2, 6, 7.—*Daivyo vai varṇo brāhmaṇaḥ | asuryyo śūdraḥ.* "The Brāhman caste is sprung from the gods; the Śūdra from the Asuras."

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 2, 3, 9.—*Kāmam eva dāru-pātreṇa duhyāt | śūdraḥ eva na duhyāt | asato vai esha sambhūto yat śūdraḥ | ahavir eva tad ity āhur yat śūdro dogdhi iti | agnihotraṁ eva na duhyāt śūdraḥ | tad hi na utpunanti | yadā khalu vai pavitram atyeti atha tad havir iti |* "Let him at his will milk out with a wooden dish. But let not a Śūdra milk it out. For this Śūdra has sprung from non-existence. They say that that which a Śūdra milks out is no oblation. Let not a Śūdra milk out the Agnihotra. For they do not purify that. When that passes beyond the filter, then it is an oblation."

Atharva-veda, iv. 6, 1.—*Brāhmaṇo jajne prathamo daśaśīrsho daśāsyaḥ | sa somam prathamaḥ papau sa chakārārasaṁ visham |* "The Brāhman was born the first, with ten heads and ten faces. He first drank the soma; he made poison powerless."

As the description (which is, perhaps, a fragment of a longer account), stops short here, we are left in the dark as to the author's ideas about the creation of the other castes. It would have interested us to know how many heads and faces he would have assigned to the other three castes. The student of Indian poetry is aware that the giant Rāvana is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa both as a Brāhman and as having ten heads.

As implying a separate origination of the Rājanya caste, the following text also may find a place here:

Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 4, 13, 1.—*Devā vai rājanyāj jāyamānād abibhayuḥ | tam antar eva santaṁ dāmnā 'paumbhan | sa vai esho 'pobdho jāyate yad rājanyo | yad vai esho 'napobdho jāyeta vṛittrān ghaṁś charet | yaṁ kāmayeta rājanyam "anapobdho jāyeta vṛittrān ghaṁś chared" iti tasmai etam aindrā-bārhaspatyaṁ charuṁ nirvapet | aindro vai rājanyo*

brahma Bṛihaspatiḥ | brahmaṇā eva enaṁ dāmno 'pombhanād muñchati | hiraṇmayaṁ dāma dakshiṇā sākshād eva enaṁ damno 'pombhanād muñchati | "The gods were afraid of the Rājanya when he was in the womb. They bound him with bonds when he was in the womb. Consequently this Rājanya is born bound. If he were born unbound he would go on slaying his enemies. In regard to whatever Rājanya any one desires that he should be born unbound, and should go on slaying his enemies, let him offer for him this Aindra-Bārhaspatya oblation. A Rājanya has the character of Indra, and a Brahman is Bṛihaspati. It is through the Brahman that anyone releases the Rājanya from his bond. The golden bond, a gift, manifestly releases from the bond that fetters him."

In the following text of the Atharva-veda, xv. 8, 1, a new account is given of the origin of the Rājanyas:

So 'rajyata tato rājanyo 'jāyata |

"He (the Vrātya) became filled with passion: thence sprang the Rājanya."

And in the following paragraph (A. V. xv. 9, 1 ff) we have the same origin ascribed to the Brāhman also:

Tad yasya evaṁ vidvān vrātyo rājno 'tithir gṛihān āgachhet śreyāṁsam enam ātmano mānayet | tathā kshattrāya nāvṛiśchate tathā rāshṭrāya nāvṛiśchate | ato vai brahma cha kshattraṁ cha udatishṭhatām | te abrūtām "kam praviśāva" iti |

"Let the king to whose house the Vrātya who knows this, comes as a guest, cause him to be respected as superior to himself. So doing he does no injury to his royal rank, or to his realm. From him arose the Brahman (Brāhman) and the Kshattra (Kshattriya). They said, 'Into whom shall we enter,' etc."

SECT. IV.—*Further Quotations from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Sanhitā, and Āraṇyaka, and from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.*

The following passages belong to the third of the classes above adverted to, as in the descriptions they give of the creation, while they refer to the formation of men, they are silent on the subject of any separate origination of castes:

Taittirîya Brâhmaṇa, ii. 3, 8, 1.—*Prajāpatir akāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa haritaḥ śyāvo 'bhavat | tasmāt strī antarvatnī hariṇī satī śyāvā bhavati | sa vijāyamāno garbheṇa atāmyat | sa tāntaḥ krishṇa-śyāvo 'bhavat | tasmāt tāntaḥ krishṇaḥ śyāvo bhavati | tasya asur eva ajīvat | 2. Tena asunā asurān asrijata | tad asurāṇam asuratvaṁ | ya evam asurāṇām asuratvaṁ veda asumān eva bhavati | na enam asur jahāti | so 'surān srishṭvā pitā iva amanyata | tad anu pitṛīn asrijata | tat pitṛīṇām pitṛitvam | ya evam pitṛīṇām pitṛitvam veda pitā iva eva svānām bhavati* (3) *yanty asya pitaro havam | sa pitṛīn srishṭvā 'manasyat | tad anu manushyān asrijata | tad manushyāṇām manushyatvam | yaḥ evam manushyāṇām manushyatvaṁ veda manasvī eva bhavati na enam manur jahāti | tasmai manushyān sasrijānaya divā devatrā abhavat | tad anu devān asrijata | tad devānāṁ devatvam | ya evam devānāṁ devatvaṁ veda divā ha eva asya devatrā bhavati | tāni vai etāni chatvāri ambhāṁsi devāḥ manushyāḥ pitaro 'surāḥ | teshu sarveshu ambho nabhaḥ iva bhavati |*

"Prajāpati desired, 'may I propagate.' He practised austerity. He became pregnant. He became yellow-brown.[34] Hence a woman when pregnant, being yellow, becomes brown. Being pregnant with a foetus, he became exhausted. Being exhausted, he became blackish-brown. Hence an exhausted person becomes blackish-brown. His breath became alive. 2. With that breath (*asu*) he created Asuras. Therein consists the Asura-nature of Asuras. He who thus knows this Asura-nature of Asuras becomes a man possessing breath. Breath does not forsake him. Having created the Asuras, he regarded himself as a father. After that he created the Fathers (Pitṛis). That constitutes the fatherhood of the Fathers. He who thus knows the fatherhood of the Fathers, becomes as a father of his own: (3) the Fathers resort to his oblation. Having created the Fathers, he reflected. After that he created men. That constitutes the manhood of men. He who knows the manhood of men, becomes intelligent. Mind[35] does not forsake him. To him, when he was creating men, day appeared in the heavens. After that he created the gods. This constitutes the godhead of the gods. To him who thus knows the godhead of the gods, day appears in

[34] *Nīla-śveta-miśra-varṇaḥ,* "of a mixed blue and white colour," says the Commentator.

[35] *Manuḥ = manana-śaktiḥ,* "the power of thinking." Comm.

the heavens. These are the four streams,[36] viz., gods, men, Fathers, and Asuras. In all of these water is like the air."

Satapatha Brahmaṇa, vii. 5, 2, 6.—*Prajāpatir vai idam agre āsīd ekaḥ eva | so 'kāmayata "annam sṛijeya prajāyeya" iti | sa prāṇebhyaḥ eva adhi paśūn niramimīta manasaḥ purusham chakshusho 'śvam prāṇād gām śrotrādavim vācho 'jam | tad yad enān prāṇebhyo 'dhi niramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "prāṇāḥ paśavaḥ" iti | mano vai prāṇānām prathamam | tad yad manasaḥ purusham niramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "purushaḥ prathamaḥ paśūnāṁ vīryyavattamaḥ" iti | mano vai sarve prāṇāḥ | manasi hi sarve prāṇāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ | tad yad manasaḥ purusham niramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "purushaḥ sarve paśavaḥ" iti | purushasya hy ete sarve bhavanti |*

"Prajāpati was formerly this (universe), one only. He desired, 'let me create food, and be propagated.' He formed animals from his breaths, a MAN from his soul, a horse from his eye, a bull from his breath, a sheep from his ear, a goat from his voice. Since he formed animals from his breaths, therefore men say, 'the breaths are animals.' The soul is the first of the breaths. Since he formed a man from his soul, therefore they say, 'man is the first of the animals, and the strongest.' The soul is all the breaths; for all the breaths depend upon the soul. Since he formed man from his soul, therefore they say, 'man is all the animals;' for all these are man's."

S. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, 1 (= Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, p. 125).—*Ātmā eva idam agre āsīt purusha-vidhaḥ | so 'nuvīkshya na anyad ātmano 'paśyat | "so 'ham asmi" ity agre vyāharat | tato 'haṁ-nāmā abhavat | tasmād apy etarhy āmantrito "'ham ayam" ity eva agre uktvā atha anyad nāma prabrūte yad asya bhavati | 2. Sa yat pūrvo 'smāt sarvasmāt sarvān pāpmanaḥ aushat tasmāt purushaḥ | oshati ha vai sa taṁ yo 'smāt pūrvam bubhūshati yaḥ evaṁ veda | 3. So 'bibhet | tasmād ekākī bibheti |*

[36] The Commentary not very satisfactorily explains this as meaning, "All these four abodes of the gods, etc., are like waters—*i.e.*, suited to yield enjoyment, as ponds, rivers, etc., are fit for bathing, drinking," etc. The phrase is repeated in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 5 (vol. i., p. 79, of Dr. Hall's edition); and in his note Professor Wilson says *ambhāmsi* "is also a peculiar and probably a mystic term." It is explained in the Vāyu Purāṇa, as will be seen further on. The last words of the quotation from the Brāhmaṇa are obscure. In another passage of the same work (iii. 8, 18, 1, 2) the terms *ambhas*, *nabhas*, and *mahas*, are declared to denote respectively "earth," "air," and "sky" (. . . *ayaṁ vai loko 'mbhāṁsi . . . antarikshaṁ vai nabhāṁsi . . . asau vai loko mahāṁsi*).

sa ha ayam īkshānchakre yad "mad anyad nāsti kasmād nu bibhemi" iti | tataḥ eva asya bhayaṁ vīyāya | kasmād hy abheshyat | dvitīyād vai bhayam bhavati | 4. *Sa vai naiva reme | tasmād ekākī na ramate | sa dvitīyam aichhat | sa ha etāvān āsa yathā strī-pumāṁsau samparishvaktau* | 5. *Sa imam eva ātmānam dvedhā 'pātayat | tataḥ patiḥ patnī cha abhavatām | tasmād "idam ardhavṛigalam iva svaḥ" iti ha sma āha Yājnavalkyaḥ | tasmād ākāśaḥ striyā pūryate eva | tām samabhavat | tato manushyāḥ ajāyanta* | 6. *Sā u ha iyam īkshānchakre "kathaṁ nu mā ātmanaḥ eva janayitvā sambhavati hanta tiro 'sāni" iti* | 7. *Sā gaur abhavat vṛishabhaḥ itaras tāṁ sam eva abhavat | tato gāvaḥ ajāyanta* | 8. *Vaḍavā itarā abhavad aśvavṛishaḥ itaraḥ gardabhī itarā gardabhaḥ itaras tām sam eva abhavat | tataḥ ekaśapham ajāyata* | 9. *Ajā itarā abhavad vastaḥ itaraḥ avir itarā meshaḥ itaraḥ | tām sam eva abhavat tato 'jāvayo 'jāyanta | evam eva yad idaṁ kiñcha mithunam ā pippīlikābhyas tat sarvam asṛijata* |[37]

"This universe was formerly soul only, in the form of Purusha. Looking closely, he saw nothing but himself (or soul). He first said, 'This is I.' Then he became one having the name of I. Hence even now a man, when called, first says, 'this is I,' and then declares the other name which he has. 2. Inasmuch as he, before (*pūrvaḥ*) all this, burnt up (*aushat*) all sins, he (is called) *purusha*. The man who knows this burns up the person who wishes to be before him. 3. He was afraid. Hence a man when alone is afraid. This (being) considered that 'there is no other thing but myself: of what am I afraid?' Then his fear departed. For why should he have feared? It is of a second person that people are afraid. 4. He did not enjoy happiness. Hence a person when alone does not enjoy happiness. He desired a second. He was so much as a man and a woman when locked in embrace. 5. He caused this same self to fall asunder into two parts. Thence arose a husband and a wife.[38] Hence Yājvanalkya has said that 'this one's self is like the half[39] of a split pea.' Hence the void is filled up by

[37] This passage has been already translated by Mr. Colebrooke, Essays i. 64, as well as by Dr. Roer, in the Bibliotheca Indica.

[38] Manu and S'atarūpā, according to the Commentator.

[39] Compare Taitt. Br. iii. 3, 3, 5. *Atho arddho vai esha ātmano yat patnī* | "Now a wife is the half of one's self;" and ibid. iii. 3, 3, 1: *Ayajno vai esha yo 'patnīkaḥ | na prajāḥ prajāyeran* | "The man who has no wife is unfit to sacrifice. No children will be born to him." We must not, however, suppose from these passages that the

woman.[40] He cohabited with her. From them MEN were born. 6. She reflected, 'how does he, after having produced me from himself, cohabit with me? Ah! let me disappear.' 7. She became a cow, and the other a bull; and he cohabited with her. From them kine were produced. 8. The one became a mare, the other a stallion, the one a she-ass, the other a male-ass. He cohabited with her. From them the class of animals with undivided hoofs was produced. The one became a she-goat, the other a he-goat, the one a ewe, the other a ram. He cohabited with her. From them goats and sheep were produced. In this manner pairs of all creatures whatsoever, down to ants, were created."

The next passage describes men as descendants of Vivasvat, or the Sun, without specifying any distinction of classes:

Taittirīya Sanhitā vi. 5, 6, 1 f.—*Aditiḥ putrakāmā sādhyebhyo devebhyo brahmaudanam apachat | tasyai uchchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai chatvāraḥ Adityāḥ ajāyanta | sā dvitīyam apachat | sā 'manyata "uchchheshaṇād me ime 'jñata | yad agre prāśishyāmi ito me vasīyāṁso janishyante" iti | sā 'gre prāśnāt sā reto 'dhatta tasyai vyṛiddham āṇḍam ajāyata | sā Ādityebhyaḥ eva tṛitīyam apachat "bhogāya me idam śrāntam astv" iti | te 'bruvan "varaṁ vṛiṇāmahai yo 'to jāyātai asmākaṁ sa eko 'sat | yo 'sya prajāyām ṛidhyātai asmākam bhogāya bhavād" iti | tato Vivasvān Ādityo 'jāyata | tasya vai iyam prajā yad manushyāḥ | tāsv ekaḥ eva ṛiddho yo yajate sa devānām bhogāya bhavati |*

"Aditi, desirous of sons, cooked a Brahmaudana oblation for the gods the Sādhyas. They gave her the remnant of it. This she ate. She conceived seed. Four Adityas were born to her. She cooked a second (oblation). She reflected, 'from the remains of the oblation these sons have been born to me. If I shall eat (the oblation) first, more brilliant

estimation in which women were held by the authors of the Brāhmaṇas was very high, as there are other texts in which they are spoken of disparagingly; such as the following: Taitt. Sanh. vi. 5, 8, 2.—*Sa somo nātishṭhata strībhyo gṛihyamāṇaḥ | tam ghṛitaṁ vajraṁ kṛitvā 'ghnan tam nirindriyam bhūtam agṛihṇan | tasmāt striyo nirindriyā adāyādīr api pāpāt puṁsa upastitaram vadanti |* "Soma did not abide, when being poured out to women. Making that butter a thunderbolt they smote it. They poured it out when it had become powerless. Hence women, powerless, and portionless, speak more humbly than even a poor man." (Compare the quotation in the Commentary on the Taitt. Sanhitā, Vol. i. p. 996.) Taitt. Sanh. vi. 5, 10, 3. *Tasmāt striyaṁ jātām parāsyanti ut pumāṁsam haranti |* "Hence they reject a female (child) when born, and take up a male." (Compare Nirukta, iii. 4.)

[40] Compare Taitt. Br. iii. 3, 10, 4. *Prajayā hi manushyaḥ pūrṇaḥ,* "For by offspring a man is completed."

(sons) will be born to me. She ate it first; she conceived seed; an imperfect egg was produced from her. She cooked a third (oblation) for the Ādityas, (repeating the formula) 'may this religious toil have been undergone for my enjoyment.' The Ādityas said, 'Let us choose a boon: let any one who is produced from this be ours only; let anyone of his progeny who is prosperous be for us a source of enjoyment.' In consequence the Āditya Vivasvat was born. This is his progeny, namely MEN.[41] Among them he alone who sacrifices is prosperous, and becomes a cause of enjoyment to the gods."[42]

The passages next following do not specify separately the creation of men (who must, however, be understood as included along with other beings under the designation *prajāh*, "offspring," or "creatures,") and therefore afford less distinct evidence that their authors did not hold the fourfold origin of mankind.

The first of these extracts is especially interesting, both on account of its own tenor, and because (along with Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 1 ff..quoted in p. 23) it contains the germ of one of the Puranic accounts of the creation which will be adduced in a subsequent section.

Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 1 ff.—*Idam̃ vai agre naiva kinchana āsīt | na dyaur āsīd na pṛithivī na antariksham | tad asad eva sad mano 'kuruta "syām" iti | tad atapyata | tasmāt tapanād dhūmo 'jāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata tasmāt tapanād Agnir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata |* 2. *Tasmāt tapanāj jyotir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tasmāt tapanād archir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tasmāt tapanād marīchayo 'jāyanta | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tasmāt tapanād udārāḥ ajāyanta | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tad abhram iva*

[41] Compare Taitt. Br. i. 8, 8, 1. *Ādityāḥ vai prajāḥ*, "Creatures are descended from Aditi."

[42] This story is told also, but with more detail of names and somewhat differently, in Taitt. Br. i. 1, 9, 10 ff.: *Aditiḥ putrakāmā sādhyebhyo devebhyo brahmaudanam apachat | tasyai uchchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Dhātā cha Aryamā cha ajāyetām | sā dvitīyam apachat tasyai uchchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Mitraś cha Varuṇaś cha ajāyetām | sā tṛitīyam apachat | tasyai uchchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Am̃śaś cha Bhagaś cha ajāyetām | sā chaturtham apachat | taysai uchchheshaṇam adaduh | tat prāsnāt | sā reto 'dhatta tasyai Indraś cha Vivasvām̃ś cha ajayetām |* "Aditi, desirous of sons, cooked a Brahmaudana oblation to the gods the Sādhyas. They gave her the remnant of it. She ate it. She conceived seed. Dhātṛi and Aryaman were born to her." She does the same thing a second time, when she bears Mitra and Varuṇa,—a third time, when she bears Am̃śa and Bhaga,—and a fourth time, when she bears Indra and Vivasvat.

samahanyata | tad vastim abhinat | 3. *Sa samudro 'bhavat | tasmāt samudrasya na pibanti | prajananam iva hi manyante | tasmāt paśor jāyamānād āpah purastād yanti | tad daśahotā anvasṛijyata | Prajāpatir vai daśahotā | yaḥ evaṁ tapaso vīryyam vidvāṁs tapyate bhavaty eva | tad vai idam āpaḥ salilam āsīt | so 'rodīt Prajāpatiḥ* (4) "*sa kasmai ajñi yady asyāpratishṭhāyāḥ*" *iti | yad apsv avāpadyata sā prithivy abhavat | yad vyamṛishṭa tad antariksham abhavat | yad ūrdhvam udamṛishṭa sā dyaur abhavat | yad arodīt tad anayoḥ rodastvam* | 5. *Yaḥ evaṁ veda na asya gṛihe rudanti | etad vai eshāṁ lokānāṁ janma | ya evam eshāṁ lokānāṁ janma veda na eshu lokesho ārttim ārchhati | sa imām pratishṭhām avindata | sa imām pratishṭhāṁ vittvā akāmayata* "*prajāyeya*" *iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa jaghanād asurān asṛijata* | 6. *Tebhyo mṛiṇmaye pātre 'nnam aduhat | yā asya sā tanūr āsīt tām apāhata | sā tamisrā 'bhavat | so 'kāmayata* "*prajāyeya*" *iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa prajananād eva prajāḥ asṛijata | tasmād imāḥ bhūyishṭhāḥ | prajananād hy enāḥ asṛijata* | 7. *Tābhyo dārumaye pātre payo 'duhat | yā asya sā tanūr āsīt tām apāhata | sa jyotsnā 'bhavat | so 'kāmayata* "*prajāyeya*" *iti | sa tapo 'tapyata so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa upapakshābhyām eva ṛitūn asṛijata | tebhyo rajate pātre ghṛitam aduhat | yā asya sā tanūr āsīt* (8) *tām apāhata | so 'ho-rātrayoḥ sandhir abhavat | so 'kāmayata* "*prajāyeya*" *iti | sa tapo'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa mukhād devān asṛijata | tebhyo harite pātre somam aduhat | yā asya sā tanūr āsīt tām apāhata | tad ahar abhavat* | 9. *Ete vai Prajāpater dohāḥ | ya evaṁ veda duhe eva prajāḥ |* "*divā vai no 'bhūd*" *iti tad devānām devatvaṁ | ya evaṁ devānāṁ devatvaṁ veda devavān eva bhavati | etad vai aho-rātrāṇāṁ janma | ya evam aho-rātrāṇāṁ janma veda na aho-rātreshu ārttim ārchhati* | 10. *Asato 'dhi mano 'sṛijyata | manaḥ Prajāpatim asṛijata | Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | tad vai idam manasy eva paramam pratishṭhitaṁ yadidaṁ kiñcha | tad etat śvovasyasaṁ nāma Brahma | vyuchhantī vyuchhantī asmai vasyasī vasyasī vyuchhati prajāyate prajayā paśubhiḥ pra parameshṭhino mātrām āpnoti ya evaṁ veda* |

"At first this (universe) was not anything. There was neither sky, nor earth, nor air. Being non-existent, it resolved 'let me be.' It became fervent.[43] From that fervour smoke was produced. It again

[43] The word thus rendered is *atapyata*, which has the sense of "being heated" as well as "practising austere abstraction." I have purposely given an equivocal rendering, which may bear either sense.

became fervent. From that fervour fire was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour light was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour flame was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour rays were produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour blazes[44] were produced. It again became fervent. It became condensed like a cloud. It clove its bladder. That became the sea. Hence men do not drink of the sea. For they regard it as like the place of generation. Hence water issues forth before an animal when it is being born. After that the Daśahotṛi (a particular formula) was created. Prajāpati is the Daśahotṛi. That man succeeds, who thus knowing the power of austere abstraction (or fervour), practises it. This was then water, fluid. Prajāpati wept, (exclaiming), (4) 'For what purpose have I been born, if (I have been born) from this which forms no support?'[45] That which fell[46] into the waters became the earth. That which he wiped away, became the air. That which he wiped away, upwards, became the sky. From the circumstance that he wept (*arodīt*), these two regions have the name of *rodasī*, (worlds). 5. They do not weep in the house of the man who knows this. This was the birth of these worlds. He who thus knows the birth of these worlds, incurs no suffering in these worlds. He obtained this (earth as a) basis. Having obtained (this earth as a) basis, he desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created Asuras from his abdomen. 6. To them he milked out food in an earthen dish. He cast off that body of his. It became darkness.[47] He desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised

[44] Such is the sense the commentator gives to the word *udārāḥ*, which he makes = *ulvaṇa-jvālāḥ*. Professor Roth (s. v.) explains the word as meaning "fogs."

[45] This is the mode of rendering suggested to me by Professor Aufrecht. After "if" the Commentator supplies the words—"from this non-existing earth I can create no living creature."

[46] "Prajāpati's tears," etc., according to the commentator.

[47] Compare S'. P. Br. xi. 1, 6, 8: *Atho yo 'yam avāñ prāṇas tena asurān asṛijata | te imām eva pṛithivīm abhipadya asṛijyanta | tasmai sasṛijānāya tamaḥ iva āsa* | 9. *So 'vet "pāpmānam vai asṛikshi yasmai me sasṛijānāya tamaḥ iva abhūd" iti | tāms tataḥ eva pāpmanā 'vidhyat | tataḥ eva te parābhavann ityādi* | "Then he created the Asuras from this lower breath of his. It was only after reaching this earth that they were created. On him, as he continned to create, darkness fell. 9. He understood, 'I have created misery, since darkness has fallen upon me as I was creating.' Then he pierced them with misery, and they in consequence succumbed," etc. The word rendered in the text by "cast off" is applied in Taitt. Sanh. i. 5, 4, 1, to serpents

austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created living beings (*prajāḥ*) from his organ of generation. Hence they are the most numerous because he created them from his generative organ. 8. To them he milked out milk in a wooden dish. He cast off that body of his. It became moon-light. He desired, 'May I be propagated. He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created the seasons from his armpits. To them he milked out butter in a silver dish. He cast off that body of his. It became the period which connects day and night. He desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created the gods from his mouth.[48] To them he milked out Soma in a golden dish. He cast off that body of his. It became day. 9. These are Prajāpati's milkings. He who thus knows milks out offspring. 'Day (*divā*) has come to us:' this (exclamation expresses) the godhead of the gods. He who thus knows the godhead of the gods, obtains the gods. This is the birth of days and nights. He who thus knows the birth of days and nights, incurs no suffering in the days and nights. 10. Mind (or soul, *manas*,) was created from the non-existent. Mind created Prajāpati. Prajāpati created offspring. All this, whatever exists, rests absolutely on mind. This is that Brahma called S'vovasyasa.[49] For the man who thus knows, (Ushas), dawning, dawning, dawns more and more bright; he becomes prolific in offspring, and (rich) in cattle; he obtains the rank of Parameshṭhin."

S'. P. Br. vi. 1, 2, 11.—*Atho āhuḥ | "Prajāpatir eva imān lokān sṛishṭvā pṛithivyām pratyatishṭhat | tasmai imāḥ oshadhayo 'nnam apachyanta | tad āśnāt | sa garbhī abhavat | sa ūrdhvebhyaḥ eva prāṇebhyo devān asṛijata | ye 'vāñchaḥ prāṇās tebhyo martyāḥ prajāḥ" iti | yatamathā 'sṛijata tathā 'sṛijata | Prajāpatis tv eva idaṁ sarvam asṛijata yad idaṁ kiñcha |*

"Wherefore they say, 'Prajāpati, having created these worlds, was

shedding their old skins (*sarpāḥ vai jīryanto 'manyanta . . . tato vai te jīrṇās tanūr apāghnata*).

[48] Compare S'. P. Br. xi. 1, 6, 7, quoted in the 4th Vol. of this work, p. 22 f.

[49] The Commentator explains this word to mean "that which each succeeding day becomes transcendently excellent (*uttarottara-dine vasīyo 'tiśayena śreshṭham*). Here, he says, the highest and absolute Brahma is not meant, but mind, which has the form of Brahma, and, by means of the series of its volitions, is every successive moment more and more world-creating" (*sankalpa-paramparayā pratikshaṇam uttarottarādhika-jagat-srashṭṛitvād īdṛig-Brahma-rūpatvād manaḥ praśastam |*

supported upon the earth. For him these herbs were cooked as food. That (food) he ate. He became pregnant. He created the gods from his upper vital airs, and mortal offspring from his lower vital airs. In whatever way he created, so he created. But Prajāpati created all this, whatever exists.'"

S'. P. Br. x. 1, 3, 1.—*Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | sa ūrdhvebhyaḥ eva prāṇebhyo devān asṛijata | ye 'vāñchaḥ prāṇās tebhyo martyāḥ prajāḥ | atha ūrdhvam eva mṛityum prajābhyo 'ttāram asṛijata |*

"Prajāpati created living beings. From his upper vital airs he created the gods; from his lower vital airs mortal creatures. Afterwards he created death a devourer of creatures."

Taitt. Ar. i. 23, 1.—*Āpo vai idam āsan salilam eva | sa Prajāpatir ekaḥ pushkara-parṇe samabhavat | tasya antar manasi kāmaḥ samavarttata "idaṁ sṛijeyam" iti | tasmād yad purusho manasā 'bhigachhati tad vāchā vadati tat karmaṇā karoti | tad eshā 'bhyanūktā "kāmas tad agre samavarttatādhi | manaso retaḥ prathamaṁ yad āsīt | 2. Sato bandhum asati niravindan hṛidi pratīshyā kavayo manīshā" iti | upa evaṁ tad upanamati yat-kāmo bhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda | sa tapo 'tapyata | sa tapas taptvā śarīram adhūnuta | tasya yad māṁsam āsīt tato 'ruṇāḥ Ketavo Vātaraśanāḥ ṛishayaḥ udatishṭhan | 3. Ye nakhās te Vaikhānasāḥ | ye bālās te Bālakhilyāḥ | yo rasaḥ so 'pām antarataḥ kūrmam bhūtam sarpantam tam abravīt "mama vai tvaṉ-māṁsā samabhūt" | 4. "na" ity abravīt "pūrvam eva aham iha āsam" iti | tat purushasya purushatvam iti | sa "sahasra-śīrshā purushaḥ sahasrākshaḥ sahasra-pād" bhūtvā udatishṭhat | tam abravīt "tvam ve* (sic. *me* or *vai?*) *pūrvaṁ samabhūt tvam idam pūrvaḥ kurushva" iti | sa itaḥ ādāya apo* (5) *'ñjalinā purastād upādadhāt "evā hy eva" iti | tataḥ Ādityaḥ udatishṭhat | sā prāchī dik | atha Aruṇaḥ Ketur dakshiṇataḥ upādadhād "evā hy Agne" iti | tato vai Agnir udatishṭhat | sā dakshiṇā dik | atha Aruṇaḥ Ketuḥ paśchād upādadhād "evā hi Vāyo" iti | 6. Tato Vāyur udatishṭhat | sā pratīchī dik | atha Aruṇaḥ Ketur uttarataḥ upādadhād "evā hi Indra" iti | tato vai Indraḥ udatishṭhat | sā udīchī dik | atha Aruṇaḥ Ketur madhye upādadhād "evā hi Pūshann" iti | tato vai Pūshā udatishṭhat | sā iyam dik | 7. Atha Aruṇaḥ Ketur uparishṭād upādadhād "evā hi devāḥ" iti | tato deva-manushyāḥ pitaro gandharvāpsarasaś cha udatishṭhan | sā ūrdhvā dik | yāḥ viprusho vi parāpatan tābhyo 'surāḥ rakshāṁsi piśāchāś-cha udatishṭhan | tasmāt te parābhavan viprudbhyo 'hi samabhavan | tas*

eshā bhyanūktā (8) "*āpo ha yad bṛihatīr garbham āyan daksham dadhānāḥ janayantīḥ svayambhūm | tataḥ ime 'dhyasṛijyanta sargāḥ | adbhyo vai idam samabhūt | tasmād idam sarvam Brahma svayambhv" iti | tasmād idam sarvaṁ śithilam iva adhruvam iva abhavat | Prajāpatir vāva tat | ātmanā ātmānaṁ vidhāya tad eva anuprāviśat | tad eshā 'bhyanūktā* (9) "*vidhāya lokān vidhāya bhūtāni vidhāya sarvāḥ pradiśo diśaścha | Prajāpatiḥ prathamajāḥ ṛitasya ātmanā "tmānam abhisaṁviveśa" iti* |

"This was water, fluid. Prajāpati alone was produced on a lotus-leaf. Within, in his mind, desire arose, 'Let me create this.' Hence whatever a man aims at in his mind, he declares by speech, and performs by act.[50] Hence this verse has been uttered, 'Desire formerly arose in it, which was the primal germ of mind, (2) (and which) sages, searching with their intellect, have discovered in the heart as the bond between the existent and the non-existent' (R. V. x. 129, 4). That of which he is desirous comes to the man who thus knows. He practised austere fervour. Having practised austere fervour, he shook his body. From its flesh the rishis (called) Aruṇas, Ketus, and Vātaraśanas[51] arose. 3. His nails became the Vaikhānasas, his hairs the Bālakhilyas. The fluid (of his body became) a tortoise moving amid the waters.[52] He said to him, 'Thou hast sprung from my skin and flesh.'[53] 4. 'No,' replied the tortoise, 'I was here before.' In that (in his having been 'before' *pūrvam*) consists the manhood of a man (*purusha*). Becoming 'a man (*purusha*) with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet'

[50] Compare Taitt. S. vi. 3, 10, 4, (quoted by Roth. s. v. *abhigam*) *yad vai hṛidayena abhigachhati taj jihvayā vadati* |

[51] They are mentioned again in Taitt. Ār. i. 24, 4. See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon s.v. Ketu (where the Aruṇa Ketus are stated to be a sort of superior beings or demons); Artharva-veda, xi. 10, 2; Weber's Indische Studien, ii. 177; and the verse of the M. Bh. xii. 774: *Aruṇāḥ Ketavāś chaiva svādhāyena divaṁ gatāḥ* | "By sacred study the Aruṇas and Ketus have ascended to heaven."

[52] The Sanskrit scholar will observe that the text here is rather obscure. It is either corrupt, elliptical, or grammatically irregular.

[53] Here the Sanskrit, if it be not corrupt, must be irregular and incorrect. On the style of the Āraṇyakas, see Mr. E. B. Cowell's Preface to the Kaushītakī Upanishad, p. viii., where it is remarked: "The Āraṇyakas appear to belong to a class of Sanskrit writings, whose history has not yet been thoroughly investigated. Their style, if we may judge from that of the Taittirīya and Kaushītakī, is full of strange solecisms which sometimes half remind us of the gāthās of the Lalita Vistara. The present Upanishad has many peculiar forms, some of which are common to both recensions, while others appear only in one. Such are: *nishinchа*, in p. 10; *praiti* for *prayanti*, in p. 51; *saṁveśiyan*, in p. 56; *veti* for *vyeti*, in p. 78; *adūḍham*, in p. 89, etc

(R.V. x. 90, 1), he arose. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou wert produced before me: do thou first make this.' He took water from this (5) in the cavity of his two hands, and placed it on the east, repeating the text, 'so be it, o Sun.'[64] From thence the sun arose. That was the eastern quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) to the south, saying, 'so be it,' o Agni.' Thence Agni arose. That was the southern quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) to the west, saying 'so be it, o Vāyu.' 6. Thence arose Vāyu. That was the western quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) to the north, saying 'so be it, o Indra.' Thence arose Indra. That is the northern quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) in the centre, saying 'so be it, o Pūshan.' Thence arose Pūshan. That is this quarter. 7. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) above, saying 'so be it, o gods.' Thence arose gods, MEN, fathers, Gandharvas and Apsarases. That is the upper quarter. From the drops which fell apart arose the Asuras, Rakshases, and Piśāchas. Therefore they perished, because they were produced from drops. Hence this text has been uttered; (8) 'when the great waters became pregnant, containing wisdom, and generating Svayambhŭ, from them were created these creations. All this was produced from the waters. Therefore all this is Brahma Svayambhu.' Hence all this was as it were loose, as it were unsteady. Prajāpati was that. Having made himself through himself, he entered into that. Wherefore this verse has been uttered; (9) 'Having formed the world, having formed existing things and all intermediate quarters and quarters, Prajāpati, the firstborn of the ceremonial, entered into himself with himself.'"

From an examination of the legends contained in the Brāhmaṇas, of which some specimens have just been given, it appears (1) that they are generally, if not always, adduced, or invented, with the view of showing the origin, or illustrating the efficacy, of some particular ceremony which the writer wished to explain or recommend; (2) that the accounts which they supply of Prajāpati's creative operations are

[64] The formula is in the original *evā hy eva*. The Commentator says that the first word means "objects of desire to be obtained," and that the second *eva* signifies "the moving (Sun);" the sense of the entire formula being, "Thou, o Sun, art thyself all objects of desire." The six formulas here introduced had previously occurred at the close of a preceding section, i. 20, 1.

various and even inconsistent; and (3) that they are the sources of many of the details which are found in a modified form in the cosmogonies of the Purānas.

When we discover in the most ancient Indian writings such different and even discrepant accounts of the origin of man, all put forth with equal positiveness, it is impossible to imagine that any uniform explanation of the diversity of castes could have been received at the period when they were composed, or to regard any of the texts which have been cited as more orthodox and authoritative than the rest. Even, therefore, if we should suppose that the author of the Purusha Sūkta meant to represent the four castes as having literally sprung from separate parts of Purusha's body, it is evident that the same idea was not always or even generally adopted by those who followed him, as a revealed truth in which they were bound to acquiesce. In fact, nothing is clearer than that in all these cosmogonies, the writers, while generally assuming certain prevalent ideas as the basis of their descriptions, gave the freest scope to their individual fancy in the invention of details. In such circumstances, perfect coincidence cannot be expected in the narratives.

We shall hereafter see that the Puranic writers reproduce some of these discrepancies in the traditions which descended to them from earlier generations, and add many new inconsistencies of their own, which they themselves, or their commentators, endeavour to explain away by the assumption that the accounts so differing relate to the occurrences of different Kalpas or Manvantaras (great mundane periods). But of a belief in any such Kalpas or Manvantaras no trace is to be found in the hymns or Brāhmaṇas: and, as we shall hereafter see, they must be held to be the inventions of a later age. The real explanation of these differences in the Brāhmaṇas is that the writers did not consider themselves (as their successors held them) to be infallibly inspired, and consequently were not at all studious to avoid in their narratives the appearance of inconsistency with the accounts of their predecessors.

SECT. V.—*Manu's Account of the Origin of Castes.*

I shall first quote a few verses from the beginning of Manu's account of the creation:

i. 8. *So 'bhidhyāya śarīrāt svāt sisṛikshur vividhāḥ prajāḥ* | *apa eva sasarjādau tāsu vījam avāsṛijat* | 9. *Tad aṇḍam abhavad haimaṁ sahasrāṁśu-sama-prabham* | *tasmin jajne svayam Brahmā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ* | 10. *Āpo nārā iti proktāḥ āpo vai narasūnavaḥ* | *tāḥ yad asyāyanam pūrvam tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitah* | 11. *Yat tat kāraṇam avyaktaṁ nityaṁ sad-asadātmakam* | *tad-visṛishṭaḥ sa purusho lok-Brahmeti kīrttyate* | 12. *Tasminn aṇḍe sa bhagavān ushitvā parivatsaram* | *svayam evātmano dhyānāt tad aṇḍam akarod dvidhā* |[65]

"8. He (the self-existent) having felt desire,[66] and willing to create various living beings from his own body, first created the waters, and threw into them a seed. 9. That seed became a golden egg, of lustre equal to the sun; in it he himself was born as Brahmā, the parent of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called *nārāḥ*, for they are sprung from *Nara;* and as they were his first sphere of motion (*ayana*=path), he is therefore called *Nārāyaṇa.*[67] 11. Produced from the imperceptible, eternal, existent and non-existent, cause, that male (*purusha*) is celebrated in the world as Brahmā. 12. After dwelling for a year in the egg, the glorious being, himself, by his own contemplation, split it in twain."

After a description of various other preparatory creative acts (vv. 13–30) the author proceeds in vv. 31 ff. to inform us how the four castes were produced:

i. 31. *Lokānāṁ tu vivṛiddhyartham mukhabāhūru-pādataḥ* | *brāhmaṇaṁ kshattriyaṁ vaiśyaṁ śūdraṁ cha niravarttayat* | 32. *Dvidhā kṛitvātmano deham ardhena purusho 'bhavat* | *ardhena nārī tasyāṁ sa Virājam asṛijat prabhuḥ* | 33. *Tapas taptvā 'sṛijad yaṁ tu sa svayam purusho*

[65] The ideas in this passage are derived (with modifications expressive of the theories current in the author's own age) from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff. (see vol. iv. of this work, p. 21 f.); or from some other similar account in another Brāhmaṇa.

[66] See S'. P. Br. i. 7, 4, 1: *Prajāpatir ha vai svāṁ duhitaram abhidadhyau.*

[67] In the M. Bh. iii. 12952, Krishṇa says: *apām nārāḥ iti purā sanjnā-karma kṛitam mayā* | *tena Nārāyaṇo py ukto mama tat tv ayanaṁ sadā* | "The name of *nārāḥ* was formerly assigned by me to the waters: hence I am also called Nārāyaṇa, for there has always been my sphere of motion."

Virāṭ | *taṁ māṁ vittāsya sarvasya srashṭāraṁ dvija-sattamāḥ* | 34. *Aham prajāḥ sisṛikshus tu tapas taptvā suduścharam* | *patīn prajānām asṛijam maharshīn ādito daśa* | 35. *Marīchim Atryangirasau Pulastyam Pulahaṁ Kratum* | *Prachetasam Vasishṭhaṁ cha Bhṛigum Nāradam eva cha* | 36. *Ete Manūṁs tu saptānyān asṛijan bhūritejasaḥ* | *devān devanikāyāṁś cha maharshīṁś chāmitaujasaḥ* | 37. *Yaksha-rakshaḥ-piśāchāṁś cha gandharvāpsaraso 'surān* | *nāgān sarpān suparṇāṁś cha pitṝṇāṁ cha pṛithaggaṇān* | 38. *Vidyuto 'śani-meghāṁś cha rohitendra-dhanūṁsi cha* | *ulkā nirghāta-ketūṁś cha jyotīṁshy uchchāvachāni cha* | 39. *Kinnarān vānarān matsyān vividhāṁś cha vihangamān* | *paśūn mṛigān manushyāṁś cha vyālāṁś chobhayatodataḥ* | 40. *Kṛimikīṭa-patangāṁś cha yūkā-makshika-matkuṇam* | *sarvaṁ cha daṁśa-maśakam sthāvaraṁ cha pṛithagvidham* | 41. *Evam etair idaṁ sarvam man-niyogād mahātmabhiḥ* | *yathākarma tapo-yogāt sṛishṭaṁ sthāvara-jangamam* |

31. "That the worlds might be peopled, he caused the Brāhman, the Kshattriya, the Vaiśya, and the S'ūdra to issue from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet.[58] 32. Having divided his own body into two parts, the lord (Brahmā) became, with the half a male (purusha), and with the half, a female; and in her he created Virāj.[59] 33. Know, O most excellent twice-born men, that I, whom that male, (purusha)[60] Virāj, himself created, am the creator of all this world. 34. Desiring to produce living creatures, I performed very arduous devotion, and first created ten Maharshis (great rishis), lords of living beings, (35) viz., Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachetas, Vaśishṭha, Bhṛigu, and Nārada.[61] 36. They, endowed with

[58] On this Kullūka the Commentator remarks: *Daivyā cha śaktyā mukhādibhyo brāhmaṇādi-nirmāṇam Brahmaṇo na visankanīyaṁ śruti-siddhatvāt* | "It is not to be doubted that, by his divine power, Brahmā formed the Brāhman and the other castes from his mouth and other members, since it is proved by the Veda. He then quotes the 12th verse of the Purusha Sūkta.

[59] See the Purusha Sūkta, verse 5.

[60] It will be observed that Manu applies this term *purusha* to three beings, *first* to Brahmā (v. 11), *second* to the male formed by Brahmā from the half of his own body (v. 32), and *third* to Virāj, the offspring of the male and female halves of Brahmā's body (v. 33). It will be noticed that this story of Brahmā dividing his body is borrowed from the passage of the S'. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, 1, quoted above.

[61] In the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 110, 2 ff., a different account is given of the origin of the world, in which no reference is made to Manu Svāyambhuva. The order of the creation there described is as follows: First everything was water. Then Brahmā Svāyāmbhū, with the deities, came into existence—Brahmā being said to have sprung

great energy, created[63] other seven Manus, gods, and abodes of gods, and Maharshis of boundless might; (37) Yakshas, Rakshases, Piśāchas, Gandharvas, Apsarases, Asuras, Nāgas, Serpents, great Birds, and the different classes of Pitṛis; (38) lightnings, thunderbolts, clouds, Indra's bows unbent and bent, meteors, portentous atmospheric sounds, comets, and various luminaries; (39) Kinnaras, apes, fishes, different sorts of birds, cattle, deer, MEN, beasts with two rows of teeth; (40) small and large reptiles, moths, lice, flies, fleas, all gadflies and gnats, and motionless things of different sorts. 41. Thus by my appointment, and by the force of devotion, was ALL THIS WORLD BOTH MOTIONLESS AND MOVING, created by those great beings, according to the (previous) actions of each creature."

The different portions of the preceding narrative of the creation of the human species are not easily reconcileable with each other. For it is first stated in verse 31, that men of the four castes proceeded separately from different parts of Brahmā's body,—prior (as it would appear) (1) to the division of that body into two parts and to the successive production (2) of Virāj, (3) Manu, and (4) the Maharshis, who formed all existing creatures. And yet we are told in verse 39, that MEN were among the beings called into existence by those Maharshis, and in verse 41, that the entire MOVING as well as motionless WORLD was their work. It is not said that the men created by the Maharshis were distinct from those composing the four castes, and we must, therefore, assume that the latter also are included under the general appellation of men. But if men of the four castes had been already produced before the formation of all living creatures by the Maharshis, what necessity existed for the men of these castes being a second time called into being as a part of that later creation? It is possible that this

from the æther (*ākāśa*). Brahmā, with his sons, created the world. From Brahmā sprang Marīchi; from Marīchi, Kaśyapa; from Kaśyapa, Vivasvat; and from Vivasvat, Manu Vaivasvata. The original of this passage is quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 29 ff.

[63] These great rishis seem to be the beings denoted by the word *viśvasṛijaḥ*, "creators of the universe," in the verse of Manu (xii. 50), which will be quoted below. Reference to rishis, or to seven rishis, as "formers of existing things" (*bhūta-kṛitaḥ*), is also found in the Atharvaveda, vi. 108, 4; vi. 133, 4, 5; xi. 1, 1, 3, 24; xii. 1, 39; and the word *bhūtakṛitaḥ*, without the addition of rishis, is found in the same work iii. 28, 1; iv. 35, 2, and xix. 16, 2.

allegation of the separate creation of castes may have been engrafted as an after-thought on the other account.[63]

After other details, regarding the propagation, nature, etc, of created things (vv. 42–50), the re-absorption of Brahmā into the Supreme Spirit, and his alternations of sleep and repose, etc. (vv. 50–57), Manu proceeds:

58. *Idaṁ śāstraṁ tu kṛitvā 'sau mām eva svayam āditaḥ | vidhivad grāhayāmāsa Marīchyādīṁś tv aham munīn* | 59. *Etad vo 'yam Bhṛiguḥ śāstraṁ śrāvayishyaty aśeshataḥ | etad hi matto 'dhijage sarvam esho 'khilam muniḥ* | 60. *Tatas tathā sa tenokto maharshir Manunā Bhṛiguḥ | tān abravīd ṛishīn sarvān prītātmā "śrūyatām" iti* | 61. *Svāyambhuvasyāsya Manoḥ shaḍ-vaṁśyā Manavo 'pare | sṛishṭavantaḥ prajāḥ svāḥ svāḥ mahātmāno mahaujasaḥ* | 62. *Svārochishaś chauttamiś cha Tāmaso Raivatas tathā | Chākshushaś cha mahātejā Vivasvat-suta eva cha* | 63. *Svāyambhuvādyāḥ saptaite Manavo bhūritejasaḥ | sve sve 'ntare sarvam idam utpādyāpuś charācharam* |

59. "Having formed this Scripture, he (Brahmā) himself in the beginning caused me to comprehend it according to rule; as I did to Marīchi and the other munis. 60. This Bhṛigu will give you to hear this scripture in its entirety; for this muni learned the whole from me. 61. Then that Maharshi (great rishi), Bhṛigu being so addressed by Manu, with pleasure addressed all those rishis, saying, 'Let it be heard.' 62. 'From this Manu Svāyambhuva sprang other Manus in six successive generations, great and glorious, who respectively created living beings of their own,—(63) viz., Svārochisha, Auttami, Tāmasa, Raivata, Chākshusha, and the mighty son of Vivasvat. 64. These seven[64] Manus of great power, of whom Svāyambhuva was the first, have each in his own period (*antara*) produced and possessed the world.'"

[63] In the same way it may be observed that in v. 22 Brahmā is said to have formed the subtile class of living gods whose essence is to act, and of the S'ādhyas (*karmātmanām cha devānām so 'sṛijat prāṇinām prabhuḥ | sādhyānām cha gaṇaṁ sūkshmam*), and in v. 25, to have "called into existence this creation, desiring to form these living beings" (*sṛishṭiṁ sasarja chaivemāṁ srashṭum ichchhann imāḥ prajāḥ*). But if the gods and all other creatures already existed, any such further account of their production by the Maharshis, as is given in verse 36, seems to be not only superfluous but contradictory.

[64] It will be observed that here Svāyambhuva is included in the seven Manus, although in verse 36 (see above) it is said that the ten Maharshis, who had themselves been created by Svāyambhuva (vv. 34 f.), produced seven other Manus.

After some preliminary explanations regarding the divisions of time as reckoned by men and gods, etc. (vv. 64-78), the author proceeds to tell us how long each of these Manus reigns:

79. *Yat prāk dvādaśa-sāhasram uditaṁ daivikaṁ yugam* | *tad eka-saptati-guṇam manvantaram ihochyate* | 80. *Manvantarāṇy asankhyāni sargaḥ saṁhāra eva cha* | *krīḍann ivaitat kurute Parameshṭhī punaḥ punaḥ* |

"The age (*yuga*) of the gods mentioned before, consisting of twelve thousand (years), when multiplied by seventy-one, is here called a manvantara. 80. There are innumerable manvantaras, creations and destructions. The Supreme Being performs this again and again, as if in sport."

A more detailed account of these great mundane periods will be given in the next section, when I come to take up the Vishṇu Purana. Meanwhile it may be remarked that the present manvantara is that of the last of the Manus above enumerated, or Manu Vaivasvata, who, according to verse 63, must have created the existing world. But if such be the case, it does not appear why the creation of Manu Svāyambhuva, with which the present race of mortals can have little to do, should have been by preference related to the rishis in vv. 33 ff. It must, however, be observed that in v. 33 Manu Svāyambhuva described himself as the former of "this" (*i.e.*, the existing) universe, and there is no doubt that the whole code of laws prescribed in the sequel of the work is intended by the author to be observed by the existing race of Indians (see verses 102 ff. of the first book). We must, therefore, suppose that the creations of the later Manus are substantially identical with that of the first; or that there is some confusion or inconsistency in the accounts which I have cited. Perhaps both suppositions may be correct.

In vv. 81-86, the four Yugas (or great ages of the world) the Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, aud Kali, their gradual deterioration, and the special duties peculiar to each, are described.[65]

[65] In v. 86 these predominant duties are said to be austere fervour in the Kṛita age, knowledge in the Tretā, sacrifice in the Dvāpara, and liberality alone in the Kali (*tapaḥ paraṁ Kṛita-yuge tretāyāṁ jnānam uchyate* | *dvāpare yajnam evāhur dānam ekam kalau yuge*). This, as remarked in Weber's Indische Studien, 282 f., note, is not quite in conformity with the view of the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, i. 2, 1, which states:

At verse 87, Bhṛigu recurs to the four castes:

87. *Sarvasyāsya tu sargasya gupty-artham sa mahādyutiḥ | mukha-bāhūru-paj-jānām pṛithak karmāṇy akalpayat |*

"For the preservation of this whole creation, that glorious being (Brahmā) ordained separate functions for those who sprang from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet."

These functions are then detailed (vv. 88-92). In verse 93, the grounds of the Brāhmans' pre-eminence are stated:

93. *Uttamāngobhavāj jyaishṭhyād brahmaṇaś chaiva dhāraṇāt | sarvasyaivāsya sargasya dharmato brāhmaṇaḥ prabhuḥ* | 94. *Tam hi svayambhūḥ svād āsyāt tapas taptvā "dito 'sṛijat* |

Since the Brahman sprang from the most excellent organ, since he is the first-born and possesses the Veda, he is by nature the lord of this whole creation. Him, the self-existent (Brahmā) after exercising fervid abstraction, formed at the first from his own mouth."

But as there are grades of excellence among created things, and among men themselves (96), so are there also among Brahmans:

97. *Brāhmaṇeshu cha vidvāṁso vidvatsu kṛita-buddhayaḥ | kṛita-buddhishu karttāraḥ karttṛishu brahma-vedinaḥ* |

"Among Brāhmans the learned are the most excellent, among the learned the resolute, among the resolute those who act, and among them who act they who possess divine knowledge."

In a subsequent part of the work (xii. 40 ff.) we find men in general, the castes, and indeed all existing things, from Brahmā downwards, classified according to their participation in different degrees in the three *guṇas*, or qualities (*sattva*, "goodness," *rajas*, "passion," and *tamas*, "darkness").

39. *Yena yāṁs tu guṇenaishāṁ saṁsārān pratipadyate | tān samāsena vakshyāmi sarvasyāsya yathākramam* | 40. *Devatvaṁ sāttvikā yānti manushyatvaṁ cha rājasāḥ | tiryaktvaṁ tāmasā nityam ity eshā tri-*

tat etat satyam mantreshu karmāṇi kavayo yāny apaśyaṁs tāni tretāyām bahudhā santatāni | "This is true: the rites which sages beheld in the hymns, are in great variety celebrated in the Tretā." In the same way the M. Bh. iii. v. 11,248, says that sacrifices and rites prevail in the Tretā (*tato yajnāḥ pravarttante dharmāś cha vividhāḥ kriyāḥ | tretāyām ityādi*). See also M. Bh. xii. 13,090. The word *kṛita*, as the name of the first yuga is thus explained in a previous verse of the former of these two passages (11,235): *kṛitam eva na karttavyaṁ tasmin kāle yugottame* | "In the time of that most excellent *Yuga* (everything) has been done, (and does) not (remain) to be done."

vidhā gatiḥ | . . . 43. *Hastinaś cha turangāś cha śūdrā mlechhāś cha garhitāḥ* | *siṁhā vyāghrā varāhāś cha madhyamā tāmasī gatiḥ* | . . . 46. *Rājānaḥ kshattriyāś chaiva rājnaś chaiva purohitāḥ* | *vāda-yuddha-pradhānāś cha madhyamā rājasī gatiḥ* | . . . 48. *Tāpasā yatayo viprā ye cha vaimānikā gaṇāḥ* | *nakshatrāṇi cha daityāś cha prathamā sāttvikī gatiḥ* | 49. *Yajvāna ṛishayo devā vedā jyotīṁshi vatsarāḥ* | *pitaraś chaiva sādhyāś cha dvitīyā sāttvikī gatiḥ* | 50. *Brahmā viśvasṛijo dharmo mahān avyaktam eva cha* | *uttamāṁ sāttvikīm etāṁ gatim āhur manīshinaḥ* |

"39. I shall now declare succinctly in order the states which the soul reaches by means of each of these qualities. 40. Souls endowed with the *sattva* quality attain to godhead; those having the *rajas* quality become men; whilst those characterized by *tamas* always become beasts—such is the threefold destination . . . 43. Elephants, horses, Śūdras and contemptible Mlechhas, lions, tigers, and boars form the middle dark condition . . . 46. Kings, Kshattriyas, a king's priests (*purohitāḥ*), and men whose chief occupation is the war of words, compose the middle condition of passion . . . 48. Devotees, ascetics, Brāhmans, the deities borne on aerial cars, constellations, and Daityas, constitute the lowest condition of goodness. 49. Sacrificing priests, rishis, gods, the vedas, the celestial luminaries, years, the fathers, the Sādhyas, form the second condition of goodness. 50. Brahmā, the creators,[66] righteousness, the Great One (*mahat*), the Unapparent One (*avyakta*), compose the highest condition of goodness."

[66] These "creators" (*viśvasṛijaḥ*) are thus mentioned in Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 9, 2. *Ādarśam Agniṁ ehinvānāḥ pūrve viśvasṛijo 'mṛitāḥ* | *śataṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi dīkshitāḥ satram āsata* | 3. *tapaḥ āsīd gṛihapatir Brahma brahmā 'bhavat svayam* | *satyaṁ ha hotaishām āsīd yad viśvasṛija āsata* | *amṛitam ebhya udagāyat sahasram parivatsarān* | *bhūtaṁ ha prastotaishām āsīd bhavishyat prati chāharat* | *prāṇo adhvaryur abhavad idaṁ sarvaṁ sishāsatām* | . . . 7. *Viśvasṛijaḥ prathamāḥ satram āsata* | . . . . | *tato ha jajne bhuvanasya gopāḥ hiraṇmayaḥ śakunir Brahma nāma* | *yena sūryas tapati tejaseddhaḥ* | . . . . 8. *Etena vai viśvasṛijaḥ idaṁ viśvam asṛijanta* | *yad viśvam asṛijanta tasmād viśvasṛijaḥ* | *viśvam enān anu prajāyate* | "2. The ancient and immortal creators of the universe, keeping fire kindled till they saw the new moon, and consecrated, were engaged in a sacrifice for 100,000 years. 3. Austere fervour was the householder; Prayer itself (*brahma*) was the brahmā priest; Truth was their hotṛi, when the creators were so occupied. Immortality was their udgātṛi for a thousand years. The Past was their prastotṛi, the Future their pratihartṛi; Breath was the adhvaryu, whilst they were seeking to obtain all this." After a good deal more of this allegory, the author proceeds in para.: 7. "These first

It will be observed that the different parts of this account of the mode in which the three qualities are distributed, are not quite in harmony. From v. 40 it would appear that all souls having the quality of passion become men; and yet we find from vv. 43, 48, and 49, that Sūdras belong to the *tāmasa* class, and Brāhmans, of different descriptions, to two of the *Sāttvika* grades. According to the rule enunciated in v. 40, the latter ought to have been born as gods.

It is, further, remarkable that in this enumeration Sūdras are found in the same category with Mlechhas (v. 43), that the Vaiśyas are not accommodated with a position in any of the classes, that Kshattriyas and kings' domestic priests, who are of course Brāhmans, and others (who must be Brāhmans) fond of disputation on learned questions[67] (though not stated to be heretical) are ranked together as "passionate" (v. 46), while other Brāhmans of different characters are placed in two of the higher grades, Brāhmans simply so called (*viprāḥ*) being regarded as "good" in the lowest degree (v. 48), and sacrificing priests (*yajvānaḥ*) sharing with rishis, gods, the vedas, etc., the honour of the middle condition of goodness. It is not clear whether the devotees, and ascetics, mentioned in v. 48, belong to the same caste as the Brāhmans with whom they are associated, or may also be men of the inferior classes. Nor is it evident for what reason the sacrificing priests (*yajvānaḥ*), specified in v. 49, are so much more highly estimated than the king's priests (*rājnaḥ purohitāḥ*) in v. 46, since the latter also officiate at sacrifices. The honourable position assigned to Daityas in the lowest class of "good" beings (v. 48) is also deserving of notice. We shall see in the following chapter that the Purānas variously describe mankind as belonging entirely to the "passionate" class (see v. 40, above) and as characterized by the three other "qualities," according to their caste.

creators were engaged in sacrifice . . . Thence was born the preserver of the world, the golden bird called Brahma, by whom the sun glows, kindled with light. . . . 8. . . . Through this the creators created this universe. As they created the universe, they are called viśvasṛijaḥ. . Everything is created after them." See above the reference made to *ṛishayo bhūta-kṛitaḥ* in p. 36. The allegory in this extract from the Taitt. Br. resembles in its character that in the sixth verse of the Purusha Sūkta.

[67] *Śārstārthakalaha-priyāś cha* | Comm.

Sect. VI.—*Account of the System of Yugas, Manvantaras, and Kalpas, according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and other authorities.*

I shall in the next section adduce the description given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa of the creation of living creatures, and the origin of the four castes, after first supplying in the present some explanation of the great mundane periods, the *Yugas*, *Manvantaras*, *Kalpas*, etc.

The computations of these great periods are stated in the third chapter of the first book, and in the first chapter of the sixth book, and are clearly explained by Professor Wilson in his notes to page 50 of his translation.

One year of mortals is equal to one day of the gods.[68]

12,000 divine years are equal to a period of four Yugas, which is thus made up, viz.:

Kṛita Yuga with its mornings and evenings				4,800	divine years		
Tretā Yuga	„	„	„	„ 3,600	„	„	
Dvāpara Yuga	„	„	„	„ 2,400	„	„	
Kali Yuga	„	„	„	„ 1,200	„	„	

making... 12,000 divine years.[69]

As a day of the gods is = to one year of mortals, the 12,000 divine years must be multiplied by 360, the assumed number of days in a year, to give the number of the years of mortals in this great period of four yugas, thus: 12,000 divine years × 360 = 4,320,000 years of mortals. 1000 of these periods of 12,000 divine, or 4,320,000 human, years—*i.e.*, 4,320,000,000 human years are = 1 day of Brahmā,[70] and his night is of the same duration. Within that period of a day of Brahmā, 14 Manus reign,[71] and a Manvantara, or period of Manu,

[68] Vishṇu P. vi. 1, 4 *ahorātram pitṛīṇāṁ tu māso 'bdas tridivaukasām* | See also Manu i. 66 and 67. The Taitt. Br. iii. 9, 22, 1, too, states: *ekaṁ vai etad devānām ahar yat saṁvatsaraḥ* | "This period of a year is one day of the gods."

[69] i. 3, 10. *Divyair varsha-sahasraistu kṛita-tretādi-sanjnitam* | *chaturyugaṁ dvādaśabhis tad-vibhāgaṁ nibodha me* | 11. *chatvāri trīṇi dve chaikam kṛitādishu yathākramam* | *divyābdānām sahasrāṇi yugeshv āhur purāvidah* | 12. *Tat-pramāṇaiḥ śataiḥ sandhyā pūrvā tatrābhidhīyate* | *sandhyāṁśakaś cha tat-tulyo yugasyānantaro hi saḥ* | 13. *Sandhyā-sandhyāṁśayor antar yaḥ kālo muni-sattama* | *yugākhyaḥ sa tu vijneyaḥ kṛita-tretādi-sanjnitaḥ* |

[70] V. P. i. 3, 14. *Kṛitaṁ tretā dvāparaś cha kaliś chaiva chaturyugam* | *prochyate tat-sahasraṁ cha Brahmaṇo divasam mune* | See also Manu i. 72.

[71] V. P. i. 3, 15. *Brahmaṇo divase brahman Manavaś cha chaturdaśa* | *bhavanti* |

is consequently = the 14th part of a day of Brahmā. In the present Kalpa (= a day of Brahmā) six Manus, of whom Svāyambhuva was the first, have already passed away, the present Manu being Vaivasvata.[72] In each Manvantara seven rishis, certain deities, an Indra, a Manu, and the kings, his sons, are created and perish.[73] A thousand of the systems of 4 Yugas, as has been before explained, occur coincidently with these 14 Manvantaras; and consequently about 71 systems of 4 Yugas elapse during each Manvantara, and measure the lives of the Manu and the deities of the period.[74] At the close of this day of Brahmā a collapse (*pratisancharaḥ*) of the universe takes place, which lasts through a night of Brahmā, equal in duration to his day, during which period the three worlds are converted into one great ocean, when the lotus-born god,[75] expanded by his deglutition of the universe, and contemplated by the yogis and gods in Janaloka, sleeps on the serpent S'esha. At the end of that night he awakes and creates anew.[76]

A year of Brahmā is composed of the proper number of such days and nights; and 100 such years constitute his whole life. The period of his life is called *Para*, and the half of it *Parārddha*, or the half of a *Para*. One Parārddha, or half of Brahmā's existence, has now expired, terminating with the great Kalpa, called the Pādma Kalpa. The now existing Kalpa, or day of Brahmā, called Vārāha (or that of the boar), is the first of the second Parārddha of Brahmā's existence.[77] The

[72] This is stated by Manu i. 62 ff. (see above), as well as in the third book of the V. P. i. 3, which gives the names in the same order: *Svāyambhuvo Manuḥ pūrvo Manuḥ Svārochishas tathā | Auttamis Tāmasas chaiva Raivatas Chākshushas tathā | shaḍ ete Manavo 'tītāḥ sāmpratam tu Raveḥ sutaḥ | Vaivasvato 'yam yasyaitat saptamam varttate 'ntaram |*

[73] V. P. i. 3, 16. *Saptarshayaḥ surāḥ S'akro Manus tat-sūnavo nṛipāh | ekakāle hi sṛijyante samhriyante cha pūrvavat |*

[74] Ibid ver. 17. *Chaturyugānām sankhyātā sādhikā hy eka saptatiḥ | manvantaram Manoḥ kālaḥ suradīnām cha sattama |* See also Manu i. 79.

[75] The birth of Prajāpati on a lotus-leaf is mentioned in the Taitt. Ārany. i. 23, 1, quoted above, p. 32.

[76] Ibid 20. *Chaturdasa-guṇo hy esha kālo brāhmam ahaḥ smṛitam | brāhmo naimittiko nāma tasyānte pratisancharaḥ | . . .* 22. *Ekārṇave tu trailokye Brahmā Nārāyaṇātmakaḥ | bhogi-śayyāgataḥ śete trailokya-grāsa-vṛimhitaḥ |* 23. *Janasthair yogibhir devais chintyamāno 'bja-sambhavaḥ | tat-pramāṇām hi tām rātrim tadante sṛijate punaḥ |* See also V. P. i. 2, 59–62, as translated by Wilson, vol. i. p. 41.

[77] Ibid ver. 24. *Evam tu Brahmaṇo varsham evam varsha-śatam cha tat | śatam hi tasya varshāṇām param āyur mahātmanaḥ |* 25. *Ekam asya vyatītam tu parārddham Brahmaṇo 'nagha | tasyānte 'bhūd mahākalpaḥ Pādmaḥ ity abhiviśrutaḥ | dvitīyasya*

dissolution, which occurs at the end of each Kalpa, or day of Brahmā, is called *naimittika*, incidental, occasional, or contingent. (See Wilson's Vishṇu Purana, vol. i. of Dr. Hall's edition, p. 52, with the editor's note; and vol. ii. p. 269. For an account of the other dissolutions of the universe I refer to the same work, vol. i. p. 113, and to pp. 630–633 of the original 4to. edition.)

Of this elaborate system of Yugas, Manvantaras, and Kalpas, of enormous duration, no traces are found in the hymns of the Rig-veda. Their authors were, indeed, familiar with the word *Yuga*,[78] which frequently occurs in the sense of age, generation, or tribe. Thus in i. 139, 8; iii. 26, 3; vi. 8, 5; vi. 15, 8; vi. 36, 5; x. 94, 12, the phrase *yuge yuge*[79] means "in every age." In iii. 33, 8; x. 10, 10, we have *uttarā yugāni*, "future ages," and in x. 72, 1, *uttare yuge*, "in a later age;" in vii. 70, 4, *pūrvāṇi yugāni*, "former ages,"[80] and in i. 184, 3, *yuga jūrṇā*, "past ages." In i. 92, 11; i. 103, 4; i. 115, 2; i. 124, 2; i. 144, 4;[81] ii. 2, 2; v. 52, 4; vi. 16, 23; vii. 9, 4; viii. 46, 12; viii. 51, 9; ix. 12, 7;[82] x. 27, 19; x. 140, 6[83] (in all of which places, except i. 115, 2, the word is combined with *manushyā*, *mānushā*, *manushaḥ*, or *janānām*), *yuga* seems to denote "generations" of men, or

parārddhasya varttamānasya vai dvija | Vārāhaḥ iti kalpo 'yam prathamaḥ parikalpitaḥ |

[78] In Professor Willson's Dictionary three senses are assigned to *yuga* (neuter) (1) a pair; (2) an age as the Kṛita, Tretā, etc.; (3) a lustre, or period of five years. When used as masculine the word means, according to the same authority, (1) a yoke; (2) a measure of four cubits, etc.; (3) a particular drug.

[79] Sāyana, on iii. 36, 3, explains it by *pratidinam*, "every day;" on vi. 8, 5; vi. 15, 8; vi. 36, 5, by *kāle kāle*, "at every time."

[80] Sāyana takes the phrase for former "couples of husbands and wives," *mithunāni jāyāpatirūpāṇi*.

[81] In i. 92, 11 and i. 124, 2, Ushas (the Dawn) is spoken of as, *praminatī manushyā yugāni*, "wearing away human terms of existence, or generations." In commenting on the former text Sāyana explains *yugāni* as equivalent to *kṛita-tretādīni*, "the Kṛita, Tretā, and other ages," whilst in explaining the second, he takes the same word as signifying *yugopalakshitān nimeshādi-kālāvayavān*, "the seconds and other component parts of time indicated by the word," or as equivalent to *yugmāni*, "the conjunctions of men,"—since the dawn scatters abroad to their several occupations men who had been previously congregated together!" In his note on i. 144, 4, he gives an option of two different senses: *manoḥ sambhandhīni yugāni jāyāpati-rupāṇi hotradhvaryu-rūpāṇi vā* | "couples consisting of husband and wife, or of the hotṛi and adhvaryu priests."

[82] This verse, ix. 12, 7, is also found in Sāma V. ii. 552, where, however, *yujā* is substituted for *yugā*.

[83] This verse occurs also in Sāma V. ii. 1171, and Vāj. S. xii. 111.

rather, in some places, "tribes" of men. In v. 73, 3, the phrase *nāhushā yugā* must have a similar meaning. In i. 158, 6, it is said that the rishi Dīrghatamas became worn out in the tenth *yuga*; on which Professor Wilson remarks (R. V. vol. ii. 104, note): "The scholiast understands *yuga* in its ordinary interpretation; but the *yuga* of five years is perhaps intended, a lustrum, which would be nothing marvellous." Professor Aufrecht proposes to render, "in the tenth stage of life." The first passage of the Rig-veda, in which there is any indication of a considerable mundane period being denoted, is x. 72, 2 f., where "a first," or, "an earlier age (*yuga*) of the gods" is mentioned (*devānām pūrvye yuge; devānām prathame yuge*) when "the existent sprang from the non-existent" (*asataḥ sad ajāyata*); but no allusion is made to its length. In the same indefinite way reference is made in x. 97, 1, to certain "plants which were produced before the gods,—three ages (*yugas*) earlier" (*yāḥ oshadhīḥ pūrvāḥ jātāḥ devebhyas triyugam purā*). In one verse of the Atharva-veda, however, the word *yuga* is so employed as to lead to the supposition that a period of very long duration is intended. It is there said, viii. 2, 21: *śataṁ te ayutaṁ hāyanān dve yuge trīṇi chatvāri kṛiṇmaḥ* | "we allot to thee a hundred, ten thousand, years, two, three, four ages (*yugas*)."[84] As we may with probability assume that the periods here mentioned proceed in the ascending scale of duration, two *yugas*, and perhaps even one *yuga*, must be supposed to exceed 10,000 years.

The earliest comparison between divine and human periods of duration of which I am aware is found in the text of the Taitt. Br. quoted above in a note to p. 42: "A year is one day of the gods.[85] But so far as that passage itself shows, there is no reason to imagine that the statement it contains was anything more than an isolated idea, or that the conception had, at the time when the Brāhmaṇas were compiled, been developed, and a system of immense mundane periods, whether

[84] For the context of this line see Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, page 42.

[85] An analogous idea is found in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa xiv. 7, 1, 33 ff. (= Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad pp. 817 ff. of Cal. ed.) *atha ye śataṁ manushyāṇām ānandāḥ sa ekaḥ pitṛīṇāṁ jitalokānām ānandaḥ* | "now a hundred pleasures of men are one pleasure of the Pitṛis who have conquered the worlds." And so on in the same way; a hundred pleasures of the Pitṛis equalling one pleasure of the Karmadevas (or gods who have become so by works); a hundred pleasures of the latter equalling one pleasure of the gods who were born such, etc.

human or divine, had been elaborated. That, however, the authors of the Brāhmanas were becoming familiar with the idea of extravagantly large numbers is clear from the passage in the Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 9, 2, quoted above, p. 41, in the note on Manu xii. 50, where it is said that the creators were engaged in a sacrifice for 100,000 years.

Professor Roth is of opinion (see his remarks under the word Kṛita in his Lexicon) that according to the earlier conception stated in Manu i. 69, and the Mahābhārata (12,826 ff.), the four Yugas—Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali, with their mornings and evenings, consisted respectively of no more than 4,800; 3,600; 2,400; and 1,200 ordinary years of mortals; and that it was the commentators on Manu, and the compilers of the Purāṇas, who first converted the years of which they were made up into divine years. The verse of Manu to which Professor Roth refers (i. 69), and the one which follows, are certainly quite silent about the years composing the Kṛita age being divine years:

Chatvāry āhuḥ sahasrāṇi varshāṇām tu kṛitam̃ yugam | *tasya tāvach chhatī sandhyā sandhyām̃śchaścha tathāvidhaḥ* | 70. *Itareshu sasandhyeshu sasandhām̃śeshu cha trishu* | *ekāpāyena varttante sahasrāṇi śatāni cha* | "They say that four thousand years compose the kṛita yuga, with as many hundred years for its morning and the same for its evening. 70. In the other three yugas, with their mornings and evenings, the thousands and hundreds are diminished successively by one."

Verse 71 is as follows: *Yad etat parisankhyātam ādāv eva chaturyugam* | *etad dvādaśa-sāhasram̃ devānām̃ yugam uchyate* | which, as explained by Medhātithi, may be thus rendered: "Twelve thousand of these periods of four yugas, as above reckoned, are called a Yuga of the gods." Medhātithi's words, as quoted by Kullūka, are these: *Chaturyugair eva dvādaśa-sahasra-sankhyair divyam yugam* | "A divine Yuga is formed by four yugas to the number of twelve thousand." Kullūka, however, says that his predecessor's explanation is mistaken, and must not be adopted (*Medhātither bhramo nādarttavyaḥ*). His own opinion is that the system of yugas mentioned in vv. 69 and 71 are identical, both being made up of divine years. According to this view, we must translate v. 71 as follows: "The period of four yugas, consisting of twelve thousand years, which has been reckoned above, is called a Yuga of the gods." This certainly appears to be the

preferable translation, and it is confirmed by the tenor of verse 79. Verse 71, however, may represent a later stage of opinion, as it is not found in the following passage of the Mahābhārata, where the previous verse (69) is repeated, and verse 70 is expanded into three verses, though without any alteration of the sense:

M. Bh. iii. 12826 ff. — *Ādito manuja-vyāghra kṛitsnasya jagataḥ kshaye | chatvāry āhuḥ sahasrāṇi varshāṇāṁ tat kṛitaṁ yugam | tasya tāvachchhatī sandhyā sandhyāṁścha tathāvidhaḥ |*

"In the beginning, after the destruction of the entire universe, they say that there are four thousand years: that is the Kṛita Yuga, which has a morning of as many hundred years, and an evening of the same duration." And then, after enumerating in like manner the other three Yugas with their respective thousands and hundreds successively diminished by one, the speaker (the sage Mārkaṇḍeya) proceeds in verse 12831: *Eshā dvādaśahasrī yugākhyā parikīrttitā | etat sahasra-paryantam aho brāhmam udāhṛitam |* "This period of twelve thousand years is known by the appellation of the Yugas. A period extending to a thousand of these is called a day of Brahmā."

Nowhere, certainly, in this passage is any mention made of the years being divine years.

The earliest known text in which the names of the four Yugas are found is a verse occurring in the story of Śunaḥśepha in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vii. 15: *Kaliḥ śayāno bhavati sanjihānas tu dvāparaḥ | uttishṭhaṁs tretā bhavati kṛitaṁ sampadyate charan |* "A man while lying is the Kali; moving himself, he is the Dvāpara; rising, he is the Tretā; walking, he becomes the Kṛita."[86] But this brief allusion leaves us

[86] This verse has been already translated no less than six times; twice into German by Weber and Roth (Ind. Stud. i. 286 and 460), once into Latin by Streiter (see Ind. Stud. ix. 315), and thrice into English, by Wilson (Journ. R. A. S. for 1851, p. 99), Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 412), and Haug (Ait. Br. ii. 464). All these authors, except the last, concur in considering the verse as referring to the four Yugas. Dr. Haug, however, has the following note: "Sāyana does not give any explanation of this important passage, where the names of the Yugas are mentioned for the first time. These four names are, as is well known from other sources, . . . names of dice, used at gambling. The meaning of this Gāthā is, There is every success to be hoped; for the unluckiest die, the Kali is lying, two others are slowly moving and half fallen, but the luckiest, the Kṛita, is in full motion. The position of dice here given is indicatory of a fair chance of winning the game." Both Dr. Haug's translation and note are criticised by Professor Weber (Ind. Stud. ix. 319). Of the following verses, which occur in Manu ix. 301 f., the second is a paraphrase of that in the Aitareya Brāh-

quite in the dark as to the duration which was assigned to these *yugas* in the age when the Brāhmaṇa was compiled.

SECT. VII.—*Account of the different creations, including that of the castes, according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa.*

I commence with the following general account of the cosmogony of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, extracted from Professor Wilson's Preface to his translation of that work, vol. i. p. xciii.:

"The first book of the six, into which the work is divided, is occupied chiefly with the details of creation, primary (*sarga*), and secondary (*pratisarga*); the first explains how the universe proceeds from Prakṛiti, or eternal crude matter;[87] the second, in what manner the forms of things are developed from the elementary substances previously evolved, or how they re-appear after their temporary destruction.[88] Both these creations are periodical; but the termination of the first occurs only at the end of the life of Brahmā, when not only all the gods and all other forms are annihilated, but the elements are again merged into primary substance, besides which only one spiritual being exists. The latter takes place at the end of every Kalpa or day of Brahmā, and affects only the forms of inferior creatures and lower worlds, leaving the substances of the universe entire, and sages and gods unharmed."[89]

mana: *Kṛitam tretā-yugaṁ chaiva dvāparaṁ kalir eva cha | rājno vṛittāni sarvāṇi rājā hi yugam uchyate* | 302. *Kaliḥ prasupto bhavati sa jāgrad dvāparam yugam | karmasv abhyudyatas tretā vicharaṁs tu kṛitaṁ yugam* | "301. The Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali yugas are all modes of a king's action; for a king is called a yuga. 302. While asleep he is the Kali; waking he is the Dvāpara age; intent upon action he is the Tretā, moving about he is the Kṛita." The former of these two verses of Manu is reproduced nearly verbatim in the M. Bh. xii. 3408; and the same idea is expanded in the same book of the same poem, vv. 2674 ff., 2682, 2684, 2686, 2693 ff. The words *kṛita*, *tretā*, *dvāpara*, and *kali*, are found in the Vāj.-Sanhitā, xxx. 18, and in the Taitt. Brāhmana, iii. 4, 1, 16; but in both places they denote dice, as does also the word *kṛita* in the Chhāndogya Upan. iv. 1, 4 (where see the commentary). On the Yugas the reader of German may also consult Weber's Indische Studien, i. pp. 39, 87 f., 282 ff.

[87] [See Book i. chapter ii.]

[88] [See the fourth and following chapters of Book i.]

[89] See Book i. at the close of chapter vii. p. 113 of vol. i. of Professor Wilson's translation, 2nd edition, and also p. 621 and 630 of the original 4to. edition. As regards,

I proceed with the details of the creation which took place in the Vārāha Kalpa, as described in book i. chapter 4, vv. 2, ff: :

Atīta-kalpāvasāne niśā-suptotthitaḥ prabhuḥ | sattvodriktas tato Brahmā śūnyaṁ lokam avaikshata | 3. Nārāyaṇaḥ paro 'chintyaḥ pareshām api sa prabhuḥ | Brahma-svarūpī bhavagān anādiḥ sarva-sambhavaḥ | . . . 6. Toyāntaḥ sa mahīṁ jnātvā jagaty ekārṇave prabhuḥ | anumānād tad-uddhāraṁ karttu-kāmaḥ prajāpatiḥ | 7. Akarot sa tanūm anyāṁ kalpādishu yathā purā | matsya-kūrmādikāṁ tadvad vārāhaṁ vapur āsthitaḥ | 8. Veda-yajnamayaṁ rūpam aśesha-jagataḥ sthitau | sthitaḥ sthirātmā sarvātmā paramātmā prajāpatiḥ | 9. Jana-loka-gataiḥ siddhair Sanakādyair abhishṭhutaḥ | praviveśa tadā toyam ātmādhāro dharā-dharaḥ | . . . . 45. Evaṁ śaṁstūyamānastu paramātmā mahīdharaḥ | ujjahāra mahīṁ kshipraṁ nyastavāṁś cha mahāmbhasi | 46. Tasyopari jalaughasya mahatī naur iva sthitā | vitatatatvāt tu dehasya na mahī yāti samplavam | tataḥ kshitiṁ samāṁ kṛitvā pṛithivyāṁ so 'chinod girīn | yathā-vibhāgam bhagavān anādiḥ purushottamaḥ | 47. Prāk-sarga-dagdhān akhilān parvatān pṛithivītale | amoghena prabhāvena sasarjāmogha-vāṁchhitaḥ | 48. Bhuvi bhāgaṁ tataḥ kṛitvā sapta-dvīpān yathātathā | bhūr-ādyāṁś chaturo lokān pūrvavat samakalpayat | 49. Brahma-rūpadharo devas tato 'sau rajasā "vṛitaḥ | chakāra sṛishṭim bhagavāṁś chatur-vaktra-dharo Hariḥ | 50. nimitta-mātram evāsau sṛijyānāṁ sarga-karmaṇām | pradhāna-kāraṇībhūtā yato vai sṛijya-śaktayaḥ | 51. Nimitta-mātram muktvaikam nānyat kinchid apekshyate | nīyate tapatāṁ śreshṭha sva-śaktyā vastu vastutām |

"2. At the end of the past (or Pādma) Kalpa, arising from his night slumber, Brahmā, the lord, endowed predominantly with the quality of goodness, beheld the universe void. 3. He (was) the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa, who cannot even be conceived by other beings, the deity without beginning, the source of all things, existing in the form of Brahmā." [The verse given in Manu i. 10, regarding the derivation of the word Nārāyaṇa (see above p. 35) is here quoted]. "6. This lord of creatures, discovering by inference,—when the world had become one ocean,—that the earth lay within the waters, and being desirous to raise it up, (7) assumed another body. As formerly, at the beginnings of the Kalpas, he had taken the form of a fish,

however, the statement with which the paragraph concludes, compare vol. i. p. 50, as well as vol. ii. p. 269, of the same work.

a tortoise, and so forth,[90] (so now) entering the body of a boar (8),—a form composed of the vedas and of sacrifice,—the lord of creatures, who, throughout the entire continuance of the world, remains fixed, the universal soul, the supreme soul, self-sustained, the supporter of the earth (9),—being hymned by Sanaka and the other saints, who had (at the dissolution of the lower worlds) proceeded to Janaloka,—entered the water." [He is then addressed by the goddess Earth in a hymn of praise, as Vishṇu, and as the supreme Brahmă, vv. 10-24. The boar then rises from the lower regions, tossing up the earth with his tusk, and is again lauded by Sanandana and other saints in a second hymn, in the course of which he himself is identified with sacrifice, and his various members with its different instruments and accompaniments, vv. 25-44]. "45. Being thus lauded, the supreme soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted her up quickly and placed her upon the great waters. 46. Resting upon this mass of water, like a vast ship, she does not sink, owing to her expansion. Then, having levelled the earth, the divine eternal Purushottasna heaped together mountains according to their divisions. 47. He whose will cannot be frustrated, by his unfailing power, created on the surface of the earth all those mountains which had been burnt up in the former creation. 48. Having then divided the earth, just as it had been, into seven dvîpas, he formed the four worlds Bhûrloka and others as before. 49. Becoming next pervaded with the quality of passion, that divine being Hari, assuming the form of Brahmā, with four faces, effected the creation. 50. But he is merely the instrumental cause of the things to be created and of the creative operations, since the properties of the things to be created arise from Pradhāna as their (material) cause. 51. Excepting an instrumental cause alone, nothing else is required. Every substance (*vastu*) is brought into the state of substance (*vastutā*) by its own inherent power."[91]

[90] No mention is made in the Brāhmaṇas (as I have already observed) of any such periods as the Kalpas. But here an attempt is made to systematize the different stories scattered through those older works which variously describe the manner in which the creation was effected—with the view, perhaps, of reconciling the discrepancies in those free and artless speculations which offended the critical sense of a later age.

[91] See Professor Wilson's translation of these verses, and the new version proposed by the editor of the second edition, Dr. Hall, p. 66, note. I do not think the phrase

[Before proceeding further with the narrative of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, I wish to quote or refer to some passages from the Taittirīya Sanhitā and Brāhmaṇa and from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which appear to furnish the original germs of the legends of the boar, fish, tortoise, and dwarf incarnations.

The first of these texts is from the Taittirīya Sanhitā, vii. 1, 5, 1 ff:

Āpo vai idam agre salilam āsīt | tasmin Prajāpatir vāyur bhūtvā acharat | sa imām apaśyat | taṁ varāho bhūtvā āharat | tām Viśvakarmā bhūtvā vyamārṭ | sā aprathata | sā pṛithivy abhavat | tat pṛithivyai pṛithivitvam | tasyām aśrāmyat Prajāpatiḥ | sa devān asṛijata Vasūn Rudrān Ādityān | te devāḥ Prajāpatim abruvan "prajāyāmahai" iti | so 'bravīd "yathā aham yushmāṁs tapasā asṛikshi evaṁ tapasi prajananam ichchhadhvam" iti | tebhyo 'gnim āyatanam prāyachhad "etena āyatanena śrāmyata" iti | te 'gninā āyatanena aśrāmyan | te saṁvatsare ekāṁ gām asṛijanta |

"This universe was formerly waters, fluid. On it Prajāpati, becoming wind, moved.[92] He saw this (earth). Becoming a boar, he took her up. Becoming Viśvakarman, he wiped (the moisture from) her. She extended. She became the extended one (*pṛithivī*). From this the earth derives her designation as the extended one. In her Prajāpati performed arduous devotion. He created gods, Vasus, Rudras, and Adityas. The gods said to Prajāpati, 'let us be propagated.' He answered, 'As I have created you through austere fervour, so do ye seek after propagation in austere fervour.' He gave them Agni as a resting-place (saying), 'With this as a resting-place perform your devotion.' They (accordingly) performed devotion with Agni as a resting-place. In a year they created one cow, etc."[93]

sva-śaktyā can be properly rendered, as Dr. Hall does, "by its potency." The reading of the MSS. in v. 60, *pradhāna-kāraṇībhūtāḥ* seems to me doubtful, as it would most naturally mean "have *become* the Pradhāna-cause." I conjecture *pradhāna-kāraṇodbhūtaḥ*, which gives the sense which seems to be required.

[92] It is possible that the idea assigned to the word Nārāyaṇa (see Manu i. 10, above), "he whose place of movement is the waters," may be connected with this passage. See also Genesis i. 2, "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

[93] After having noticed this passage in the Taittirīya Sanhitā, I became aware that it had been previously translated by Mr. Colebrooke (Essays i. 75, or p. 44 of Williams & Norgate's edition). Mr. Colebrooke prefaces his version by remarking, "The pre-

The second passage is from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 1, 3, 5 ff. *Āpo vai idam agre salilam āsīt | tena Prajāpatir aśrāmyat "katham idaṁ syād" iti | so 'paśyat pushkara-parnaṁ tishṭhat | so 'manyata "asti vai tad yasminn idam adhitishṭhati" iti | sa varāho rūpaṁ kritvā upanyamajjat | sa prithivīm adhaḥ ārchhat | tasyā upahatya udamajjat | tat pushkara-parṇe 'prathayat | yad "aprathata" tat prithivyai prithivitvam | "abhūd vai idam" iti tad bhūmyai bhūmitvam | tāṁ diśo 'nu vātaḥ samavahat | tāṁ śarkarābhir adṛiṁhat |*

"This (universe) was formerly water, fluid.[94] With that (water) Prajāpati practised arduous devotion (saying), 'how shall this (universe be (developed)?' He beheld a lotus-leaf standing.[95] He thought, 'there is somewhat on which this (lotus-leaf) rests.' He as a boar—having assumed that form—plunged beneath towards it. He found the earth down below. Breaking off (a portion of) her, he rose to the surface. He then extended it on the lotus-leaf. Inasmuch as he extended it, that is the extension of the extended one (the earth). This became (*abhūt*). From this the earth derives its name of *bhūmī*. The wind carried her, to the four quarters. He strengthened her with gravel, etc., etc.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 1, 2, 11, has the following reference to the same idea, although here Prajāpati himself is not the boar:

Iyatī ha vai iyam agre prithivy āsa prādeśa-mātrī | tām Emūshaḥ iti varāhaḥ ujjaghāna | so 'syāḥ patiḥ Prajāpatis tena eva enam etan-mithunena priyeṇa dhāmnā samardhayati kritsnaṁ karoti |

"Formerly this earth was only so large, of the size of a span. A boar called Emūsha raised her up. Her lord Prajāpati, therefore, prospers him with (the gift of) this pair, the object of his desire, and makes him complete."

Another of the incarnations referred to in the preceding passage of

sent extract was recommended for selection by its allusion to a mythological notion, which apparently gave origin to the story of the *Varāha-avatāra*, and from which an astronomical period, entitled *Calpa*, has perhaps been taken."

[94] The Commentator gives an alternative explanation, viz., that the word *salila* is the same as *sarira*, according to the text of the Veda, "these worlds are *sarira*" ("*ime vai lokāḥ sariram*" *iti śruteḥ*).

[95] "Supported upon the end of a long stalk" (*dīrghanālāgre 'vasthitam*), according to the Commentator. In a passage from the Taitt. Āranyaka, already quoted (p. 32, above), it is said that Prajāpati himself was born on a lotus-leaf.

the Vishṇu Purāṇa is foreshadowed in the following text from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 1, 5:

Sa yat kūrmo nāma | etad vai rūpaṁ kṛitvā Prajāpatiḥ prajāh asṛijata | yad asṛijata akarot tat | yad akarot tasmāt kūrmaḥ | kaśyapo vai kūrmaḥ | tasmād āhuḥ "sarvāḥ prajāh kāśyapyaḥ" iti | sa yaḥ sa kūrmo sau sa Ādityaḥ |

"As to its being called *kūrma* (a tortoise); Prajāpati having taken this form, created offspring. That which he created, he made (*akarot*); since he made, he is (called) *kūrmaḥ*. The word *kaśyapa* means tortoise; hence men say all creatures are descendants of Kaśyapa. This tortoise is the same as Āditya."[96]

The oldest version of the story of the fish incarnation, which is to be found in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 8, 1, 1 ff., will be quoted in the next chapter.

For the passages which appear to supply the germ of the dwarf incarnation, the reader may consult the fourth volume of this work, pp. 54–58 and 107 f.

It will have been noticed that in the passage above adduced from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, the word Nārāyaṇa is applied to Vishṇu, and that it is the last named deity who (though in the form of Brahmā) is said to have taken the form of a boar. In the verses formerly cited from Manu (i. 9, 10), however, Nārāyaṇa is an epithet, not of Vishṇu, but of Brahmā; and in the following text, from the Rāmāyaṇa, xi. 110, 3, it is Brahmā who is said to have become a boar:

Sarvaṁ salilam evāsīt prithivī tatra nirmitā | tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha[97] *| sa varāhas tato bhūtvā projjahāra vasundharām ityādi |*

"All was water only, and in it the earth was fashioned. Then arose

[96] With this compare the mention made of a tortoise in the passage cited above, p. 32, from the Taitt. Āraṇyaka.

[97] Such is the reading of Schlegel's edition, and of that which was recently printed at Bombay, both of which, no doubt, present the most ancient text of the Rāmāyaṇa. The Gauḍa recension, however, which deviates widely from the other, and appears to have modified it in conformity with more modern taste and ideas, has here also introduced a various reading in the second of the lines quoted in the text, and identifies Brahmā with Vishṇu in the following manner: *tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṇur avyayaḥ* | "Then arose Brahmā the self-existent and imperishable *Vishṇu*."

Brahmā, the self existent, with the deities. He then, becoming a boar, raised up the earth," etc.

I now return to the narrative of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.]

The further process of cosmogony is thus described in chapter v.:

Maitreya uvācha | 1. *Yathā sasarjja devo'sau devarshi-pitṛi-dānavān* | *manushya-tiryag-vṛikshādīn bhū-vyoma-salilaukasaḥ* | 2. *Yad-guṇaṁ yat-svabhāvaṁ cha yad-rūpaṁ cha jagad dvija* | *sargādau sṛishṭavān Brahmā tad mamāchakshva vistarāt* | *Parāśara uvācha* | 3. *Maitreya kathayāmy esha śṛiṇushva susamāhitaḥ* | *yathā sasarjja devo 'sau devādīn akhilān vibhuḥ* | *sṛishṭiṁ chintayatas tasya kalpādishu yathā purā* | *abuddhi-pūrvakaḥ sargaḥ prādurbhūtas tamomayaḥ* | 4. *Tamo moho mahāmohas tāmisro hy andha-saṁjnitaḥ* | *avidyā pancha-parvaishā prādurbhūtā mahātmanaḥ* | 5. *Panchadhā 'vasthitaḥ sargo dhyāyato 'pratibodhavān* | *vahir-anto-'prakāśaś cha saṁvṛittātmā nagātmakaḥ* | 6. *Mukhyā nagā yataś choktā mukhya-sargas tatas tv ayam* | 7. *Taṁ dṛishṭvā 'sādhakaṁ sargam amanyad aparam punaḥ* | *tasyābhidhyāyataḥ sargas tiryak-srotā*[98] *'bhyavarttata* | 8. *Yasmāt tiryak pravṛittaḥ sa tiryak-srotas tataḥ smṛitaḥ* | 9. *Paśvādayas te vikhyātās tamaḥ-prayāḥ hy avedinaḥ* | *utpatha-grāhiṇaś chaiva te 'jnāne jnāna-māninaḥ* | 10. *Ahaṁkṛitā ahammānā ashṭāviṁśad-vadhānvitāḥ* | *antaḥ-prakāśās te sarve āvṛitāś cha parasparam* | 11. *Tam apy asādhakam matvā dhyāyato 'nyas tato 'bhavat* | *ūrdhvasrotas tṛitīyas tu sāttvikorddhvam avarttata*[99] | 12. *Te sukha-prīti-bahulā bahir antaś cha nāvṛitāḥ*[100] | *prakāśā bahir antaś cha ūrdhva-sroto-bhavāḥ smṛitāḥ* | 13. *Tushṭy-ātmakas tṛitīyas tu deva-sargas tu yaḥ smṛitaḥ* | *tasmin sarge 'bhavat prītir nishpanne Brahmaṇas tadā* | 14. *Tato 'nyaṁ sa tadā dadhyau sādhakaṁ sargam uttamam* | *asādhakāṁs tu tān jnātvā mukhya-sargādi-sambhavān* | 15. *Tathā 'bhidhyāyatas tasya satyābhidyāyinas tataḥ* | *prādurbhūtas tadā 'vyaktād arvāk-srotas tu sādhakaḥ* | 16. *Yasmād arvāg vyavarttanta tato 'rvāk-srotasas tu te* | *te cha prakāśa-bahulā tamodriktā*[101] *rajo 'dhikāḥ* | *tasmāt te duḥkha-bahulā bhūyo bhūyaś cha kāriṇaḥ* | *prakāśā bahir antaś cha manushyā sādhakās tu te* | . . . . 23. *Ity ete tu samākhyātā nava sargāḥ Prajā-*

[98] *iti sandhir ārshaḥ*—Comm.

[99] The reading of the Vāyu P., in the parallel passage, is *tasyābhidhyāyato nityaṁ sāttvikaḥ samavarttata* | *ūrdhvasrotas tṛitīyas tu sa chaivordhvaṁ vyavasthitaḥ* | The combination *sāttvikordhvam* in the text of the Vishṇu P. must be *ārsha*.

[100] For *nāvṛitāḥ* the Vāyu P. reads *saṁvṛitāḥ*.

[101] *Iti sandhirārshaḥ* | Comm. But there is a form *tama*. The Vāyu P. has *tamaḥ-saktāḥ*.

pateḥ | *prākṛitā vaikritāś chaiva jagato mūla-hetavaḥ* | *sṛijato jagadīśasya kim anyach chhrotum ichhasi* | *Maitreya uvācha* | 24. *Saṁkshepāt kathitaḥ sargo devādīnāṁ tvayā mune* | *vistarāch chhrotum ichhāmi tvatto munivarottama* | *Parāśara uvācha* | *karmabhir bhāvitāḥ pūrvaiḥ kuśalākuśalais tu tāḥ* | *khyātyā tayā hy anirmuktāḥ saṁhāre hy upasaṁhṛitāḥ* | 25. *Sthāvarāntāḥ surādyāścha prajā brahmaṁś chaturvidhāḥ* | *Brahmaṇaḥ kurvataḥ sṛishṭiṁ jajnire mānasīs tu tāḥ* | 26. *Tato devāsurapitṛīn mānushāṁś cha chatushṭayam* | *sisṛikshur ambhāṁsy etāni svam ātmānam ayūyujat* | 27. *Yuktātmanas tamomātrā udriktā 'bhūt Prajāpateḥ* | *sisṛikshor jaghanāt pūrvam asurāḥ jajnire tataḥ* | 28. *Utsasarja tatas tāṁ tu tamo-mātrātmikāṁ tanum* | *sā tu tyaktā tanus tena Maitreyābhūd vibhāvarī* | 29. *Sisṛikshur anya-deha-sthaḥ prītim āpa tataḥ surāḥ* | *sattvodriktāḥ samudbhūtāḥ mukhato Brahmaṇo dvija* | 30. *Tyaktā sā 'pi tanus tena sattva-prāyam abhūd dinam* | *tato hi balino rātrāv asurā devatā divā* | 31. *Sattvamātrātmikām eva tato 'nyāṁ jagṛihe tanum* | *pitṛivad manyamānasya pitaras tasya jajnire* | 32. *Utsasarja pitṛīn sṛishṭvā tatas tām api sa prabhuḥ* | *sā chotsṛishṭā 'bhavat sandhyā dina-naktāntara-sthitiḥ* | 33. *Rajo-mātrātmikām anyāṁ jagṛihe sa tanuṁ tataḥ* | *rajo-mātrotkaṭā jātā manushyā dvija-sattama* | *tām apy āśu sa tatyāja tanum ādyaḥ Prajāpatiḥ* | *jyotsnā samabhavat sā 'pi prāk-sandhyā yā 'bhidhīyate* | 34. *Jyotsnodgame tu balino manushyāḥ pitaras tathā* | *Maitreya sandhyā-samaye tasmād ete bhavanti vai* | 35. *Jyotsnā-rātry-ahanī sandhyā chatvāry etāni vai vibhoḥ* | *Brahmaṇas tu śarīrāṇi triguṇāpāśrayāṇi cha* | 36. *Rajo-mātrātmikām eva tato 'nyāṁ jagṛihe tanum* | *tataḥ kshud Brahmaṇo jātā jajne kopas tayā tataḥ* | 37. *Kshut-kshāmān andhakāre 'tha so 'sṛijad bhagavāṁs tataḥ* | *Virūpāḥ śmaśrulā jātās te 'bhyadhāvaṁs tataḥ prabhum* | 38. "*Maivam bho rakshyatām esha*" *yair uktaṁ rākshasās tu te* | *ūchuḥ* "*khādāma*" *ity anye ye te yakshās tu yakshaṇāt* |

"Maitreya said: 1. Tell me in detail how at the beginning of the creation that deity Brahmā formed the gods, rishis, fathers, dānavas, men, beasts, trees, etc., dwelling respectively on the earth, in the sky, and in the water; 2. and with what qualities, with what nature, and of what form he made the world. Parāśara replied: 3. I declare to thee, Maitreya, how that deity created the gods and all other beings; listen with attention. While he was meditating on creation, as at the beginnings of the (previous) Kalpas, there appeared an insentient crea-

tion, composed of gloom (*tamas*). 4. Gloom, illusion, great illusion, darkness, and what is called utter darkness—such was the five-fold ignorance, which was manifested from that great Being, 5. as he was meditating—an insensible creation,[102] under five conditions, devoid of feeling either without or within,[103] closed up, motionless. 6. And since motionless objects are called the primary objects, this is called the primary (*mukhya*) creation.[104] 7. Beholding this creation to be ineffective, he again contemplated another. As he was desiring it the brute (*tiryaksrotas*) creation came forth. 8. Since (in its natural functions) it acts horizontally it is called Tiryaksrotas. 9. The (creatures composing it) are known as cattle, etc., distinguished mainly by darkness (*tamas*) ignorant, following irregular courses,[105] while in a state of ignorance having a conceit of knowledge, (10) self-regarding, self-esteeming, affected by the twenty-eight kinds of defects, endowed with inward feeling, and mutually closed. 11. As Brahmā, regarding this creation also as ineffective, was again meditating, another creation, the third, or *ūrdhvasrotas*, which was good, rose upward. 12. They (the creatures belonging to this creation) abounding in happiness and satisfaction, being unclosed both without and within, and possessed both of external and internal feeling, are called the offspring of the Ūrdhvasrotas creation. 13. This third creation, known as that of the gods, was one full of enjoyment. When it was completed, Brahmā was pleased. 14. He then contemplated another creation, effective and most excellent, since he regarded as ineffective the beings sprung from the primary and other creations. 15. While he, whose will is efficacious, was so desiring, the Arvāksrotas, an effective creation, was manifested.[106] 16. They

[102] The Vāyu P. here inserts an additional line, *sarvatas tamasā chaiva dīpaḥ kumbha-vad āvṛitaḥ* | "and covered on all sides with darkness, as a lamp by a jar."

[103] *Vahir-anto'prakāśascha* appears to be the true reading, as the Commentator renders the last word by *prakrishṭa-jnāna-śūnyaḥ*, "devoid of knowledge." But if this be the correct reading, it is ungrammatical, as *antaḥ* and *aprakāśa* would properly make *antar-aprakāśa*, not *anto'prakāśa*. But the Purāṇas have many forms which are irregular (*ārsha*, "peculiar to the rishis," "vedic," or "antiquated" as the Commentators style them). The Taylor MS. of the Vāyu Purāṇa reads in the parallel passage *bahir-antaḥ-prakāśaścha*.

[104] See Dr. Hall's note p. 70 on Professor Wilson's translation; and also the passage quoted above p. 16 from the Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 1, 4, where the word *mukhya* is otherwise applied and explained.

[105] *Bhakshyādi-vivekak-hīnāḥ* | "Making no distinction in food, etc., etc." Comm.

[106] Compare M. Bh. xiv. 1038.

(the creatures belonging to it) are called Arvāksrotas, because (in their natural functions) they acted downwardly. And they abound in sensation (*prakāśa*) and are full of darkness (*tamas*) with a preponderance of passion (*rajas*). Hence they endure much suffering, and are constantly active, with both outward and inward feeling. These beings were men, and effective."[107]

In the next following verses, 17–22, the names of the different creations, described in the first part of this section, and in the second chapter of the first book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, are recapitulated, and two others, the Anugraha and the Kaumāra, are noticed, but not explained.[108]

The speaker Parāśara then adds: "23. Thus have the nine creations of Prajāpati, both Prākṛita and Vaikṛita, the radical causes of the world, been recounted. What else dost thou desire to hear regarding the creative lord of the world? Maitreya replies: 24. By thee, most excellent Muni, the creation of the gods and other beings has been summarily narrated: I desire to hear it from thee in detail. Parāśara rejoins: Called into (renewed) existence in consequence of former actions, good or bad, and unliberated from that destination when they were absorbed at the (former) dissolution of the world, (25) the four descriptions of creatures, beginning with things immovable and ending with gods, were produced, o Brāhman, from Brahmā when he was creating, and they sprang from his mind. 26. Being then desirous to create these streams (*ambhāṁsi*)[109]—the four classes of Gods, Asuras, Fathers, and Men, he concentrated himself. 27. Prajāpati, thus concentrated, received a body, which was formed of the quality of gloom (*tamas*); and as he desired to create, Asuras were first produced from his groin. 28. He then abandoned that body formed entirely of gloom; which when abandoned by him became night. 29. Desiring to create, when he had occupied another body, Brahmā experienced pleasure; and then gods, full of the quality of goodness, sprang from his mouth. 30. That body

[107] The Vāyu P. adds here: *Lakshaṇais tārakadyaiścha ashṭadhā cha vyavasthitāḥ* | *siddhātmāno manushyās te gandharva-saha-dharmiṇaḥ* | *ity esha taijasah sargo hy arvāksrotāḥ prakīrttitaḥ* | "Constituted with preservative(?) characteristics, and in an eightfold manner. These were men perfect in their essence, and in nature equal to Gandharvas. This was the lustrous creation known as Arvāksrotas."

[108] See Dr. Hall's edition of Wilson's V. P. pp. 32 ff.; and pp. 74 ff.

[109] This word is borrowed from the passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 3, 8, 3, quoted above, p. 23. Most of the particulars in the rest of the narrative are imitated from another passage of the same Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 9, 5 ff., also quoted above, p. 28.

also, being abandoned by him, became day, which is almost entirely good. Hence the Asuras are powerful by night[110] and the gods by day. 31. He then assumed another body formed of pure goodness; and the Fathers were born from him, when he was regarding himself as a father.[111] 32. The Lord, after creating the Fathers, abandoned that body also; which, when so abandoned, became twilight, existing between day and night. 33. He next took another body entirely formed of passion; and men, in whom passion is violent, were produced. The primeval Prajāpati speedily discarded this body also, which became faint light (*jyotsnā*), which is called early twilight. 34. Hence, at the appearance of this faint light, men are strong, while the fathers are strong at evening-twilight. 35. Morning-twilight, night, day, and evening-twilight, these are the four bodies of Brahmā, and the receptacles of the three qualities. 36. Brahmā next took another body entirely formed of passion, from which sprang hunger, and through it anger was produced. 37. The Divine Being then in darkness created beings emaciated with hunger, which, hideous of aspect, and with long beards, rushed against the lord. 38. Those who said, 'Let him not be preserved' (*rakshyatām*) were called Rākshasas, whilst those others who cried, 'Let us eat (him)' were called Yakshas from 'eating' (*yakshanāt*).[112]

It is not necessary for my purpose that I should quote at length the conclusion of the section. It may suffice to say that verses 39 to 51 describe the creation of serpents from Brahmā's hair; of Bhūtas; of Gandharvas; of birds (*vayāṁsi*) from the creator's life (*vayas*), of sheep from his breast, of goats from his mouth, of kine from his belly and sides, and of horses,[113] elephants, and other animals from his feet; of plants from his hairs; of the different metres and vedas from his eastern, southern, western, and northern mouths. Verses 52 ff. contain a recapitulation of the creative operations, with some statement of the

[110] In the Rāmāyaṇa, Sundara Kāṇḍa 82, 13 f. (Gorresio's edit.) we read: *Rakshasāṁ rajanī-kālaḥ saṁyugeshu praśasyate* | 14. *Tasmād rājan niśā-yuddhe jayo 'smākaṁ na saṁśayaḥ* | "Night is the approved time for the Rakshases to fight. We should therefore undoubtedly conquer in a nocturnal conflict."

[111] This idea also is borrowed from Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 2.

[112] See Wilson's V. P. vol. i. p. 83, and Dr. Hall's note.

[113] See the passage from the Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 1, 4 ff. quoted above, p. 16, where the same origin is ascribed to horses.

principles according to which they were conducted. Of these verses I quote only the following: 55. *Teshām ye yāni karmāṇi prāk-sṛishṭyām pratipedire | tāny eva pratipadyante sṛijyamānāḥ punaḥ punaḥ* | . . . 60. *Yathartāv ṛitu-lingāni nānārūpāṇi paryaye | dṛiśyante tāni tānyeva tathā bhāvā yugādishu* | 61. *Karoty evaṁvidhāṁ sṛishṭim kalpādau sa punaḥ punaḥ | sisṛikshāśakti-yukto 'sau sṛijya-śakti-prachoditaḥ* | "These creatures, as they are reproduced time after time, discharge the same functions as they had fulfilled in the previous creation . . . 60. Just as, in each season of the year, all the various characteristics of that season are perceived, on its recurrence, to be the very same as they had been before; so too are the beings produced at the beginnings of the ages.[114] 61. Possessing both the will and the ability to create, and impelled by the powers inherent in the things to be created, the deity produces again and again a creation of the very same description at the beginning of every Kalpa."

The sixth section of the same book of the V. P., of which I shall cite the larger portion, professes to give a more detailed account of the creation of mankind.

V. P. i. 6, 1. *Maitreya uvācha | Arvāksrotas tu kathito bhavatā yas tu mānushaḥ | brahman vistarato brūhi Brahmā tam asṛijad yathā* | 2. *Yathā cha varṇān asṛijad yad-guṇāṁś cha mahāmune | yachcha teshāṁ smṛitaṁ karma viprādīnaṁ tad uchyatām | Parāśara uvācha* | 3. *Satyābhidhyāyinas tasya sisṛikshor Brahmaṇo jagat | ajāyanta dvijaśreshṭha sattvodriktā mukhāt prajāḥ* | 4. *Vakshaso rajasodriktās tathā 'nyā Brahmaṇo 'bhavan | rajasā tamasā chaiva samudriktās tathorutaḥ* | 5. *Padbhyām anyāḥ prajā Brahmā sasarjja dvija-sattama | tamaḥ-pradhānās tāḥ sarvāś chāturvarṇyam idaṁ tataḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāścha dvija-sattama | pādoru-vakshaḥ-sthalato mukhataś cha samudgatāḥ* | 6. *Yajna-nishpattaye sarvam etad Brahmā chakāra vai | chāturvarṇyam mahābhāga yajna-sādhanam uttamam* | 7. *Yajnair āpyāyitā devā vṛishṭy-utsargeṇa vai prajāḥ | āpyāyayante dharma-jna yājnāḥ kalyāṇa-hetavaḥ* | 8. *Nishpadyante narais tais tu sva-karmābhirataiḥ sadā | viruddhācharaṇāpetaiḥ sadbhiḥ sanmārga-gāmibhiḥ* | 9. *Svargāpavargau mānushyāt prāpnuvanti narā mune | yach chābhiruchitaṁ sthānaṁ tad yānti manujā dvija* | 10. *Prajās tāḥ Brahmaṇā sṛishṭāś chāturvarṇya-vyavasthitau | samyak śraddhā-samāchāra-pra-*

[114] Verses similar to this occur in Manu i. 30; and in the Mahābhārata xii. 8550 f.

vaṇā muni-sattama | 11. *Yathechhā-vāsa-niratāḥ sarvābādha-vivarjitāḥ* | *śuddhāntaḥ-karaṇāḥ śuddhāḥ sarvānushṭhāna-nirmalāḥ* | 14.[115] *Suddhe cha tāsām manasi śuddhe 'ntaḥ-saṁsthite Harau* | *śuddha-jnānam prapaśyanti Vishṇv-ākhyam yena tatpadam* | 15. *Tataḥ kālātmako yo 'sau sa chāṁśaḥ kathito Hareḥ* | *sa pātayaty agho ghoram alpam alpālpa-sāravat* | 16. *Adharma-vīja-bhūtaṁ tu tamo-lobha-samudbhavam* | *prajāsu tāsu Maitreya rāgādikam asādhakam* | 17. *Tataḥ sā sahajā siddhis tāsāṁ nātīva jāyate* | *rasollāsādayaś chānyāḥ siddhayo 'shṭau bhavanti yāḥ* | 18. *Tāsu kshīṇāsv aśeshāsu varddhamāne cha pātake* | *dvandvādi-bhava-duḥkhārttās tā bhavanti tataḥ prajāḥ* | 19. *Tato durgāṇi tāś chakrur vārkshyam pārvatam audakam* | *kṛitimaṁ cha tathā durgam pura-karvaṭakādi yat* | 20. *Gṛihāṇi cha yathānyāyaṁ teshu chakruḥ purādishu* | *śītātapādi-bādhānām praśamāya mahāmate* | 21. *Pratikāram imaṁ kṛitvā śītādes tāḥ prajāḥ punaḥ* | *vārttopāyaṁ tataś chakrur hasta-siddhaṁ cha karma-jam* | . . . 26. *Grāmyāraṇyāḥ smṛitā hy etā oshadhyaś cha chaturdaśa* | *yajna-nishpattaye yajnas tathā "sāṁ hetur uttamaḥ* | 27. *Etāś cha saha yajnena prajānāṁ karāṇam param* | *parāpara-vidaḥ prājnās tato yajnān vitanvate* | 28. *Ahany ahany anushṭhānam yajnānām munisattama* | *upakāra-karam puṁsāṁ kriyamāṇāch cha śānti-dam* | 29. *Teshāṁ tu kāla-sṛishṭo 'sau pāpa-vindur mahāmate* | *chetassu vavṛidhe chakrus te na yajneshu mānasam* | 30. *Veda-vādāṁs tathā devān yajnakarmādikaṁ cha yat* | *tat sarvaṁ nindamānās te yajna-vyāsedha-kāriṇaḥ* | 31. *Pravṛitti-mārga-vyuchchitti-kāriṇo veda-nindakāḥ* | *durātmāno durāchārā babhūvuḥ kuṭilāśayāḥ* | 32. *Saṁsiddhāyāṁ tu vārttāyām prajāḥ sṛishṭvā Prajāpatiḥ* | *maryādām sthāpayāmāsa yathā-sthānam yathā-guṇam* | 34. *Varṇānām āśramāṇāṁ cha dharmān dharma-bhṛitāṁ vara* | *lokāṁś sarva-varṇānāṁ samyag dharmānupālinām* | 35. *Prājāpatyam brāhmaṇānāṁ smṛitaṁ sthānaṁ kriyāvatām* | *sthānam aindraṁ kshattriyānāṁ sangrāmeshv anivarttinām* | 36. *Vaiśyānām mārutam sthānaṁ sva-dharmam anuvarttinām* | *gāndharvaṁ śūdra-jātīnām paricharyāsu varttinām* |

"Maitreya says: 1. You have described to me the Arvāksrotas, or human, creation: declare to me, o Brahman, in detail the manner in which Brahmā formed it. 2. Tell me how, and with what qualities, he created the castes, and what are traditionally reputed to be the

[115] There are no verses numbered 12 and 13, the MSS. passing from the 11th to the 14th.

functions of the Brāhmans and others. Parāśara replies: 3. When, true to his design, Brahmā became desirous to create the world, creatures in whom goodness (*sattva*) prevailed sprang from his mouth; (4) others in whom passion (*rajas*) predominated came from his breast; others in whom both passion and darkness (*tamas*) were strong, proceeded from his thighs; (5) others he created from his feet, whose chief characteristic was darkness. Of these was composed the system of four castes, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, who had respectively issued from his mouth, breast, thighs, and feet. 6. Brahmā formed this[116] entire fourfold institution of classes for the performance of sacrifice, of which it is an excellent instrument. 7. Nourished by sacrifices, the gods nourish mankind by discharging rain. Sacrifices, the causes of prosperity, (8) are constantly celebrated by virtuous men, devoted to their duties, who avoid wrong observances, and walk in the right path. 9. Men, in consequence of their humanity, obtain heaven and final liberation; and they proceed to the world which they desire. 10. These creatures formed by Brahmā in the condition of the four castes, (were) perfectly inclined to conduct springing from religious faith, (11) loving to dwell wherever they pleased, free from all sufferings, pure in heart, pure, spotless in all observances. 14. And in their pure minds,—the pure Hari dwelling within them,—(there existed) pure knowledge whereby they beheld his highest station, called (that of) Vishṇu.[117] 15. Afterwards that which is described as the portion of Hari consisting of Time[118] infused into those beings direful sin, in the form of desire and the like, ineffective (of man's end), small in amount, but gradually increasing in force, (16) the seed of unrighteousness, and sprung from darkness and cupidity. 17. Thenceforward their innate perfectness was but slightly evolved: and as all the other eight perfections called *rasollāsa* and the rest (18) declined, and sin increased, these creatures (mankind) were afflicted with suffering arising

[116] How does this agree with the statements made in the Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 1, 4 ff. as quoted above, p. 16, and in the Taitt. Br. iii. 2, 3, 9, p. 21, that the S'ūdra is incapacitated for sacrifice, and that anything he milks out is no oblation?

[117] This alludes to an expression in the Rig-veda, i. 22, 20. See the 4th vol. of this work, p. 54.

[118] In regard to *Kāla*, "Time," see Wilson's V. P. vol. i. p. 18 f., and the passages from the Atharva-veda, extracted in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 380 ff.

out of the pairs (of susceptibilities to pleasure and pain, etc., etc.) 19. They then constructed fastnesses among trees, on hills, or amid waters, as well as artificial fortresses, towns, villages, etc. 20. And in these towns, etc., they built houses on the proper plan, in order to counteract cold, heat, and other discomforts. 21. Having thus provided against cold, etc., they devised methods of livelihood depending upon labour, and executed by their hands." The kinds of grain which they cultivated are next described in the following verses 22 to 25. The text then proceeds, verse 26: "These are declared to be the fourteen kinds of grain, cultivated and wild, fitted for sacrifice; and sacrifice is an eminent cause of their existence. 27. These, too, along with sacrifice, are the most efficacious sources of progeny. Hence those who understand cause and effect celebrate sacrifices. 28. Their daily performance is beneficial to men, and delivers from sins committed. 29. But that drop of sin which had been created by time increased in men's hearts, and they disregarded sacrifice. 30. Reviling the Vedas, and the prescriptions of the Vedas, the gods, and all sacrificial rites, etc., obstructing oblations, (31) and cutting off the path of activity,[119] they became malignant, vicious, and perverse in their designs. 32. The means of subsistence being provided, Prajāpati, having created living beings, established a distinction according to their position and qualities (see verses 3 to 5 above), (and fixed) the duties of the castes and orders, and the worlds (to be attained after death) by all the castes which perfectly fulfilled their duties. 33. The world of Prajāpati is declared to be the (future) abode of those Brāhmans who are assiduous in religious rites; the realm of Indra the abode of those Kshattriyas who turn not back in battle; (34) that of the Maruts the abode of those Vaiśyas who fulfil their duties; and that of the Gandharvas the abode of the men of Sudra race who abide in their vocation of service." In the remaining verses of the chapter (35 to 39) the realms of blessedness destined for the reception of more eminent saints are briefly noticed, as well as the infernal regions, to which the wicked are doomed.

[119] *Pravṛitṭi-mārga-vyuchchhitti-kāriṇaḥ.* The Commentator ascribes this to the human race being no longer sufficiently propagated, for he adds the explanation: *yajnānanushṭhāne devair avarshaṇād annābhāvena prajā-vṛiddher asiddheḥ* | "because population did not increase from the want of food caused by the gods ceasing to send rain in consequence of the non-celebration of sacrifice."

At the beginning of the seventh section, without any further enquiry on the part of Maitreya, Parāśara proceeds as follows:

V. P. i. 7, 1. *Tato 'bhidhyāyatas tasya jajnire mānasīḥ prajāḥ | tachchharīra-samutpannaiḥ kāryais taiḥ kāraṇaiḥ saha* | 2. *Kshettrajnāḥ samavarttanta gātrebhyas tasya dhīmataḥ | te sarve samavarttanta ye mayā prāg udāhṛitāḥ* | 3. *Devādyāḥ sthāvarāntāś cha traiguṇya-vishaye sthitāḥ | evam bhūtāni sṛishṭāni charāṇi sthāvarāṇi cha* | 4. *Yadā 'sya tāḥ prajāḥ sarvā va vyavarddhanta dhīmataḥ | athānyān mānasān putrān sadṛiśān ātmano 'sṛijat* | 5. *Bhṛigum Pulastyam Pulahaṁ Kratum Angirasaṁ tathā | Marīchiṁ Daksham Atriṁ cha Vasishṭhaṁ chaiva mānasān | nava brahmāṇa ity ete purāṇe niśchayaṁ gatāḥ* | 6. *Sanandanādayo ye cha purvaṁ sṛishtās tu Vedhasā | na te lokeshv asajjanta nirapekshāḥ prajāsu te | sarve te chāgata-jnānā vīta-rāgā vimatsarāḥ* | 7. *Teshv evaṁ nirapekshehu loka-sṛishṭau mahātmanaḥ | Brahmaṇo 'bhūd mahākrodhas trailokya-dahana-kshamaḥ* | 8. *Tasya krodhāt samudbhūta-jvālā-mālā-vidīpitam | Brahmaṇo 'bhūt tadā sarvaṁ trailokyam akhilam mune* | 9. *Bhrūkuṭī-kuṭilāt tasya lalāṭāt krodha-dīpitāt | samutpannas tadā Rudro madhyāhnārka-sama-prabhaḥ | ardha-nārī-nara-vapuḥ prachaṇḍo 'tiśarīravān | vibhajātmānam ity uktvā tam Brahmā 'ntardadhe punaḥ* | 10. *Tathokto 'sau dvidhā strītvam purushatvaṁ tathā 'karot | bibheda purushtvaṁ cha daśadhā chaikadhā cha saḥ* | 11. *Saumyāsaumyais tathā śāntāśāntaiḥ strītvaṁ cha sa prabhuḥ | bibheda bahudhā devaḥ svarūpair asitaiḥ sitaiḥ* | 12. *Tato Brahmā "tma-sambhūtam pūrvaṁ svāyambhuvam prabhum | ātmānam eva kṛitavān prajāpālam Manuṁ dvija* | 13. *Śatarūpāṁ cha tāṁ nārīṁ tapo-nirdhūta-kalmashām | svāyambhuvo Manur devaḥ patnyarthaṁ jagṛihe vibhuḥ* | 14. *Tasmāch cha purushād devī Śatarūpā vyajāyata | Priyavratottāna-pādau Prasūtyākūti-sanjnitam | kanyā-dvayaṁ cha dharma-jna rūpaudārya-guṇānvitam* | 15. *Dadau Prasūtiṁ Dakshāyāthākūtiṁ Ruchaye purā ityādi* |

"1. Then from him, as he was desiring, there were born mental sons with effects and causes[120] derived from his body. 2. Embodied spirits sprang from the limbs of that wise Being. All those creatures sprang forth which have been already described by me, (3) beginning

[120] The Commentator explains these words *kāryais taiḥ kāraṇaiḥ saha* to mean "bodies and senses."

with gods and ending with motionless objects, and existing in the condition of the three qualities. Thus were created beings moving and stationary. 4. When none of these creatures of the Wise Being multiplied, he next formed other, mental, sons like to himself, (5) Bhṛigu, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Angiras, Marīchi, Daksha, Atri, and Vasishṭha, all born from his mind. These are the nine Brahmās who have been determined in the Purāṇas. 6. But Sanandana and the others who had been previously created by Vedhas (Brahmā) had no regard for the worlds, and were indifferent to offspring. They had all attained to knowledge, were freed from desire, and devoid of envy. 7. As they were thus indifferent about the creation of the world, great wrath, sufficient to burn up the three worlds, arose in the mighty Brahmā. 8. The three worlds became entirely illuminated by the wreath of flame which sprang from his anger. 9. Then from his forehead, wrinkled by frowns and inflamed by fury, arose Rudra, luminous as the midday sun, with a body half male and half female, fiery, and huge in bulk. After saying to him, 'Divide thyself,' Brahmā vanished. 10. Being so addressed, Rudra severed himself into two, into a male and a female form. The god next divided his male body into eleven parts, (11) beautiful and hideous, gentle and ungentle; and his female figure into numerous portions with appearances black and white. 12. Brahmā then made the lord Svāyambhuva, who had formerly sprung from himself, and was none other than himself, to be Manu the protector of creatures. 13. The god Manu Svāyambhuva took for his wife the female S'atarūpā, who by austere fervour had become freed from all defilement. 14. To that Male the goddess S'atarūpā bore Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, and two daughters called Prasūti and Ākūti, distinguished by the qualities of beauty and magnanimity. 15. He of old gave Prasūti in marriage to Daksha, and Ākūti to Ruchi."

From a comparison of the preceding narratives of the creation of mankind, extracted from the fifth and sixth chapters of the First Book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, it will be seen that the details given in the different accounts are not consistent with each other. It is first of all stated in the fifth chapter (verse 16) that the arvāksrotas, or human creation was characterized by the qualities of darkness and passion. In the second account (verse 33) we are told that Brahmā assumed a body composed of passion, from which men, in whom that quality is power-

ful, were produced.[121] In neither of these narratives is the slightest allusion made to there having been any primeval and congenital distinction of classes. In the third statement given in the sixth chapter (verses 3 to 5) the human race is said to have been the result of a fourfold creation; and the four castes, produced from different parts of the creator's body, are declared to have been each especially characterized by different qualities (*guṇas*), viz., those who issued from his mouth by goodness (*sattva*), those who proceeded from his breast by passion (*rajas*), those who were produced from his thighs by both passion and darkness (*tamas*), and those who sprang from his feet by darkness. In the sequel of this account, however, no mention is made of any differences of conduct arising from innate diversities of disposition having been manifested in the earliest age by the members of the different classes. On the contrary, they are described (verses 10 ff.) in language applicable to a state of perfection which was universal and uniform, as full of faith, pure-hearted and devout. In like manner the declension in purity and goodness which ensued is not represented as peculiar to any of the classes, but as common to all. So far, therefore, the different castes seem, according to this account, to have been undistinguished by any variety of mental or moral constitution. And it is not until after the deterioration of the entire race has been related, that we are told (in verses 32 f.) that the separate duties of the several castes were fixed in accordance with their position and qualities. This sketch of the moral and religious history of mankind, in the earliest period, is thus deficient in failing to explain how beings, who were originally formed with very different ethical characters, should have been all equally excellent during their period of perfection, and have also experienced an uniform process of decline.

In regard to the variation between the two narratives of the creation found in the fifth chapterof the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Professor Wilson remarks as follows in a note to vol. i. p. 80: "These reiterated, and not always very congruous, accounts of the creation are explained by the Purāṇas as referring to different Kalpas or renovations of the world, and therefore involving no incompatibility. A better reason for their appearance

[121] Compare the passage given above at the close of Sect. V. pp. 41 ff., from Manu xii. 39 ff. and the remarks thereon.

is the probability that they have been borrowed from different original authorities."[123]

As regards the first of these explanations of the discrepancies in question, it must be observed that it is inapplicable to the case before us, as the text of the Vishṇu Purāṇa itself says nothing of the different accounts of the creation having reference to different Kalpas: and in absence of any intimation to the contrary we must naturally assume that the various portions of the consecutive narration in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, which are connected with each other by a series of questions and answers, must all have reference to the creation which took place at the commencement of the existing or Vārāha Kalpa, as stated in the opening verse of the fourth chapter. Professor Wilson's supposition that the various and discrepant accounts "have been borrowed from different original authorities" appears to have probability in its favour. I am unable to point out the source from which the first description of the creation, in the early part of the fifth chapter, verses 1 to 23, has been derived. But the second account, given in verses 26 to 35, has evidently drawn many of its details from the passages of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa ii. 2, 9, 5–9, and ii. 3, 8, 2 f., and Satapatha Brāhmaṇa xi. 1, 6, 6 ff. which I have quoted above. And it is possible that the references which are found in the former of these descriptions in the Vishṇu Purāṇa to different portions of the creation

[123] The discrepancies between current legends on different subjects are occasionally noticed in the text of the Vishṇu Purāṇa. Thus in the eighth chapter of the first book, v. 12, Maitreya, who had been told by Parāśara that S'rī was the daughter of Bhṛigu and Khyāti, enquires: *Kshīrābdhau S'rīḥ purotpannā śrūyate 'mṛita-manthane* | *Bhṛigoḥ Khyātyām samutpannety etad āha katham bhavān* | "It is reported that S'rī was produced in the ocean of milk when ambrosia was churned. How do you say that she was born to Bhṛigu by Khyāti?" He receives for answer: 13. *Nityaiva sā jaganmātā Vishṇoḥ S'rīr anapāyinī* (another MS. reads *anuyāyinī*) *yathā sarvagato Vishṇus tathaiveyam dvijottama* | "S'rī, the mother of the world, and wife of Vishṇu, is eternal and undecaying" (or, according to the other reading, "is the eternal follower of Vishṇu"). "As he is omnipresent, so is she," and so on. The case of Daksha will be noticed further on in the text. On the method resorted to by the Commentators in cases of this description Professor Wilson observes in a note to p. 203 (4to. edition), "other calculations occur, the incompatibility of which is said, by the Commentators on our text and on that of the Bhāgavata, to arise from reference being made to different Kalpas; and they quote the same stanza to this effect: *Kvachit kvachit purāṇeshu virodho yadi lakshyate* | *kalpa-bhedādibhis tatra virodhaḥ sadbhir ishyate* | 'Whenever any contradictions in different Purāṇas are observed, they are ascribed by the pious to differences of Kalpas and the like.'"

being ineffective may have been suggested by some of the other details in the Brāhmaṇas, which I shall now proceed to cite. At all events some of the latter appear to have given rise to the statement in the fourth verse of the seventh chapter of the Vishṇu P. that the creatures formed by Brahmā did not multiply, as well as to various particulars in the narratives which will be quoted below from the Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas. The Brāhmanas describe the creative operations of Prajāpati as having been attended with intense effort, and often followed by great exhaustion; and not only so, but they represent many of these attempts to bring living creatures of various kinds into existence, to sustain them after they were produced, and to ensure their propagation, as having been either altogether abortive, or only partially successful. The following quotations will afford illustrations of these different points:

Taitt. Br. i. 1, 10, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | sa ririchāno 'manyata | sa tapo 'tapyata | sa ātman vīryam apaśyat tad avarddhata |*

"Prajāpati created living beings. He felt himself emptied. He performed austere abstraction. He perceived vigour in himself. It increased, etc."

Taitt. Br. i. 2, 6, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ sṛishṭvā vṛitto*[123] *'śayat | taṁ devāḥ bhūtānāṁ rasaṁ tejaḥ sambhṛitya tena enam abhishajyan "mahān avavartti" iti |*

"Prajāpati after creating living beings lay exhausted. The gods, collecting the essence and vigour of existing things, cured him therewith, saying he has become great, etc."

Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 6, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ sṛishṭvā vyasraṁsata | sa hṛidayam bhūto 'śayat |*

"Prajāpati, after creating living beings, was paralysed. Becoming a heart, he slept."

S. P. Br. iii. 9, 1, 1. *Prajāpatir vai prajāḥ sasṛijāno ririchānaḥ iva amanyata | tasmāt parāchyaḥ prajāḥ āsuḥ | na asya prajāḥ śriye 'nnādyāya jajnire | 2. Sa aikshata "arikshy aham asmai (? yasmai) u kāmāya asṛikshi na me sa kāmaḥ samārdhi parāchyo mat-prajāḥ abhūvan na me prajāḥ śriye 'nnādyāya asthishata" iti | 3. Sa aikshata Prajāpatiḥ "kathaṁ nu punar ātmānam āpyāyāyeya upa mā prajāḥ samāvartteraṁs tishṭheran me prajāḥ śriye annādyāya" iti | so 'rchhan śrāmyaṁś cha-*

[123] *Srāntaḥ*—Comm.

chāra prajā-kāmaḥ | sa etām ekādaśinīm apaśyat | sa ekādaśinyā ishṭvā Prajāpatiḥ punar ātmānam āpyāyayata upa enam prajāḥ samāvarttanta atishṭhanta asya prajāḥ śriye 'nnādyāya sa vasīyān eva ishṭvā 'bhavat |

"Prajāpati when creating living beings felt himself as it were emptied. The living creatures went away from him. They were not produced so as to prosper and to eat food. 2. He considered: 'I have become emptied: the object for which I created them has not been fulfilled: they have gone away, and have not gained prosperity and food.' 3. He considered: 'how can I again replenish myself; and how shall my creatures return to me, and acquire prosperity and food?' Desirous of progeny, he went on worshipping and performing religious rites. He beheld this Ekādaśinī (Eleven); and sacrificing with it, he again replenished himself; his creatures returned to him, and gained prosperity and food. Having sacrificed, he became more brilliant."

S. P. Br. x. 4, 2, 2. *So 'yaṁ saṁvatsaraḥ Prajāpatiḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni sasṛije yach cha prāṇi yach cha aprāṇam ubhayān deva-manushyān | sa sarvāṇi bhūtāni sṛishṭvā riricḥāna iva mene | sa mṛityor bibhiyānchakāra |* 2. *Sa ha īkshānchakre "kathaṁ nv aham imāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni punar ātmann āvapeya punar ātman dadhīya kathaṁ nv aham eva eshām sarveshām bhūtānām punar ātmā syām" iti |*

"This Year, (who is) Prajāpati, created all beings, both those which breathe and those that are without breath, both gods and men. Having created all beings he felt himself as it were emptied. He was afraid of death. 2. He reflected, 'How can I again unite all these beings with myself, again place them in myself? How can I alone be again the soul of all these beings?'"

S. P. Br. x. 4, 4, 1. *Prajapatiṁ vai prajāḥ sṛijamānam pāpmā mṛityur abhiparijaghāna | sa tapo 'tapyata sahasraṁ saṁvatsarān pāpmānaṁ vijihāsan |*

"Misery, death, smote Prajāpati, as he was creating living beings. He performed austere abstraction for a thousand years, with the view of shaking off misery."

S. P. Br. ii. 5, 1, 1. *Prajāpatir ha vai idam agre ekaḥ eva āsa | sa aikshata "kathaṁ nu prajāyeya" iti | so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata | sa prajāḥ asṛijata | tāḥ asya prajāḥ sṛishṭāḥ parābabhūvuḥ | tāni imāni vayāṁsi | purusho vai Prajāpater nedishṭham | dvipād vai ayam purushaḥ | tasmād dvipādo vayāṁsi |* 2. *Sa aikshata Prajāpatiḥ | "yathā*

nv eva purā eko 'bhūvam evam u nv eva apy etarhy eka eva asmi" iti | sa dvitīyāḥ sasṛije | tāḥ asya parā eva babhūvuḥ | tad idaṁ kshudraṁ sarīsṛipaṁ yad anyat sarpebhyaḥ | tritīyāḥ sasṛije ity āhus tāḥ asya parā eva babhūvuḥ | te ime sarpāḥ . . . . | 3. *So 'rchhan śrāmyan Prajāpatir īkshānchakre "kathaṁ nu me prajāḥ sṛishṭāḥ parābhavanti" iti | sa ha etad eva dadarśa "anaśanatayā vai me prajāḥ parābhavanti" iti | sa ātmanaḥ eva agre stanayoḥ paya āpyāyayānchakre | sa prajāḥ asṛijata | tāḥ asya prajāḥ sṛishṭāḥ stanāv eva abhipadya tās tataḥ sambabhūvuḥ | tāḥ imāḥ aparābhūtāḥ |*

"1. Prajāpati alone was formerly this universe. He reflected, 'How can I be propagated?' He toiled in religious rites, and practised austere fervour. He created living beings. After being created by him they perished. They were these birds. Man is the thing nearest to Prajāpati. This being, man, is two-footed. Hence birds are two-footed creatures. Prajāpati reflected, 'As I was formerly but one, so am I now also only one.' He created a second set of living beings. They also perished. This was the class of small reptiles other than serpents. They say he created a third set of beings, which also perished. They were these serpents . . . 3. Worshipping and toiling in religious rites, Prajāpati reflected, 'How is it that my creatures perish after they have been formed?' He perceived this, 'they perish from want of food.' In his own presence he caused milk to be supplied to breasts. He created living beings, which resorting to the breasts were then preserved. These are the creatures which did not perish."

Taitt. Br. i. 6, 2, 1. *Vaiśvadevena vai Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | tāḥ sṛishṭāḥ na prājāyanta | so 'gnir akāmayata "aham imāḥ prajanayeyam" iti | sa Prajāpataye śucham adadhāt | so 'śochat prajām ichhamānaḥ | tasmād yaṁ cha prajā bhunakti yaṁ cha na tāv ubhau śochataḥ prajām ichhamānau | tāsv Agnim apy asṛijat | tā Agnir adhyait* (2) *Somo reto 'dadhāt Savitā prājanayat | Sarasvatī vācham adadhāt | Pūshā 'poshayat | te vai ete triḥ saṁvatsarasya prayujyante ye devāḥ pushṭipatayaḥ | saṁvatsaro vai Prajāpatiḥ | saṁvatsareṇa eva asmai prajāḥ prājanayat | tāḥ prājāḥ jātāḥ Maruto 'ghnan "asmān api na prāyukshata" iti |* 3. *Sa etam Prajāpatir mārutaṁ saptakapālam apaśyat | taṁ niravapat | tato vai prajābhyo 'kalpata | . . . sa Prajāpatir aśochat "yāḥ pūrvāḥ prajāḥ asṛikshi Marutas tāḥ avadhishuḥ katham aparāḥ*

srijeya" iti | tasya śushma aṇḍam bhūtam niravartlata | tad vyudaharat | tad aposhayat | tat prājāyata |

"Prajāpati formed living creatures by the vaiśvadeva (offering to the Viśvedevas). Being created they did not propagate. Agni desired' 'let me beget these creatures.' He imparted grief to Prajāpati. He grieved, desiring offspring. Hence he whom offspring blesses, and he whom it does not bless, both of them grieve, desiring progeny. Among them he created Agni also. Agni desired (?) them. Soma infused seed. Savitṛi begot them. Sarasvatī infused into them speech. Pūshan nourished them. These (gods) who are lords of nourishment are employed thrice in the year. Prajāpati is the Year. It was through the year that he generated offspring for him. The Maruts killed those creatures when they had been born, saying 'they have not employed us also. 3. Prajāpati saw this Māruta oblation in seven platters. He offered it. In consequence of it he became capable of producing offspring . . . . Prajāpati lamented, (saying) 'the Maruts have slain the former living beings whom I created. How can I create others?' His vigour sprang forth in the shape of an egg. He took it up. He cherished it. It became productive."

Taitt. Br. iii. 10, 9, 1. *Prajāpatir devān asṛijata | te pāpmanā sanditāḥ ajāyanta | tān vyadyat |*

"Prajāpati created gods. They were born bound by misery. He released them."

Taitt. Br. ii. 7, 9, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | tāḥ asmāt sṛishṭāḥ parāchīr āyan | sa etam Prajāpatir odanam apaśyat | so 'nnam bhūto 'tishṭhat | tāḥ anyatra annādyam avitvā Prajāpatim prajāh upāvarttanta |*

"Prajāpati created living beings. They went away from him. He beheld this odana. He was turned into food. Having found food nowhere else, they returned to him."

Taitt. Br. i. 6, 4, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ Savitā bhūtvā prajāḥ asṛijata | tā enam atyamanyanta | ta asmād apākrāman | tā Varuṇo bhūtvā prajāḥ Varuṇena agrāhayat | tāḥ prajāḥ Varuṇa-gṛihītāḥ Prajāpatim punar upādhāvan nātham ichhamānāḥ |*

"Prajāpati, becoming Savitṛi, created living beings. They disregarded him, and went away from him. Becoming Varuṇa he caused Varuṇa to seize them. Being seized by Varuṇa, they again ran to Prajāpati, desiring help."

Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 1, 1. *Tato vai sa (Prajāpatiḥ) prajāḥ asṛijata | tāḥ asmat sṛishṭā apākrāman |*

"Prajāpati then created living beings. They went away from him."

I have perhaps quoted too many of these stories, which are all similar in character. But I was desirous to afford some idea of their number as well as of their tenor.

As regards the legend of S'atarūpā, referred to in the seventh chapter of the first book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, I shall make some further remarks in a future section, quoting a more detailed account given in the Matsya Purāṇa.

Of the two sons of Manu Svāyambhuva and S'atarūpā, the name of the second, Uttānapāda, seems to have been suggested by the appearance of the word Uttānapad in Rig-veda x. 72, 3, 4, as the designation (nowhere else traceable, I believe) of one of the intermediate agents in the creation.[124] A Priyavrata is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vii. 34, and also in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa x. 3, 5, 14, (where he has the patronymic of Rauhiṇāyana) but in both these texts he appears rather in the light of a religious teacher, who had lived not very long before the age of the author, than as a personage belonging to a very remote antiquity. Daksha also, who appears in this seventh chapter as one of the mindborn sons of Brahmā, is named in R. V. ii. 27, 1, as one of the Ādityas, and in the other hymn of the R.V. just alluded to, x. 72, vv. 4 and 5, he is noticed as being both the son and the father of the goddess Aditi. In the S'. P. ii. 4, 4, he is identified with Prajāpati.[125] In regard to his origin various legends are discoverable in the Purāṇas. Besides the passage before us, there are others in the V. P. in which he is mentioned. In iv. 1, 5, it is said that he sprang from the right thumb of Brahmā, and that Aditi was his daughter (*Brahmaṇaścha dakshiṇāngushṭha-janmā Dakshaḥ | Prajāpater Dakshasyāpy Aditiḥ*). In another place, V. P. i. 15, 52, it is said that Daksha, although formerly the son of Brahmā, was born to the ten Prachetases by Mārishā (*Daśabhyas tu Prachetobhyo Mārishāyām Prajāpatiḥ | jajne Daksho mahābhāgo yaḥ pūrvam Brahmaṇo 'bhavat |*). This double pa-

[124] See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 10 f.

[125] See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 10 ff. 24, 101; Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1865, pp. 72 ff.; Roth in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 75.

rentage of Daksha appears to Maitreya, one of the interlocutors in the Purāṇa, to require explanation, and he accordingly enquires of his informant, vv. 60 ff.: *Angushṭhād dakshiṇad Dakshaḥ pūrvaṁ jātaḥ śrutam mayā | katham Prāchetaso bhūyaḥ sa sambhūto mahāmune | esha me saṁśayo brahman sumahān hṛidi varttate | yad dauhitraś cha somasya punaḥ śvaśuratāṁ gataḥ | Parāśara uvācha | utpattiś cha nirodhaś cha nityau bhūteshu vai mune | ṛishayo 'tra na muhyanti ye chānye divyachakshushaḥ* | 61. *Yuge yuge bhavanty ete Dakshādyā muni-sattama | punaś chaiva nirudhyante vidvāṁs tatra na muhyati* | 62. *Kānishṭhyaṁ jyaishṭhyam apy eshām pūrvaṁ nābhūd dvijottama | tapa eva garīyo 'bhūt prabhāvaś chaiva kāraṇam* |

"60. I have heard that Daksha was formerly born from the right thumb of Brahmā. How was he again produced as the son of the Prachetases? This great doubt arises in my mind; and also (the question) how he, who was the daughter's son of Soma,[126] afterwards became his father-in-law. Parāśara answered: Both birth and destruction are perpetual among all creatures. Rishis, and others who have celestial insight, are not bewildered by this. In every age Daksha and the rest are born and are again destroyed: a wise man is not bewildered by this. Formerly, too, there was neither juniority nor seniority: austere fervour was the chief thing, and power was the cause (of distinction)."

The reader who desires further information regarding the part played by Daksha, whether as a progenitor of allegorical beings, or as a creator, may compare the accounts given in the sequel of the seventh and in the eleventh chapters of Book I. of the V. P. (pp. 108 ff. and 152 ff.) with that to be found in the fifteenth chapter (vol. ii. pp. 10 ff.).

I will merely add, in reference to Akūti, the second daughter of Manu Svāyambhuva and Śatarūpā, that the word is found in the Rig-veda with the signification of "will" or "design;" but appears to be personified in a passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 12, 9, 5 (the context of which has been cited above, p. 41), where it is said: *Irā patnī viśvasṛijām ākūtir apinaḍ haviḥ* | "Irā (Iḍā) was the wife of the creators. Akūti kneaded the oblation."

[126] See Wilson's V. P. vol. ii. p. 2, at the top.

SECT. VIII.—*Account of the different creations, including that of the castes, according to the Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas.*

I now proceed to extract from the Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas the accounts which they supply of the creation, and which are to the same effect as those which have been quoted from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, although with many varieties of detail.

I shall first adduce a passage from the fifth chapter of the Vāyu (which to some extent runs parallel with the second chapter of the Vishṇu Purāṇa[127]), on account of its containing a different account from that generally given of the triad of gods who correspond to the triad of qualities (*guṇas*).

Vāyu Purāṇa, chapter v. verse 11. *Ahar-mukhe pravṛitte cha paraḥ prakṛiti-sambhavaḥ* | *kshobhayāmāsa yogena pareṇa parameśvaraḥ* | 12. *Pradhānam purusham chaiva praviśyāṇḍam Maheśvaraḥ* | 13. *Pradhānāt kshobhyamānāt tu rajo vai samavarttata* | *rajaḥ pravarttakaṁ tatra vījeshv api yathā jalam* | 14. *Guṇa-vaishamyam āsādya prasūyante hy adhishṭhitāḥ* | *guṇebhyaḥ kshobhyamāṇebhyas trayo devā vijajnire* | 15. *Āśritāḥ*[128] *paramā guhyāḥ sarvātmānaḥ śarīriṇaḥ* | *rajo Brahmā tamo hy Agniḥ sattvam Vishṇur ajāyata* | 16. *Rajaḥ-prakāśako Brahmā srashṭṛitvena vyavasthitaḥ* | *tamaḥ-prakāśako 'gnis tu kālatvena vyavasthitaḥ* | 17. *Sattva-prakāśako Vishṇur audāsīnye vyavasthitaḥ* | *ete eva trayo lokā ete eva trayo guṇāḥ* | 18. *Ete eva trayo vedā ete eva trayo 'gnayaḥ* | *parasparāśritāḥ hy ete parasparam anuvratāḥ* | 19. *Parasparena varttante dhārayanti parasparam* | *anyonya-mithunā hy ete hy anyonyam upajīvinaḥ* | 20. *Kshaṇaṁ viyogo na hy eshāṁ na tyajanti parasparam* | *Īśvaro hi paro devo Vishṇus tu mahataḥ paraḥ* | 21. *Brahmā tu rajosadriktaḥ sargāyeha pravarttate* | *paraścha purusho jneyaḥ prakṛitiścha parā smṛitā* |

"11, 12. At the beginning of the day, the supreme Lord Maheśvara, sprung from Prakṛiti, entering the egg, agitated with extreme intentness both Pradhāna (= Prakṛiti) and Purusha. 13. From

[127] See pp. 27 and 41 f. of Wilson's V. P. vol. i.

[128] The Gaikowar MS. of the India office, No. 2102, reads *āsthitāḥ*, instead of *āśritāḥ*, the reading of the Taylor MS.

Pradhāna, when agitated, the quality of passion (*rajas*) arose, which was there a stimulating cause, as water is in seeds. 14. When an inequality in the Guṇas arises, then (the deities) who preside over them are generated. From the Guṇas thus agitated there sprang three gods (15), indwelling, supreme, mysterious, animating all things, embodied. The rajas quality was born as Brahmā, the tamas as Agni,[129] the sattva as Vishṇu. 16. Brahmā, the manifester of rajas, acts in the character of creator; Agni, the manifester of tamas, acts in the capacity of time; 17. Vishṇu, the manifester of sattva, abides in a condition of indifference. These deities are the three worlds, the three qualities, (18) the three Vedas, the three fires; they are mutually dependent, mutually devoted. 19. They exist through each other, and uphold each other; they are twin-parts of one another, they subsist through one another. 20. They are not for a moment separated; they never abandon one another. Iśvara (Mahādeva) is the supreme god; and Vishṇu is superior to Mahat (the principle of intelligence); while Brahmā, filled with rajas, engages in creation. Purusha is to be regarded as supreme, as Prakṛiti is also declared to be."

The sixth section of the Vāyu P., from which the next quotation will be made, corresponds to the fourth of the Vishṇu P. quoted above.

1. *Āpo hy agre samabhavan nashṭe 'gnau pṛithivī-tale | sāntarālaika-līne 'smin nashṭe sthāvara-jangame |* 2. *Ekārṇave tadā tasmin na prājnāyata kinchana | tadā sa bhagavān Brahmā sahasrākshaḥ sahasra-pāt |* 3. *Sahasra-śīrshā Purusho rukma-varṇo hy atīndriyaḥ | Brahmā Nārāyaṇākhyaḥ sa sushvāpa salile tadā |* 4. *Sattvodrekāt prabuddhas tu śūnyam lokam udīkshya saḥ | imam chodāharanty atra ślokam Nārāyaṇam prati |* 5. *Āpo nārā vai tanavah*[130] *ity apām nāma śuśruma | apsu śete cha yat tasmāt tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitah |* 6. *Tulyaṁ yuga-sahasrasya naiśam kālam upāsya saḥ | śarvary-ante prakurute brahmatvam sarga-kāraṇāt |* 7. *Brahmā tu salile tasmin vāyur bhūtvā tadā 'charat | niśāyām iva khadyotiḥ prāvṛiṭ-kāle tatas tataḥ |* 8. *Tatas tu salile tasmin vijnāyāntargatām mahīm | anumāṇād asammūḍho bhūmer uddharaṇam prati |*

[129] The Mārk. P. chap. 46, verse 18, has the same line, but substitutes Rudra for Agni, thus: *Rajo Brahmā tamo Rudro Vishṇuḥ sattvaṁ jagat-patiḥ |* The two are often identified. See Vol. IV. of this work, 282 ff.

[130] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 57, with the translator's and editor's notes. Verses 1 to 6 are repeated towards the close of the 7th section of the Vāyu P. with variations.

9. *Akarot sa tanuṁ hy anyām kalpādishu yathā purā* | *tato mahātmā manasā divyaṁ rūpam achintayat* | 10. *Salilenāplutām bhūmim drishtvā sa tu samantataḥ* | "*kim nu rūpam mahat kritvā uddhareyam aham mahīm*" | 11. *Jala-krīdā-suruchiram vārāhaṁ rūpam asmarat* | *adhrishyaṁ sarva-bhūtānāṁ vāṅmayam dharma-sanjnitam* |

"1. When fire had perished from the earth, and this entire world motionless and moving, together with all intermediate things, had been dissolved into one mass, and had been destroyed—waters first were produced. As the world formed at that time but one ocean, nothing could be distinguished. Then the divine Brahmā, Purusha, with a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, (3) a thousand heads, of golden hue, beyond the reach of the senses—Brahmā, called Nārāyaṇa, slept on the water. 4. But awaking in consequence of the predominance (in him) of the sattva quality, and beholding the world a void—: Here they quote a verse regarding Nārāyaṇa: 5. 'The waters are the bodies of Nara: such is the name we have heard given to them; and because he sleeps upon them, he is called Nārāyaṇa.' 6. Having so continued for a nocturnal period equal to a thousand Yugas, at the end of the night he takes the character of Brahmā in order to create. 7. Brahmā then becoming Vāyu (wind) moved upon that water,[131] hither and thither, like a firefly at night in the rainy season. 8. Discovering then by inference that the earth lay within the waters, but unbewildered, (9) he took, for the purpose of raising it up, another body, as he had done at the beginnings of the (previous) Kalpas. Then that Great Being devised a celestial form. 10. Perceiving the earth to be entirely covered with water, (and asking himself) 'what great shape shall I assume in order that I may raise it up?'—he thought upon the form of a boar, brilliant from aquatic play, invincible by all creatures, formed of speech, and bearing the name of righteousness."

The body of the boar is then described in detail, and afterwards the elevation of the earth from beneath the waters, and the restoration of its former shape, divisions, etc.[132]—the substance of the account being

[131] This statement, which is not in the corresponding passage of the Vishṇu P., is evidently borrowed, along with other particulars, from the text of the Taittirīya Sanhitā; vii. 1, 5, 1, quoted above p. 52.

[132] Following the passage of the Taittirīya Sanhitā, quoted above, the writer in one verse ascribes to Brahmā as Viśvakarman the arrangement of the earth, *tatas teshu viśīrṇeshu lokodadhi-girishv atha* | *Viśvakarmā vibhajate kalpādishu punaḥ punaḥ* |

much the same, but the particulars different from those of the parallel passage in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

Then follows a description of the creation coinciding in all essential points[133] with that quoted above, p. 55, from the beginning of the fifth chapter of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

The further account of the creation, however, corresponding to that which I have quoted from the next part of the same chapter of that Purāṇa, is not found in the same position in the Vāyu Purāṇa,[134] but is placed at the beginning of the ninth chapter, two others, entitled *Pratisandhi-kīrttana* and *Chaturāśrama-vibhāga*, being interposed as the seventh and eighth. With the view, however, of facilitating comparison between the various cosmogonies described in the two works, I shall preserve the order of the accounts as found in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and place the details given in the ninth chapter of the Vāyu Purāṇa before those supplied in the eighth.

The ninth chapter of the Vāyu Purāṇa, which is fuller in its details than the parallel passage in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, begins thus, without any specific reference to the contents of the preceding chapter:

Sūta uvācha | 1. *Tato 'bhidhyāyatas tasya jajnire mānasīḥ prajāḥ* | *tach-charīra-samutpannaiḥ kāryais taiḥ kāraṇaiḥ saha* | 2. *Kshetrajnāḥ samavarttanta gātrebhyas tasya dhīmataḥ* | *tato devāsura-pitṝn mānavaṁ cha chatushṭayam* | 3. *Sisṛikshur ambhāṁsy etāni svātmanā samayūyujat* | *yuktātmanas tatas tasya tamomātrā svayambhuvaḥ* | 4. *Tam abhidhyāyataḥ sargam prayatno 'bhūt Prajāpateḥ* | *tato 'sya jaghanāt pūrvam asurā jajnire sutāḥ* | 5. *Asuḥ prāṇaḥ smṛito viprais taj-janmānas tato 'surāḥ* | *yayā sṛishṭāsurās tanvā tāṁ tanuṁ sa vyapohata*[135] | 6. *Sā 'paviddhā tanus tena sadyo rātrir ajāyata* | *sā tamo-bahulā yasmāt tato rātris triyāmikā* | 7. *Āvritās tamasā rātrau prajās tasmāt svapanty uta* | *dṛishṭvā 'surāṁs tu deveśas tanum anyām apadyata* | 8. *Avyaktām sattva-bahulāṁ tatas tāṁ so 'bhyayūyujat* | *tatas tāṁ yunjatas tasya priyam āsīt prabhoḥ kila* | 9. *Tato mukhe samutpannā dīvyatas tasya devatāḥ* | *yato 'sya dīvyato jātās tena devāḥ*

[133] This is also the case with the details given in the Mārk. P. xlvii. 15-27 and ff.

[134] The Mārk. P. however observes the same order as the Vishṇu P.

[135] The reading in the passage of the Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 6, from which this narrative is borrowed (see above, p. 28), is *apāhata*,—which, however, does not prove that that verb with *vi* prefixed should necessarily be the true reading here; as the Taylor and Gaikowar MSS. have *vyapohata* throughout, and in one place *vyapohat*.

prakīrttitāḥ | 10. *Dhātur divīti yaḥ proktaḥ krīḍāyāṁ sa vibhāvyate* | *tasmāt* (? *yasmāt*) *tanvāṁ tu divyāyāṁ jajnire tena devatāḥ* | 11. *Devān sṛishṭvā 'tha devesas tanum anyām apadyata* | *sattva-mātrātmikāṁ devas tato 'nyāṁ so 'bhyapadyata*[136] | 12. *Pitṛivad manyamānas tān putrān prādhyāyata prabhuḥ* | *pitaro hy upapakshābhyām*[137] *rātry-ahnor antarā 'sṛijat* | 13. *Tasmāt te pitaro devāḥ putratvaṁ tena teshu tat* | *yayā sṛishṭās tu pitaras tām tanuṁ sa vyapohata* | 14. *Sā 'paviddhā tanus tena sadyah sandhyā prajāyata* | *tasmād ahas tu devānām rātrir yā sā "surī smṛitā* | 15. *Tayor madhye tu vai paitrī yā tanuḥ sā garīyasī* | *tasmād devāsurāh sarve ṛishayo manavas tathā* | 16. *Te yuktās tām upāsante rātry-ahnor*[138] *madhyamāṁ tanum* | *tato 'nyāṁ sa punar Brahmā tanuṁ vai pratyapadyata* | 17. *Rajo-mātrātmikāṁ yāṁ tu manasā so 'sṛijat prabhuḥ* | *rajaḥ-prāyān tataḥ so 'tha mānasān asṛijat sutān* | 18. *Manasas tu tatas tasya mānasā jajnire prajāḥ* | *dṛishṭvā punaḥ prajāś chāpi svāṁ tanuṁ tām apohata* | 19. *Sā 'paviddhā tanus tena jyotsnā sadyas tv ajāyata* | *tasmād bhavanti saṁhṛishṭā jyotsnāyām udbhave prajāḥ* | 20. *Ity etās tanavas tena vyapaviddhā mahatmanā* | *sadyo rātry-ahanī chaiva sandhyā jyotsnā cha jajnire* | 21. *Jyotsnā sandhyā tathā 'haścha sattva-mātrātmakaṁ svayam* | *tamo-mātrātmikā rātriḥ sā vai tasmāt triyāmikā* | 22. *Tasmād devā divya-tanvā*[139] *dṛishṭāḥ sṛishṭā mukhāt tu vai* | *yasmāt teshām divā janma balinas tena te divā* | 23. *Tanvā yad asurān rātrau jaghanād asṛijat punaḥ* | *prāṇebhyo rātri-janmāno hy asahyā niśi tena te* | 24. *Etāny evam bhavishyāṇāṁ devānām asuraiḥ saha* | *pitṛīnām mānavānāṁ cha atītānāgateshu vai* | 25. *Manvantareshu sarveshu nimittāni bhavanti hi* | *jyotsnā rātry-ahanī sandhyā chatvāry ambhāṁsi tāni vai* | 26. *Bhānti yasmāt tato 'mbhāṁsi bhā-śabdo 'yam manīshibhiḥ* | *vyāpti-dīptyām nigadito pumāṁś chāha Prajāpatiḥ* | 27. *So 'mbhāṁsy etāni dṛishṭvā tu deva-dānava-mānavān* | *pitṛīṁś chaivāsṛijat so 'nyān ātmano vividhān punaḥ* | 28. *Tām utsṛijya tanuṁ kṛitsnāṁ tato 'nyām asṛijat prabhuḥ* | *mūrttiṁ rajas-tama-prāyām punar evābhyayūyujat* | 29. *Andhakāre kshudhāvishṭas tato 'nyāṁ sṛijate punaḥ* | *tena sṛishṭāḥ kshudhātmānas te 'mbhāṁsy ādātum udyatāḥ* | 30. "*Ambhāṁsy etāni rakshāma*" *uktavantaścha teshu ye* | *rākshasās te smṛitāḥ loke krodhātmāno niśācarāḥ* |

[136] This line is omitted in the Gaikowar MS.

[137] The Gaikowar MS. seems to read *upapārśvābhyām.*

[138] The Gaikowar MS. reads *Brahmaṇo madhyamāṁ tanum.*

[139] The Guikowar MS. reads *divā tanvā.*

"Sūta says: 1. Then, as he was desiring, there sprang from him mind-born sons, with those effects and causes derived from his body. 2. Embodied spirits were produced from the bodies of that wise Being. 3. Then willing to create these four streams (*ambhāmsi*) gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men, he fixed his spirit in abstraction. As Svayambhū was thus fixed in abstraction, a body consisting of nothing but darkness (invested him). 4. While desiring this creation, Prajāpati put forth an effort. Then Asuras were first produced as sons from his groin. 5. *Asu* is declared by Brahmans to mean breath. From it these beings were produced; hence they are *Asuras*.[140] He cast aside the body with which the Asuras were created. 6. Being cast away by him, that body immediately became night. Inasmuch as darkness predominated in it, night consists of three watches. 7. Hence, being enveloped in darkness, all creatures sleep at night. Beholding the Asuras, however, the Lord of gods took another body, (8) imperceptible, and having a predominance of goodness, which he then fixed in abstraction. While he continued thus to fix it, he experienced pleasure. 9. Then as he was sporting, gods were produced in his mouth. As they were born from him, while he was sporting (*dīvyataḥ*), they are known as Devas (gods). 10. The root *div* is understood in the sense of sporting. As they were born in a sportive (*divya*)[141] body, they are called Devatās. 11. Having created the deities, the Lord of gods then took another body, consisting entirely of goodness (*sattva*). 12. Regarding himself as a father, he thought upon these sons: he created Fathers (*Pitṛis*) from his armpits in the interval between night and day. 13. Hence these Fathers are gods: therefore that sonship belongs to them. He cast aside the body with which the Fathers were created. 14. Being cast away by him, it straightway became twilight. Hence day belongs to the gods, and night is said to belong to the Asuras. 15. The body intermediate between them, which is that of the Fathers, is the most important. Hence gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men (16) worship intently this intermediate body of Brahmā. He then took again another body. But from that body, composed altogether of passion (*rajas*),

[140] This statement, which is not found in the parallel passage of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, is borrowed from Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 2, quoted above.

[141] *Divya* properly means "celestial." But from the play of words in the passage, the writer may intend it to have here the sense of "sportive."

which he created by his mind, he formed mind-born[143] sons who had almost entirely a passionate character. 18. Then from his mind sprang mind-born sons. Beholding again his creatures, he cast away that body of his. 19. Being thrown off by him it straightway became morning twilight. Hence living beings are gladdened by the rise of early twilight. 20. Such were the bodies which, when cast aside by the Great Being, became immediately night and day, twilight and early twilight. 21. Early twilight, twilight, and day have all the character of pure goodness. Night has entirely the character of darkness (*tamas*); and hence it consists of three watches. 22. Hence the gods are beheld with a celestial body, and they were created from the mouth. As they were created during the day, they are strong during that period. 23. Inasmuch as he created the Asuras from his groin at night, they, having been born from his breath, during the night, are unconquerable during that season. 24, 25. Thus these four streams, early twilight, night, day, and twilight, are the causes of gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men, in all the Manvantaras that are past, as well as in those that are to come. 26. As these (streams) shine, they are called *ambhāṁsi*. This root *bhā* is used by the intelligent in the senses of pervading and shining, and the Male, Prajāpati, declares (the fact). 27. Having beheld these streams (*ambhāṁsi*), gods, Dānavas, men, and fathers, he again created various others from himself. 28. Abandoning that entire body, the lord created another, a form consisting almost entirely of passion and darkness, and again fixed it in abstraction. 29. Being possessed with hunger in the darkness, he then created another. The hungry beings formed by him were bent on seizing the streams (*ambhaṁsi*). 30. Those of them, who said 'let us preserve (*rakshāma*) these streams,' are known in the world as Rākshasas, wrathful, and prowling about at night."

This description is followed by an account of the further creation corresponding with that given in the same sequence in the Vishṇu Purāṇa; and the rest of the chapter is occupied with other details which it is not necessary that I should notice. I therefore proceed to make some quotations from the eighth chapter, entitled *Chaturāśrama-vibhāga*, or "the distribution into four orders," which corresponds, in

[143] *Mānasān*. We might expect here however, *mānavān* or *mānushān*, "human," in conformity with the parallel passages both in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see above, p. 56), and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, xlviii. 11.

its general contents, with the sixth chapter of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, book i., but is of far greater length, and, in fact, extremely prolix, as well as confused, full of repetitions, and not always very intelligible.

The chapter immediately preceding (*i.e.* the seventh), entitled *Pratisandhi-kīrttanam*, ends with the words: "I shall now declare to you the present Kalpa; understand." Sūta accordingly proceeds at the opening of the eighth chapter to repeat some verses, which have been already quoted from the beginning of the sixth chapter, descriptive of Brahmā's sleep during the night after the universe had been dissolved, and to recapitulate briefly the elevation of the earth from beneath the waters, its reconstruction, and the institution of Yugas. At verse 22 the narrative proceeds:

Kalpasyādau kṛitayuge prathame so 'sṛijat prajāḥ | 23. *Prāg uktā yā mayā tubhyam pūrva-kāle prajās tu tāḥ* | *tasmin samvarttamāne tu kalpe dagdhās tadā 'gninā* | 24. *Aprāptā yās tapo-lokaṁ jana-lokaṁ samāśritāḥ* | *pravarttati punaḥ sarge vījarthaṁ tā bhavanti hi* | 25. *Vījārthena sthitās tatra punaḥ sargasya kāraṇāt* | *tatas tāḥ sṛijyamānās tu santānārtham bhavanti hi* | 26. *Dharmārtha-kāma-mokshāṇām iha tāḥ sādhikāḥ smṛitāḥ* | *devāś cha pitaraśchaiva ṛishayo manavas tathā* | 27. *Tatas te tapasā yuktāḥ sthānāny āpūrayanti hi* | *Brahmaṇo mānasās te vai siddhātmāno bhavanti hi* | 28. *Ye sangādvesha-yuktena karmaṇā te divaṁ gatāḥ* | *āvarttamānā iha te sambhavanti yuge yuge* | 29. *Svakarma-phala-śesheṇa khyātyā chaiva tathātmikā* (? *tathātmakāḥ*) | *sambhavanti janāl lokāt karma-saṁśaya-bandhanāt* | 30. *Āśayaḥ kāraṇaṁ tatra boddhavyaṁ karmaṇā tu saḥ* | *taiḥ karmabhis tu jāyante janāl lokāt śubhāśubhaiḥ* | 31. *Gṛihṇanti te śarīrāṇi nānā-rūpāṇi yonishu* | *devādyāḥ sthāvarāntāś cha utpadyante parasparam* (? *paramparam*) | 32. *Teshāṁ ye yāni karmāṇi prāk-sṛishṭau pratipedire* | *tāny eva pratipadyante sṛijyamānāḥ punaḥ punaḥ* | 33. *Hiṁsrāhiṁsre mṛidu-krūre dharmādharme ṛitānṛite* | *tadbhāvitāh prapadyante tasmāt tat tasya rochate* | 34. *Kalpeshv āsan vyatīteshu rūpa-nāmāni yāni cha* | *tāny evānāgate kāle prāyaśaḥ pratipedire* | 35. *Tasmāt tu nāma-rūpāṇi tāny eva pratipedire* | *punaḥ punas te kalpeshu jāyante nāma-rūpataḥ* | 36. *Tataḥ sarge hy avashṭabdhe sisṛikshor Brahmaṇas tu vai* | 37.[143] *Prajās tā dhyāyatas*

[143] The narrative in the 49th chapter of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (verses 3–13) begins at this verse, the 37th of the Vāyu Purāṇa, and coincides, though with verbal differences, with what follows down to verse 47. After that there is more variation.

tasya satyābhidhyāyinas tadā | *mithunānāṁ sahasram tu so 'sṛijad vai mukhāt tadā* | 38. *Janās te hy upapadyante sattvodriktāḥ suchetasaḥ*[144] | *sahasram anyad vakshasto mithunānāṁ sasarja ha* | 39. *Te sarve rajasodriktāḥ śushmiṇaś chāpy aśushmiṇaḥ*[145] | *sṛishṭvā sahasram anyat tu dvandvānām ūrutaḥ punaḥ* | 40. *Rajas-tamobhyām udriktā īhāśīlās tu te smṛitāḥ* | *padbhyām sahasram anyat tu mithunānāṁ sasarja ha* | 41. *Udriktās tamasā sarve niḥśrīkā hy alpa-tejasāḥ* | *tato vai harshamāṇās te dvandvotpannās tu prāṇinaḥ* | 42. *Anyonya-hṛichhayāvishṭā maithunāyopachakramuḥ* | *tataḥprabhṛiti kalpe 'smin maithunotpattir uchyate* | 43. *Māsi māsy ārttavaṁ yat tu na tadā "sīt tu yoshitām*[146] | *tasmāt tadā na sushuvuḥ sevitair api maithunaiḥ* | 44. *Āyusho 'nte prasūyante mithunāny eva tāḥ sakṛit* | *kuṇṭhakāḥ kuṇṭhikāś chaiva utpadyante mumūrshatām*[147] | 45. *Tataḥ prabhṛiti kalpe 'smin mithunānāṁ hi sambhavaḥ* | *dhyāne tu manasā tāsām prajānām jāyate sakṛit* | 46. *Śabdādi-vishayaḥ śuddhaḥ pratyekam pancha-lakshaṇaḥ* | *ity evam mānasī*[148] *pūrvam prāk-sṛishṭir yā Prajāpateḥ* | 47. *Tasyānvavāye sambhūtā yair idam pūritaṁ jagat* | *sarit-saraḥ-samudrāṁś cha sevante parvatān api* | 48. *Tadā nātyanta-śītoshṇā yuge tasmin charanti vai* | *pṛithvī-rasodbhavaṁ nāma āhāraṁ hy āharanti vai*[149] | 49. *Tāḥ prajāḥ kāma-chāriṇyo mānasīm siddhim āsthitāḥ* | *dharmādharmau na tāsv āstām nirviśeshāḥ prajās tu tāḥ* | 50. *Tulyam āyuḥ sukhaṁ rūpaṁ tāsāṁ tasmin kṛite yuge* | *dharmādharmau na tāsv āstām kalpādau tu kṛite yuge* | 51. *Svena svenādhikāreṇa jajnire te kṛite yuge* | *chatvāri tu sahasrāṇi varshāṇāṁ divya-sankhyayā* | 52. *Ādyaṁ kṛita-yugam prāhuḥ sandhyānāṁ tu chatuḥ-śatam* | *tataḥ sahasraśas tāsa prajāsu prathitāsv api* | 53.[150] *Na tāsāṁ pratighāto 'sti na dvandvaṁ nāpi cha klamaḥ* | *parvatodadhi-sevinyo hy aniketāśrayās tu tāḥ* | 54. *Viśokāḥ sattva-bahulāḥ hy ekānta-sukhitāḥ prajāḥ* | *tāḥ vai nishkāma-chāriṇyo nityam mudita-mānasāḥ* | 55. *Paśa-*

[144] For *suchetasaḥ* the Mārk. P. reads *sutejasaḥ*.

[145] For *aśushmiṇaḥ* the Mārk. P. reads *amarshiṇaḥ*, "irascible."

[146] I have corrected this line from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 49, 9 *b*. The reading of the MSS. of the Vāyu Purāṇa cannot be correct. It appears to be: *māse māse 'rttavaṁ yad yat tat tadāsīd hi yoshitām* | The negative particle seems to be indispensable here.

[147] This half verse is not found in the Mārk. P.

[148] The Mārk. P. has *mānushī*, "human," instead of *mānasī*, "mental."

[149] This verse is not in the Mārk. P.; and after this point the verses which are common to both Purāṇas do not occur in the same places.

[150] Verses 53–56 coincide generally with verses 14–18 of the Mārk. P.

vaḥ pakshiṇaś chaiva na tadāsan sarīsṛipāḥ | *nodbhijjā nārakaś*[151] *chaiva te hy adharma-prasūtayaḥ* | 56. *Na mūla-phala-pushpaṁ cha nārttavam ṛitavo na cha* | *sarva-kāma-sukhaḥ kālo nātyarthaṁ hy ushṇa-śītatā*[152] | 57. *Manobhilashitāḥ kāmās tāsāṁ sarvatra sarvadā* | *uttishṭhanti pṛithivyāṁ vai tābhir dhyātā rasolvaṇāḥ* | 58. *Balavarṇa-karī tāsām siddhiḥ sā roga-nāśinī* | *asaṁskāryyaiḥ śarīraiś cha prajās tāḥ sthirayauvanāḥ* | 59. *Tāsāṁ viśuddhāt sankalpāj jāyante mithunāḥ prajāḥ* | *samam janma cha rūpaṁ cha mriyante chaiva tāḥ samam* | 60. *Tadā satyam alobhaś cha kshamā tushṭiḥ sukhaṁ damaḥ* | *nirviśeshās tu tāḥ sarvā rūpāyuḥ-śīla-cheshṭitaiḥ* | 61. *Abuddhipūrvakaṁ vṛittam prajānāṁ jāyate svayam* | *apravṛittiḥ kṛita-yuge karmaṇoḥ śubhapāpayoḥ* | 62. *Varṇāśrama-vyavasthāś cha na tadā 'san na sankarah* | *anichhādvesha-yuktās te varttayanti parasparam* | 63. *Tulya-rūpāyushaḥ sarvāḥ adhamottama-varjitāḥ*[153] | *sukha-prāyā hy aśokāś cha udpadyante kṛite yuge* | 64. *Nitya-prahṛishṭa-manaso mahāsattvā mahābalāḥ* | *lābhālābhau na tāsv āstām mitrāmitre priyāpriye* | 65. *Manasā vishayas tāsāṁ nirīhāṇām pravarttate* | *na lipsanti hi tā'nyoyaṁ nānugṛihṇanti chaiva hi* | 66. *Dhyānam paraṁ kṛita-yuge tretāyāṁ jnānam uchyate* | *pravṛittaṁ dvāpare yajnaṁ dānam kali-yuge varam* | 67. *Sattvaṁ kṛitaṁ rajas tretā dvāparaṁ tu rajas-tamau* | *kalau tamas tu vijneyam yuga-vṛitta-vaśena tu* | 68. *Kālaḥ kṛite yuge tv esha tasya sankhyāṁ nibodhata* | *chatvāri tu sahasrāṇi varshāṇāṁ tat kṛitaṁ yugam* | 69. *Sandhyāṁśau tasya divyāni śatāny ashṭau cha sankhyayā* | *tadā tāsām babhūvāyur na cha kleśa-vipattayaḥ*[154] | 70. *Tataḥ kṛitayuge tasmin sandhyāṁśe hi gate tu vai* | *pādāvaśishṭo bhavati yuga-dharmas tu sarvaśaḥ* | 71. *Sandhyāyām apy atītāyām anta-kāle yugasya vai* | *pādaśas chāvaśishṭe tu sandhyā-dharme yugasya tu* | 72. *Evaṁ kṛite tu niḥśeshe siddhis tv antardadhe tadā* | *tasyāṁ cha siddhau bhrashṭāyām mānasyām abhavat tataḥ* | 73. *Siddhir*

[151] The Mārk. P. has *nakrāḥ*, "crocodiles," in its enumeration.

[152] The Mārk. P. here inserts some other lines, 18*b*–21*a*, instead of 57 and 58*a* of the Vāyu P.

[153] The Mārk. P. inserts here the following verses: 24. *Chatvāri tu sahasrāṇi varshāṇām mānushāṇi tu* | *āyuḥ-pramāṇāṁ jīvanti na cha kleśād vipattayaḥ* | 25. *Kvachit kvachit punaḥ sā bhūt kshitir bhāgyena sarvaśaḥ* | *kālena gachhatā nāśam upayānti yathā prajāḥ* | 26. *Tathā tāḥ kramaśaḥ nāśaṁ jagmuḥ sarvatra siddhayaḥ* | *tāsu sarvāsu nashṭāsu nabhasaḥ prachyutā narāḥ* (*latāḥ* in one MS.) | *prāyaśaḥ kalpa-vṛikshās te sambhūtā gṛiha-saṁsthitāḥ* |

[154] Instead of *babhūvāyuḥ*, etc., the Gaikowar MS. has *prayuktāni na cha kleśo babhūva ha* |

anyā yuge tasmiṁs tretāyām antare kṛitā | *sargādau yā mayā 'shṭau tu mānasyo vai prakīrttitāḥ* | 74. *Ashṭau tāh krama-yogena siddhayo yānti sankshayam* | *kalpādau mānasī hy ekā siddhir bhavati sā kṛite* | 75. *Manvantareshu sarveshu chatur-yuga-vibhāgaśaḥ* | *varṇāśramāchāra-kṛitaḥ karma-siddhodbhavaḥ* (*karma-siddhyudbhavaḥ*?) *smṛitaḥ* | 76. *Sandhyā kṛitasya pādena sandhyā pādena chāṁśataḥ* | *kṛita-sandhyāṁśakā hy ete trīṁs trīn pādān parasparam* | 77. *Hrasanti yuga-dharmais te tapaḥ-śruta-balāyushaiḥ* | *tataḥ kritāṁśe kshīṇe tu babhūva tad-anantaram* | 78. *Tretā-yugam amanyanta kṛitāṁśam ṛishi-sattamāḥ* | *tasmin kshīṇe kṛitāṁśe tu tach-chhishṭāsu prajāsv iha* | 79. *Kalpādau sampravṛittāyās tretāyāḥ pramukhe tadā* | *praṇaśyati tadā siddhiḥ kāla-yogena nānyathā* | 80. *Tasyāṁ siddhau praṇashṭāyām anyā siddhir avarttata* | *apām saukshmye pratigate tadā meghātmanā tu vai* | 81. *Meghebhyaḥ stanayitnubhyaḥ pravṛittaṁ vṛishṭi-sarjjanam* | *sakṛid eva tayā vṛishṭyā saṁyukte pṛithivī-tale* | 82. *Prādurāsaṁs tadā tāsāṁ vṛikshās tu griha-saṁsthitāḥ*[155] | *sarva-pratyupabhogas tu tāsāṁ tebhyaḥ prajāyate* | 83. *Varttayanti hi tebhyas tās tretā-yuga-mukhe prajāḥ* | *tataḥ kālena mahatā tāsām eva viparyayāt* | 84. *Rāgalobhātmako bhāvas tadā hy ākasmiko 'bhavat* | *yat tad bhavati nārīṇāṁ jīvitānte tad ārtavam* | 85. *Tadā tad vai na bhavati punar yuga-balena tu* | *tāsām punaḥ pravṛitte tu māse māse tad ārttavam* (*-ve*?) | 86. *Tatas tenaiva yogena varttatām maithune tadā* | *tāsāṁ tāt-kāla-bhāvitvād māsi māsy upayachhatām* | 87. *Akāle hy ārttavotpattir garbhotpattir ajāyata* | *viparyyayena tāsāṁ tu tena kālena bhāvinā* | 88. *Praṇaśyanti tataḥ sarve vṛikshās te gṛihasaṁsthitāḥ* | *tatas teshu praṇashṭeshu vibhrāntā vyākulendriyāḥ* | 89. *Abhidhyāyanti tāṁ siddhiṁ satyābhidhyāyinas tadā* | *prādurbabhūvus tāsāṁ tu vṛikshās te gṛiha-saṁsthitāḥ* | 90.[156] *Vastrāṇi cha prasūyante phaleshv ābharaṇāni cha* | *teshv eva jāyate tāsām gandha-varṇa-rasānvitam* | 91. *Amākshikam mahāvīryam puṭake puṭake madhu* | *tena tā varttayanti sma mukhe tretā-yugasya vai* | 92. *Hṛishṭa-tushṭās tayā siddhyā prajā vai vigata-jvarāḥ* | *punaḥ kālāntareṇaiva punar lobhāvṛitās tu tāḥ* | 93. *Vṛikshāṁs tān paryagṛihṇanta madhu chāmākshikam balāt* | *tāsāṁ tenāpachāreṇa punar lobha-kṛitena vai* | 94. *Praṇashṭā madhunā sārdham kalpa-vṛikshāḥ kva-*

[155] Verses 27–35 of the Mārk. P. correspond more or less to this and the following verses down to 98.

[156] This and the following verses correspond more or less closely to the Mārk. P. 30 ff.

chit kvachit | *tasyām svālpa-śishṭāyāṁ sandhyā-kāla-vaśāt tadā* | 95. *varttatāṁ tu tadā tāsāṁ dvandvāny abhyutthitāni tu* | *śītavātātapais tīvrais tatas tāḥ duḥkhitā bhṛiśam* | 96. *Dvandvais tāḥ pīḍyamānās tu chakrur āvaraṇāni cha* | *kṛitvā dvandva-pratīkāram niketāni hi bhejire* | 97. *Pūrvaṁ nikāma-chārās te aniketāśrayā bhṛiśam* | *yathā-yogyaṁ yathā-prīti niketeshv avasan punaḥ* | 98. *Maru-dhanvasu nimneshu parvateshu darīshu cha*[157] | *saṁśrayanti cha durgāṇi dhanvānam śāśvatodakam* | 99. *Yathā-yogaṁ yathā-kāmaṁ sameshu vishameshu cha* | *ārabdhās te niketā vai karttuṁ śītoshṇa-pāraṇam* | 100. *Tatas tā māpayāmāsuḥ kheṭāni cha purāṇi cha* | *grāmāṁś chaiva yathā-bhāgaṁ tathaivāntaḥ-purāṇi cha* | . . . 123.[158] *Kṛiteshu teshu sthāneshu punaś chakrur gṛihāṇi cha* | *yathā cha pūrvam āsan vai vṛikshās tu gṛiha-saṁsthitāḥ* | 124. *Tathā karttuṁ samārabdhāś chintayitvā punaḥ punaḥ* | *vṛiddhāś chaiva gatāḥ śākhā natāś chaivāparā gatāḥ* | 125. *Ata ūrdhvam gatās chānyā enam tiryaggatāh parāḥ* | *buddhyā 'nvishya tathā 'nyā yā vṛiksha-śākhā yathā gatāḥ* | 126. *Tathā kṛitās tu taiḥ śākhās tasmāch chhālās tu tāḥ smṛitāh* | *evam prasiddhāḥ śākhābhyaḥ śālāś chaiva gṛihāṇi cha* | 127. *Tasmāt tā vai smṛitāḥ śālāḥ śālātvaṁ chaiva tāsu tat* | *prasīdati manas tāsu manaḥ prāsādayaṁś cha tāḥ* | 128. *Tasmād gṛihāṇi śālāś cha prāsādāś chaiva sanjnitāḥ* | *kṛitvā dvandvopaghātāṁs tān vārttopāyam achintayan* | 129.[159] *Nashṭeshu madhunā sārddhaṁ kalpa-vṛiksheshu vai tadā* | *vishāda-vyākulās tā vai prajās tṛishṇā-kshudhānvitāḥ* | 130. *Tataḥ prādurbabhau tāsāṁ siddhis tretā-yuge punaḥ* | *vārttārtha-sādhikā hy anyā vṛishṭis tāsāṁ hi kāmataḥ* | 131. *Tāsāṁ vṛishṭy-udakānīha yāni nimnair gatāni tu* | *vṛishṭyā nimnā*(?) *nirabhavan srotaḥ-khātāni nimnagāḥ* | 132. *Evaṁ nadyaḥ pravṛittās tu dvitīye vṛishṭi-sarjane* | *ye purastād apām stokā āpannāḥ pṛithivītale* | 133. *Apām bhūmeś cha saṁyogād oshadhyas tāsu chābhavan* | *pushpa-mūlaphalinyas tv oshadhyas tāh prajajnire* | 134. *Aphāla-kṛishṭās chānuptā grāmyāraṇyaś chaturdaśa* | *ṛitu-pushpa-phalāśchaiva vṛikshāḥ gulmāś cha jajnire* | 135. *Prādurbhavaś cha tretāyām ādyo 'yam aushadhasya tu* | *tenaushadhena varttante prajās tretāyuge tadā* | 136. *Tataḥ punar abhūt tāsāṁ rāgo lobhaś cha sarvaśaḥ* | *avaśyam-*

157 I have corrected this line from Märk. P. xlix. 35.

158 Verses 52–54 of the Märk. P. correspond in substance to verses 123–128 of the Vāyu P.

159 Verses 55–62 of the Märk. P. correspond to verses 129–137 of the Vāyu P.

bhāvinā 'rthena tretā-yuga-vaśena tu | 137. *Tatas tāḥ paryagṛihṇanta nadīḥ kshetrāṇi parvatān* | *vṛikshān gulmaushadhīś chaiva prasahya tu yathā-balam* | 138. *Siddhātmānas tu ye pūrvam vyākhyātaḥ prāk kṛite mayā* | *Brahmaṇo mānasās te vai utpannā ye janād iha* | 139. *Śāntāś cha śushmiṇaś chaiva karmiṇo duḥkhinas tadā* | *tataḥ pravarttamānās te tretāyāṁ jajnire punaḥ* | 140. *Brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrā drohijanās tathā* | *bhāvitāḥ pūrva-jātīshu karmabhiś cha śubhāśubhaiḥ* | 141. *Itas tebhyo 'balā ye tu śatyaśīlā hy ahiṁsakāḥ* | *vīta-lobhā jitātmāno nivasanti sma teshu vai* | 142. *Pratigṛihṇanti kurvanti tebhyaś chānye 'lpa-tejasaḥ* | *evaṁ vipratipanneshu prapanneshu parasparam* | 143. *Tena dosheṇa teshāṁ tā oshadhyo mishatāṁ tadā*[160] | *praṇashṭā hriyamāṇā vai mushṭibhyāṁ sikatā yathā* | 144.[161] *Agrasad bhūr yuga-balād grāmyāraṇyāś chaturdaśa* | *phalam gṛihṇanti pushpaiścha phalaiḥ patraiḥ punaḥ punaḥ* | 145.[162] *Tatas tāsu praṇashṭāsu vibhrāntās tāḥ prajās tadā* | *Svayambhuvam prabhuṁ jagmuḥ kshudhāvishṭāḥ prajāpatim* | 146. *vṛitty-artham abhilipsantaḥ ādau tretā-yugasya tu* | *Brahmā Svayambhūr bhagavān jnātvā tāsām manīshitam* | 147. *Yuktam pratyaksha-drishṭena darśanena vichāryya cha* | *grastāḥ pṛithivyā oshadhyo jnātvā pratyaduhat punaḥ* | 148. *Kṛitvā vatsaṁ sumerum tu dudoha pṛithivīm imām* | *dugdheyaṁ gaus tadā tena vījāni pṛithivī-tale* | 149. *Jajnire tāni vījāni grāmyāraṇyās tu tāḥ punaḥ* | *oshadhyaḥ phala-pākāntāḥ śaṇa-saptadaśās tu tāḥ* | . . . . 155. *Utpannāḥ prathamaṁ hy etā ādau tretā-yugasya tu* | 156. *Aphāla-kṛishṭā oshadhyo grāmyāraṇyās tu sarvaśaḥ* | *vṛikshā gulmalatā-vallyo vīrudhas tṛiṇa-jātayaḥ* | 157. *Mūlaiḥ phalaiś cha rohiṇyo 'gṛihṇan pushpaiś cha yāḥ phalam* | *pṛithvī dugdhā tu vījāni yāni pūrvaṁ Svayambhuvā* | 158. *Ṛitu-pushpa-phalās tā vai oshadhyo jajnire tv iha* |[163] *yadā prasṛishṭā oshadyo na prarohanti tāḥ punaḥ* | 159. *Tataḥ sa tāsāṁ vṛitty-artham vārttopāyaṁ chakāra ha* | *Brahmā Svayambhūr bhagavān hasta-siddhaṁ tu karma-jam* | 160. *Tataḥ-prabhṛity athaushadhyaḥ kṛishṭa-pachyās tū jajnire* | *saṁsiddhāyāṁ tu vārttāyāṁ tatas tāsāṁ Svayambhuvaḥ* | 161. *Maryādāḥ sthāpayāmāsa yathārabdhāḥ parasparam* |[164] *ye vai parigṛihītāras tāsām āsan badhātmakāḥ* | 162. *Itareshāṁ kṛita-trāṇān sthāpayāmāsa kshattriyān* | *upatishṭhanti ye tān*

[160] Mārk. P. verse 63*a*. [161] Mārk. P. verse 68*b*.

[162] Verses 64–67 of the Mārk. P. correspond to verses 145–149 of the Vāyu P.

[163] Verses 73–75 of the Mārk. P. correspond to verses 158*b*–160*a* of the Vāyu P.

[164] This with all what follows down to verse 171 is omitted in the Mārk. P.

vai yāvanto nirbhayās tathā | 163. *Satyam brahma yathā bhūtam bruvanto brāhmaṇās tu te* | *ye chānye 'py abalās teshāṁ vaiśasaṁ karma saṁsthitāh* | 164. *Kīnāśā nāśayanti sma pṛithivyām prāg atandritāḥ* | *vaiśyān eva tu tān āhuḥ kīnāśān vṛitti-sādhakān* | 165. *Śochantaś cha dravantaś cha paricharyyāsu ye ratāḥ* | *nistejaso 'lpa-vīryyāś cha śūdrān tān abravīt tu saḥ* | 166. *Teshāṁ karmāṇi dharmāṁś cha Brahmā 'nuvyadadhāt prabhuḥ* | *saṁsthitau prakṛitāyāṁ tu chāturvarṇyasya sarvasaḥ* | 167. *Punaḥ prajās tu tā mohāt tān dharmān nānvapālayan* | *varṇa-dharmair ajīvantyo vyarudhyanta parasparam* | 168. *Brahmā tam artham buddhvā tu yāthātathyena vai prabhuḥ* | *kshattriyāṇām balam daṇḍam yuddhaṁ ājīvam ādiśat* | 169. *Yājanādhyayanam chaiva tṛitīyaṁ cha parigraham* | *brāhmaṇānāṁ vibhus teshām karmāṇy etāny athādiśat* | 170. *Pāśupālyaṁ vāṇijyaṁ cha kṛishiṁ chaiva viśāṁ dadau* | *śilpājīvam bhṛitiṁ chaiva śūdrāṇāṁ vyadadhāt prabhuḥ* | 171. *Sāmānyāni tu karmāṇi brahma-kshattra-viśām punaḥ* | *yājanādhyayanaṁ dānam sāmānyāni tu teshu vai* | 172. *Karmājīvaṁ tato datvā tebhyaś chaiva parasparam* | *lokāntareshu sthānāni teshāṁ siddhyāy*[165] *adāt prabhuḥ* | 173.[166] *Prājāpatyaṁ brāhmaṇānām smṛitaṁ sthānaṁ kṛiyāvatām* | *sthānaṁ aindraṁ kshattriyāṇām sangrāmeshv apalāyinām* | 174. *Vaiśyānām mārutaṁ sthānaṁ sva-dharmam upajīvinām* | *gāndharvaṁ śūdra-jātīnām pratichāreṇa (parichāreṇa?) tishṭhatām* | 175. *Sthānāny etāni varṇānāṁ vyasyāchāravatāṁ svayam* | *tataḥ sthiteshu varṇeshu sthāpayāmāsa chāśramān* | 176. *Gṛihastham brahmachāritvaṁ vanaprastham sabhikshukam* | *āśramāṁś chaturo hy etān pūrvam asthāpayat prabhuḥ* | 177. *Varṇa-karmāṇi ye kechit teshām iha na kurvate* | *kṛita-karmakshitiḥ(?) prāhur āśrama-sthāna-vāsinaḥ* | 178. *Brahmā tān sthāpayāmāsa āśramān nāma nāmataḥ* | *nirdeśārthaṁ tatas teshām Brahmā dharmān prābhāshata* | 179. *Prasthānāni cha teshāṁ vai yamāṁścha niyamāṁś cha ha* | *chāturvarṇyātmakaḥ pūrvaṁ gṛihasthas tv āśramaḥ smṛitaḥ* | 180. *Trāyāṇām āśramāṇāṁ cha pratishṭhā yonir eva cha* | *yathākramam pravakshyāmi yamaiś cha niyamaiś cha taiḥ* | . . . . 190. *Vedāḥ sāngāś cha yajnāś cha vratāni niyamāś cha ye* | 191. *Na siddhyanti prādushṭasya bhāvadoshe upāgate* | *bahiḥ-karmāṇi sarvāṇi prasiddhyanti (na siddhyanti?) kadāchana* |

[165] I conjecture *siddhyāy adāt* to be the proper reading. The MSS. have *siddhyādadāt*, or *siddhyādadāt*, etc.

[166] Verses 173 f. are found in the Mārk. P. verses 77 f.; but all that follows down to verse 193 is omitted there

192. *Antar-bhāva-pradushṭasya kurvato'hi parākramāt* | *sarvasvam api yo dadyāt kalushenāntarātmanā* | 193. *Na tena dharma-bhāk sa syād bhāva eva hi kāraṇam* | . . . . 199. *Evaṁ varṇāśramāṇāṁ vai pratibhāge kṛite tadā* | 200. *Yadā 'sya na vyavardhanta prajā varṇāśramatmikāḥ* | *tato 'nyā mānasīḥ so 'tha tretā-madhye 'sṛijat prajāḥ* | 201. *Ātmanas tāḥ śarīrāchcha tulyāś chaivātmanā tu vai* | *tasmin tretā-yuge prāpte madhyam prāpte krameṇa tu* | 202. *Tato 'nyā manasīs tatra prajāḥ srashṭum prachakrame* | *tataḥ satva-rajodriktāḥ prajāḥ so 'thāsrijat prabhuḥ* | 203. *Dharmārtha-kāma-mokshāṇāṁ vārttāyāś chaiva sādhikāḥ* | *devāś cha pitaraś chaiva ṛishayo manavas tathā* | 204. *Yugānurūpā dharmeṇa yair imā vichitāḥ prajāḥ* | *upasthite tadā tasmin prajādharme* (*-sarge*?) *Svayambhuvaḥ* | 205. *Abhidadhyau prajāḥ sarvā nānārūpās tu mānasīḥ* | *pūrvoktā yā mayā tubhyaṁ jana-lokaṁ samāsritāḥ* | 206. *Kalpe'tīte tu tā hy āsan devādyās tu prajā iha* | *dhyāyatas tasya tāḥ sarvāḥ sambhūty-artham upasthitāḥ* | 207. *Manvantara-krameṇeha kanishṭhe prathame matāḥ* | *khyātyā 'nubandhais tais tais tu sarvārthair iha bhāvitāḥ* | 208. *Kuśalākuśala-prāyaiḥ karmabhis taiḥ sadā prajāḥ* | *tat-karma-phala-śesheṇa upashṭabdhāḥ prajajnire* | 209. *Devāsura-pitṛitvais tu paśu-pakshi-sarīsṛipaiḥ* | *vṛiksha-nāraka-kīṭatvais tais tair bhāvair upasthitāḥ* | *ādhīnārtham prajānāṁ cha ātmanā vai vinirmame* |

"22. At the beginning of the Kalpa, in the first Kṛita age, he created those living beings (23) which I have formerly described to thee; but in the olden time, at the close of the Kalpa, those creatures were burnt up by fire. 24. Those of them who did not reach the Tapoloka took refuge in the Janaloka; and when the creation again commences, they form its seed. 25. Existing there as a seed for the sake of another creation, they then, as they are created, are produced with a view to progeny. 26. These are declared to accomplish, in the present state (the four ends of human life, viz.), duty, the acquisition of wealth, the gratification of love, and the attainment of final liberation, — both gods, Fathers, Rishis, and Manus. 27. They, then, filled with austere fervour, replenish (all) places. These are the mental sons of Brahmā, perfect in their nature. 28. Those who ascended to the sky by works characterized by devotion to external objects, but not by hatred, return to this world and are born in every age. 29. As the result of their works, and of their destination, (returning) from the Janaloka, they are born of the same character (as

before), in consequence of the (previous) deeds by which they are bound.[167] 30. It is to be understood that the cause of this is their tendency (or fate), which itself is the result of works. In consequence of these works, good or bad, they return from Janaloka and are born, (31) and receive various bodies in (different) wombs. They are produced again and again in all states, from that of gods to that of motionless substances. 32. These creatures, as they are born time after time, receive the same functions as they had obtained in each previous creation. 33. Destructiveness and undestructiveness, mildness and cruelty, righteousness and unrighteousness, truth and falsehood—actuated by such dispositions as these, they obtain (their several conditions); and hence particular actions are agreeable to particular creatures. 34. And in succeeding periods they for the most part obtain the forms and the names which they had in the past Kalpas. 35. Hence they obtain the same names and forms. In the different Kalpas they are born with the same name and form. 36. Afterwards, when the creation had been suspended, as Brahmā was desirous to create, (37) and, fixed in his design, was meditating upon offspring,—he created from his mouth a thousand couples of living beings, (38) who were born with an abundance of goodness (*sattva*) and full of intelligence.[168] He then created another thousand couples from his breast: (39) they all abounded in passion (*rajas*) and were both vigorous and destitute of vigour.[169] After creating from his thighs another thousand pairs, (40) in whom both passion and darkness (*tamas*) prevailed, and who are described as active,—he formed from his feet yet another thousand couples (41) who were all full of darkness, inglorious, and of little vigour. Then the creatures sprung from the couples (or thus produced in couples) rejoicing, (42) and filled with mutual love, began to cohabit. From that period sexual intercourse is said to have arisen in this Kalpa. 43. But at that time women had no monthly discharge: and they consequently bore no children, although cohabit-

[167] *Karma-saṁśaya-bandhanāt.* I am unable to state the sense of *saṁśaya* in this compound.

[168] *Suchetasaḥ.* The reading of the Mārk. P. *sutejasaḥ*, "full of vigour," is recommended, as an epithet of the Brāhmans, by its being in opposition to *alpa-tejasaḥ*, "of little vigour," which is applied to the S'ūdras a few lines below.

[169] The reading of the Mārk. P. *amarshinaḥ*, "irascible," gives a better sense than *aśushminaḥ*, "devoid of vigour," which the Vāyu P. has.

ation was practised. 44. At the end of their lives they once bore twins. Weak-minded boys and girls were produced when (their parents) were on the point of death. 45. From that period commenced, in this Kalpa, the birth of twins; and such offspring was once only born to these creatures by a mental effort, in meditation (46),—(offspring which was) receptive (?) of sound and the other objects of sense, pure, and in every case distinguished by five marks. Such was formerly the early mental creation of Prajapāti. 47. Those creatures by whom the world was replenished, born as the descendants of this stock, frequented rivers, lakes, seas, and mountains. 48. In that age (*yuga*) they lived unaffected by excessive cold or heat, and appropriated the food which was produced from the essences of the earth. 49. They acted according to their pleasure, existing in a state of mental perfection. They were characterized neither by righteousness nor unrighteousness; were marked by no distinctions. 50. In that Kṛita yuga, in the beginning of the Kalpa, their age, happiness, and form were alike: they were neither righteous nor unrighteous. 51. In the Kṛita age they were produced each with authority over himself. Four thousand years, according to the calculation of the gods, (52) and four hundred years for each of the morning and evening twilights, are said to form the first, or Kṛita, age.[170] Then, although these creatures were multiplied by thousands, (53) they suffered no impediment, no susceptibility to the pairs of opposites (pleasure and pain, cold and heat, etc.) and no fatigue. They frequented mountains and seas, and did not dwell in houses. 54. They never sorrowed, were full of goodness (*sattva*), and supremely happy; acted from no impulse of desire,[171] and lived in continual delight. 55. There were at that time no beasts, birds, reptiles, or plants,[172] (for these things are produced by unrighteousness),[173] (56) no roots, fruits,

[170] The first of the verses, which will be quoted below, in a note on verse 63, from the Mārk. P., seems to be more in place than the description of the Kṛita age given here, of which the substance is repeated in verses 68 and 69.

[171] Perhaps we should read here *nikāma-chāriṇyo* instead of *nishkāma-*: if so, the sense will be, "they moved about at will."

[172] The text adds here *nārakāḥ* or *narakāḥ*, which may mean "hellish creatures.'

[173] This, although agreeing with what is said further on in verses 82, 133, and 155, does not seem in consonance with what is stated in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, verse 45, where it is declared: *oshadhyaḥ phala-mūlinyo romabhyas tasya jajnire | tretā-yuga-mukhe Brahmā kalpasyādau dvijottama | sṛishṭvā paśv-oshadhīḥ samyag yuyoja sa tadā 'dhvare |* "Plants bearing roots and fruits sprang from his hairs. At the com-

flowers, productions of the seasons, nor seasons. The time brought with it every object of desire and every enjoyment. There was no excess of heat or cold. 57. The things which these people desired sprang up from the earth everywhere and always, when thought of, and had a powerful relish. 58. That perfection of theirs both produced strength and beauty, and annihilated disease. With bodies, which needed no decoration, they enjoyed perpetual youth. 59. From their pure will alone twin children were produced. Their form was the same. They were born and died together. 60. Then truth, contentment, patience, satisfaction, happiness, and self-command prevailed. They were all without distinction in respect of form, term of life, disposition and actions. 61. The means of subsistence were produced spontaneously without forethought on their parts. In the Kṛita age they engaged in no works which were either virtuous or sinful. 62. And there were then no distinctions of castes or orders, and no mixture of castes. Men acted towards each other without any feeling of love or hatred. 63. In the Kṛita age they were born alike in form and duration of life, without any distinction of lower and higher,[174] with abundant happiness, free from grief, (64) with hearts continually exulting, great in dignity

mencement of the Tretā age Brahmā—having at the beginning of the Kalpa created animals and plants—employed them in sacrifice." Although the order of the words renders the sense in some degree uncertain, it appears to be that which Prof. Wilson assigns in his translation (i. 84), "Brahmā, having created, in the commencement of the Kalpa, various [animals and] plants, employed them in sacrifices in the beginning of the Tretā age." This interpretation is supported by the Commentator, who remarks: *Tad evaṁ kalpasyādāv eva paśūn oshadhīś cha sṛishṭvā 'nantaraṁ tretā-yuga-mukhe prāpte sati samyag grāmyāraṉya-vyasthāyā tadā 'dhvare sānatayā* (*samyaktayā?*) *yuyoja kṛita-yuge yajnasyāpravṛitteḥ* | "Having then thus at the very beginning of the Kalpa created animals and plants, he afterwards, when the commencement of the Tretā age arrived, employed them properly, according to the distinction of domestic and wild, in sacrifice,—since sacrifice did not prevail in the Kṛita age." This agrees with the course of the preceding narrative which makes no allusion to plants and animals having been produced in a different Yuga from the other beings whose creation had been previously described. (See Wilson i. 82–84.) The parallel passage in the Vāyu P. x. 44–46, is confused.

174 The Mārk. P. xlix. 24 inserts here the following lines: "They lived for four thousand years of mortals, as the measure of their existence, and suffered no calamities from distress. 25. In some places the earth again enjoyed prosperity in every respect. As through lapse of time the creatures were destroyed, so too those perfections everywhere gradually perished. 26. When they had all been destroyed, creeping-plants fell from the sky, which had nearly the character of Kalpa-trees (*i.e.* trees which yield all that is desired), and resembled houses."

and in force. There existed among them no such things as gain or loss, friendship or enmity, liking or dislike. 65. It was through the mind (alone, *i.e.* without passion?) that these disinterested beings acted towards each other. They neither desired anything from one another; nor shewed any kindness to each other.[175] Contemplation is declared to be supreme in the Kṛita age, knowledge in the Tretā; sacrifice began in the Dvāpara; liberality is the highest merit in the Kali. 67. The Kṛita age is goodness (*sattva*), the Tretā is passion (*rajas*), the Dvāpara is passion and darkness (*tamas*), in the Kali it is to be understood that darkness (prevails), according to the necessary course of these ages. 68. The following is the time in the Kṛita age: understand its amount. Four thousand years constitute the Kṛita; (69) and its twilights endure for eight hundred divine years. Then their life was (so long?)[176] and no distresses or calamities befel them. 70. Afterwards, when the twilight in the Kṛita was gone, the righteousness peculiar to that age was in all respects reduced to a quarter (of its original sum). 71. When further the twilight had passed, at the close of the Yuga, and the righteousness peculiar to the twilight had been reduced to a quarter, (72) and when the Kṛita had thus come altogether to an end,—then perfection vanished. When this mental perfection had been destroyed, there arose (73) another perfection formed in the period of the Tretā age. The eight mental perfections, which I declared (to have existed) at the creation, (74) were gradually extinguished. At the beginning of the Kalpa mental perfection alone (existed), viz., that which existed in the Kṛita age. 75. In all the Manvantaras there is declared to arise a perfection proceeding from works, produced by the discharge of the duties belonging to castes and orders, according to the fourfold division of Yugas. 76. The (morning) twilight (deteriorates) by a quarter of the (entire) Kṛita,—and the evening twilight by (another) quarter;—(thus) the Kṛita, the morning twilight, and the evening

[175] This representation of the condition of mankind during the Kṛita age, the period of ideal goodness, was no doubt sketched in conformity with the opinions which prevailed at the period when the Purāṇa was compiled; when dispassion was regarded as the highest state of perfection.

[176] It would seem as if the writer here meant to state that the period of life was that which in the verse of the Mārk. P. (xlix. 24), quoted in the note on verse 63, it is declared to have been. But the expression here is, from some cause or other, imperfect.

twilight (together) deteriorate successively to the extent of three quarters, in the duties peculiar to the Yuga, and in austere fervour, sacred knowledge, strength, and length of life.[177] Then after the evening of the Kṛita had died out, (78) the Tretā age succeeded,—(which) the most excellent rishis regarded as the evening of the Kṛita. But when the evening of the Kṛita had died out, (79) from the influence of time, and for no other reason, perfection disappeared from among the creatures who survived at the commencement of the Tretā age which ensued at the beginning of the Kalpa. 80. When that perfection had perished, another perfection arose. The subtile form of water having returned in the form of cloud (to the sky),[178] (81) rain began to be discharged from the thundering clouds. The earth having once received that rain, (82) trees resembling houses[179] were provided for these creatures. From them all means of enjoyment were produced. 83. Men derived their subsistence from them at the beginning of the Tretā. Subsequently, after a great length of time, owing to their ill fortune, (84) the passions of desire and covetousness arose in their hearts uncaused. The monthly discharge, which occurred at the end of women's lives, (85) did not then take place: but as it commenced again, owing to the force of the age (*yuga*), (86) and as the couples, in consequence of it, began to cohabit, and approached each other monthly, from necessity occasioned by the time,—(87) an unseasonable[179a] production of the monthly discharge, and of pregnancy ensued. Then through their misfortune, and owing to that fated time, (88) all those house-like trees perished. When these had been destroyed, men disturbed and agitated, (89) but genuine in their desire, longed after that perfection (which they had lost). Then those house-like trees appeared to them; (90) and among their fruits yielded clothes and jewels. On these trees too, in the hollow of every leaf, there was produced, (91) without the aid of bees, honey of great potency, having scent, colour, and flavour. By this means they subsisted at the beginning of the Tretā, (92) delighted with this per-

[177] Such is the only sense I can extract from these rather obscure lines.

[178] Such is the only sense of the words here rendered which occurs to me.

[179] *Gṛiha-saṁsthitāḥ*. Professor Wilson, in his Dictionary, gives "like, resembling," among the meanings of *saṁsthita*.

[179a] Instead of *ăkāle*, "out of season," Professor Aufrecht suggests *ākāle*, "in season," as the proper reading.

fection and free from trouble. Again, through the lapse of time, becoming greedy, (93) they seized by force those trees, and that honey produced without bees. And then, owing to that misconduct of theirs, occasioned by cupidity, (94) the Kalpa trees, together with their honey, were in some places destroyed. As but little of it[180] remained, owing to the effects of the period of twilight, (95) the pairs (of opposites, as pleasure and pain, etc.) arose in men when existing (in this state); and they became greatly distressed by sharp cold winds, and heats. 96. Being thus afflicted by these opposites, they adopted means of shelter: and to counteract the opposites they resorted to houses. 97. Formerly they had moved about at their will, and had not dwelt at all in houses: but subsequently they abode in dwellings, as they found suitable and pleasant, (98) in barren deserts, in valleys, on mountains, in caves; and took refuge in fortresses,—(in a) desert with perpetual water.[181] 99. As a protection against cold and heat they began to construct houses on even and uneven places, according to opportunity and at their pleasure. 100. They then measured out towns, cities, villages, and private apartments, according to the distribution of each." [The following verses 101–107 give an account of the different measures of length and breadth, which is followed, in verses 108–122, by a description of the various kinds of fortresses, towns, and villages, their shapes and sizes, and of roads. The author then proceeds in verse 123:] "These places having been made, they next constructed houses; and as formerly trees existed, formed like houses,[182] (124) so did they (now) begin to erect them, after repeated consideration. (Some) boughs are spread out, others are bent down, (125) others rise upwards, while others again stretch horizontally. After examining thus by reflection how the different boughs of trees branch out, (126) they constructed in like manner the apartments (*śākhāḥ*) (of their houses): hence they

[180] "Perfection" seems to be here intended. If so, it would seem as if this line had been separated from its proper context.

[181] *Dhanvānam śāśvatodakam.* Perhaps we should read here with the Mārk. P. xlix. 35, *vārkshyam pārvatam audakam* "(fortresses) protected by trees, built on mountains, or surrounded by water."

[182] Whatever may be thought of this rendering of the phrase, *vṛikshāḥ gṛihasaṁsthitāḥ*, the Mārk. P. (xlix. 52), at least, is quite clear: *gṛihākārā yathā pūrvaṁ teshām āsan mahīruhāḥ | tathā saṁsmṛitya tat sarvaṁ chakrur veśmāni tāḥ prajāḥ |* "As they had formerly had trees with the shape of houses, so recalling all that to mind, these people built their dwellings."

are called rooms (*śālāḥ*).[133] In this way rooms and houses derive their appellation from branches. 127. Hence rooms are called *śālā*, and in that their character as rooms (*śālātvam*) consists. And inasmuch as the mind takes pleasure in them, and as they have gladdened (*prāsādayan*), the mind, (128) houses, rooms, and palaces are termed respectively *gṛiha*, *śālā*, and *prāsāda*. Having adopted these means of defence against the 'opposites,' they devised methods of subsistence. 129. The kalpa-trees having been destroyed along with their honey, those creatures, afflicted with thirst and hunger, became disquieted by dejection. 130. Then again another perfection arose for them in the Tretā age,—which fulfilled the purpose of subsistence,—viz., rain at their pleasure. 131. The rain-water, which flowed into the hollows, burst out in the form of springs, water-courses, and rivers,[134] through the rain. 132. Thus at the second fall of rain rivers began to flow. When the drops of water first reached the ground, then (133) from the conjunction of the waters and the earth plants sprang up among them, which bore both flowers, roots, and fruits. 134. Fourteen kinds of plants, cultivated and wild, were produced without ploughing or sowing, as well as trees and shrubs which bore flowers and fruit at the proper season. 135. This was the first appearance of plants in the Tretā age, and by them men subsisted at that period. 136. Then there again arose among them, universally, desire and cupidity, through a necessary process, and as a result of the Tretā age. 137. They then appropriated to themselves, by force and violence, rivers, fields, hills, trees, shrubs, and plants. 138. Those perfect beings, who were described by me as existing formerly in the Kṛita, —the mind-born children of Brahmā, who had been produced in this world when they came from the Janaloka,—(139) who were (some) tranquil, (some) fiery, (some) active, and (others) distressed,—were again born in the Tretā, (140) as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and injurious men, governed by the good and bad actions (performed) in former births. 141. Then those who were weaker than they, being truthful and innocent, dwelt among them, free from cupidity, and self-restrained; (142) whilst

[133] The reasoning here does not seem very cogent, as the two words *śākhā* and *śālā* do not appear to have any close connection. But such unsuccessful attempts at etymology are frequent in Sanskrit works.

[134] The text here does not seem to be in a satisfactory state. The Calc. edition of the Mārk. P. reads *vṛishṭyāvaruddhair abhavat*, etc.

others, less glorious than they, took and did.[185] When they had thus become opposed to each other,—(143) through their misconduct, while they struggled together, the plants were destroyed, being seized with their fists like gravel. 144. Then the earth swallowed up the fourteen kinds of cultivated and wild plants, in consequence of the influence exerted by the Yuga: for men had seized again and again the fruit, together with the flowers and leaves. 145. After the plants had perished, the famished people, becoming bewildered, repaired to Svayambhū the lord of creatures, (146) in the beginning of the Tretā age, seeking the means of subsistence.[186] Learning what they desired, (147) and determining by intuition what was proper to be done, the Lord Brahmā Svayambhū, knowing that the plants had been swallowed up by the earth, milked them back. 148. Taking Sumeru as a calf, he milked this earth. When this earth (or cow)[187] was milked by him, roots were

[185] It is difficult to extract any satisfactory sense out of this line.

[186] The S'. P. Br. ii. 4, 2, 1, also speaks of different classes of creatures applying to the creator for food: *Prajāpatiṁ vai bhūtāny upāsīdan | prajāḥ vai bhūtāni | "vi no dhehi yathā jīvāma" iti | tato devā yajnopavītino bhūtvā dakshiṇaṁ jānv āchya upāsīdan | tān abravīd "yajno vo 'nnam amṛitatvaṁ va ūrg vaḥ sūryo vo jyotir" iti |* 2. *Atha enam pitaraḥ prāchīnāvītinaḥ savyaṁ jānv āchya upāsīdan | tān abravīd "māsi māsi vo 'śanām svadhā vo manojavo vaś chandramā vo jyotir" iti |* 3. *Atha enam manushyāḥ prāvṛitāḥ upasthaṁ kṛitvā upāsīdan | tān abravīt "sāyam prātar vo 'śanam prajāḥ vo mṛityur vo 'gnir vo jyotir" iti |* 4. *Atha enam paśavaḥ upāsīdan | tebhyaḥ svaisham eva chakāra "yadā eva yūyam kadācha labhādhvai yadi kāle yady anākāle atha eva aśnātha" iti | tasmād ete yadā kadācha labhante yadi kāle yady anākāle atha eva aśnanti |* 5. *Atha ha enam śaśvad apy asurāḥ upasedur ity āhuḥ | tebhyas tamaś cha māyāṁ cha pradadāu | asty aha eva asura-māyā iti iva | parābhūtā ha tv eva tāḥ prajāḥ | tāḥ imāḥ prajās tathaiva upajīvanti yathaiva ābhyaḥ Prajāpatir adadāt |* "All beings resorted to Prajāpati,—(creatures are beings),—(saying) 'provide for us that we may live.' Then the gods, wearing the sacrificial cord, and bending the right knee, approached him. To them he said, 'let sacrifice be your food, your immortality your strength, the sun your light.' 2. Then the Fathers, wearing the sacrificial cord on their right shoulders, and bending the left knee, approached him. To them he said, 'you shall eat monthly, your oblation (*svadhā*) shall be your rapidity of thought, the moon your light.' 3. Then men, clothed, and inclining their bodies, approached him. To them he said, 'ye shall eat morning and evening, your offspring shall be your death, Agni your light.' 4. Then cattle repaired to him. To them he accorded their desire, (saying), 'Whensoever ye find anything, whether at the proper season or not, eat it.' Hence whenever they find anything, whether at the proper season or not, they eat it. 5. Then they say that the Asuras again and again resorted to him. To them he gave darkness (*tamas*) and illusion. There is, indeed, such a thing as the illusion, as it were, of the Asuras. But those creatures succumbed. These creatures subsist in the very manner which Prajāpati allotted to them."

[187] *Gauḥ* means both.

produced again in the ground,—(149) those plants, whereof hemp is the seventeenth, which end with the ripening of fruits." [The plants fit for domestic use, and for sacrifice are then enumerated in verses 150–155.] "155. All these plants, domestic and wild, were for the first time[188] produced at the beginning of the Tretā age, (156) without cultivation, trees, shrubs, and the various sorts of creepers and grasses, both those which produce roots as their fruits, and those which bear fruit after flowering. The seeds for which the earth was formerly milked by Svayambhū (158) now became plants bearing flowers and fruits in their season. When these plants, though created, did not afterwards grow, (159) the divine Brahmā Svayambhū devised for the people means of subsistence depending on labour effected by their hands. 160. From that time forward the plants were produced and ripened through cultivation. The means of subsistence having been provided, Svayambhū (161) established divisions among them according to their tendencies.[189] Those of them who were rapacious, and destructive, (162) he ordained to be Kshattriyas, protectors of the others.[190] As many men as attended on these, fearless, (163) speaking truth and propounding sacred knowledge (*brahma*) with exactness, (were made) Brāhmans. Those others of them who had previously been feeble, engaged in the work of slaughter,[191] who, as cultivators (*kīnāśāḥ*), had been destructive, and were active in connection with the ground, were called Vaiśyas, husbandmen (*kīnāśān*), providers of subsistence. 165. And he designated as S'ūdras those who grieved (*śochantaḥ*), and ran (*dravantaḥ*),[192] who were addicted to menial tasks, inglorious and feeble.

[188] See the note on verse 55, above.

[189] *Yathārarabhāḥ*. The Mārk. P. has *yathā-nyāyaṁ yathā-guṇam*, "according to fitness and their qualities."

[190] *Itareshāṁ krita-trāṇān*. The M. Bh. xii. 2247, thus explains the word Kshattriya: *brāhmaṇānāṁ kshata-trāṇāt tataḥ kshattriya uchyate* | "(a king) is called Kshattriya because he protects Brāhmans from injuries."

[191] *Vaiśasaṁ karma*. The former word has the senses of (1) "hindrance, impediment," and (2) "slaughter," assigned to it in Wilson's Dictionary.

[192] The reader who is familiar with the etymologies given in Yāska's Nirukta, or in Professor Wilson's Dictionary on Indian authority, will not be surprised at the absurdity of the attempts made here by the Purāṇa-writer to explain the origin of the words Kshattriya, Vaiśya and S'ūdra. To account for the last of these names he combines the roots *śuch*, "to grieve," and *dru*, "to run," dropping, however, of necessity the last letter (*ch*) of the former. The word *kshattriya* is really derived from *kshattra*, "royal power;" and *vaiśya* comes from *viś*, "people," and means "a man of the people."

166. Brahmā determined the respective functions and duties of all these persons. But after the system of the four castes had been in all respects established, (167) those men from infatuation did not fulfil their several duties. Not living conformably to those class-duties, they came into mutual conflict. 168. Having become aware of this fact, precisely as it stood, the Lord Brahmā prescribed force, criminal justice, and war, as the profession of the Kshattriyas. 169. He then appointed these, viz., the duty of officiating at sacrifices, sacred study, and the receipt of presents, to be the functions of Brāhmans. 170. The care of cattle, traffic, and agriculture, he allotted as the work of the Vaiśyas; and the practice of the mechanical arts, and service, he assigned as that of the Śūdras. 171. The duties common to Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas were the offering of sacrifice, study, and liberality. 172. Having distributed to the classes their respective functions and occupations, the Lord then allotted to them abodes in other worlds for their perfection. 173. The world of Prajāpati is declared to be the (destined) abode of Brāhmans practising rites; Indra's world that of Kshattriyas who do not flee in battle; (174) the world of the Maruts that of Vaiśyas who fulfil their proper duty; the world of the Gandharvas that of men of Śūdra birth who abide in the work of service. 175. Having allotted these as the future abodes of (the men of the different) classes, who should be correct in their conduct, he ordained orders (*āśramas*) in the classes which had been established. 176. The Lord formerly instituted the four orders of householder, religious student, dweller in the woods, and mendicant. 177. To those of them who do not in this world perform the duties of their castes, the men who dwell in hermitages apply the appellation of 'destroyer of works.' 178. Brahmā established these orders by name, and in explanation of them he declared their duties, (179) their methods of procedure, and their various rites. First of all there is the order of householder, which belongs to all the four classes, (180) and is the foundation and source of the other three orders. I shall declare them in order with their several obserservances." [The following verses 181–189, which detail these duties, need not be cited here. I shall, however, quote verses 190 ff. for their excellent moral tone.] "190. The Vedas, with their appendages, sacrifices, fasts, and ceremonies, (191) avail not to a depraved man, when his disposition has become corrupted. All external rites are

fruitless (192) to one who is inwardly debased, however energetically he may perform them. A man who bestows even the whole of his substance with a defiled heart will thereby acquire no merit—of which a good disposition is the only cause." [After giving some further particulars about the celestial abodes of the righteous, verses 194–198, the writer proceeds:] "199. When—after the division into castes and orders had thus been made—(200) the people living under that system did not multiply, Brahmā formed other mind-born creatures in the middle of the Tretā (201) from his own body and resembling himself. When the Tretā age had arrived, and had gradually reached its middle, (202) the Lord then began to form other mind-born creatures. He next formed creatures in whom goodness (*sattva*) and passion (*rajas*) predominated, (203) and who were capable of attaining (the four objects of human pursuit) righteousness, wealth, love, and final liberation, together with the means of subsistence. Gods, too, and Fathers, and Rishis, and Manus (were formed), (204) by whom these creatures were classified (?) according to their natures in conformity with the Yuga. When this character(?) of his offspring had been attained, Brahmā (205) longed after mental offspring of all kinds and of various forms. Those creatures, whom I described to you as having taken refuge in Janaloka, (206) at the end of the Kalpa, all these arrived here, when he thought upon them, in order to be reproduced in the form of gods and other beings. 207. According to the course of the Manvantaras the least were esteemed the first (?), being swayed by destiny, and by connections and circumstances of every description. 208. These creatures were always born, under the controuling influence of, and as a recompence for their good or bad deeds. 209. He by himself formed those creatures which arrived in their several characters of gods, asuras, fathers, cattle, birds, reptiles, trees, and insects, in order that they might be subjected (anew) to the condition of creatures."[193]

The substance of the curious speculations on the origin and primeval condition of mankind contained in the preceding passage may be stated as follows: In verses 22–34 we are told that the creatures, who at the close of the preceding Kalpa had been driven by the mundane conflagration to Janaloka, now formed the seed of the new creation, which took place in the Kṛita Yuga, at the commencement of the present

[193] I confess that I have had great difficulty in attaching any sense to the last words.

Kalpa. These were mind-born sons of Brahmā, perfect in nature, and they peopled the world. As a rule, we are informed, those beings who have formerly been elevated from the earth to higher regions, return again and again to this world, and, as a result of their previous works, are born in every age, in every possible variety of condition, exhibiting the same dispositions and fulfilling the same functions as in their former states of existence. It is next stated, verses 35–40, that when creation had, in some way not explained, come to a stand-still, four classes of human beings, consisting each of a thousand pairs of males and females, characterized respectively by different qualities, physical and moral, were produced from different members of the Creator's body.[194] These creatures sought to propagate the race, but abortively, for the reason specified (43). Children however were produced by mental effort (45 and 59), and in considerable numbers (52). The state of physical happiness, absolute and universal equality, moral perfection, and complete dispassion, in which mankind then existed, is depicted (48–65). The means of subsistence and enjoyment, which they are said to have drawn from the earth (48 and 57), were not of the ordinary kind, as we are informed (55 f.) that neither animals nor plants, which are the products of unrighteousness, existed at that period. No division into castes or orders prevailed during that age of perfection (62). A gradual declension, however, had been going on, and at the end of the Kṛita Yuga, the perfection peculiar to it had altogether disappeared (70–79). Another kind of perfection, peculiar to the Tretā, however, subsequently arose (73 and 80), and in the different Yugas there has existed a perfection springing from the performance of the duties belonging to each caste and order (75). The perfection described as prevailing in the Tretā was of a physical kind, consisting in the production of rain and the growth of trees, shaped like houses, which at the same time yielded the materials of all sorts of enjoyments (80–82). Passion, however, in its various forms began to take the place of the previous dispassion (84). The constitution of women, which had formerly incapacitated them for effective impregnation, became ultimately so modified as to ensure the successful propagation of the species, which

[194] This statement agrees with that in the Mārk. P. xlix. 3 ff. but differs from that already given from the Vishṇu P. in so far as the latter does not specify the numbers created, or say anything about pairs being formed.

accordingly proceeded (84–87).[196] We have then the destruction, and subsequent reproduction of the trees, formed like houses, described (88–91). These trees now produced clothes and jewels, as well as honey without bees, and enabled mankind to live in happiness and enjoyment. Again, however, the trees disappeared in consequence of the cupidity which led to their misuse (92–94). The absence of perfection occasioned suffering of various kinds, from moral as well as physical causes, and men were now driven to construct houses, which they had hitherto found unnecessary (96–99 and 123), and to congregate in towns and cities (100). Their houses were built after the model furnished by trees (123–128). The hunger and thirst which men endured from the loss of the trees which had formerly yielded all the means of subsistence and enjoyment, were relieved by means of a new perfection which appeared in the shape of rain, and the streams thereby generated, and by the growth of plants, which now sprang up for the first time as a result of the conjunction of water and earth (130–135 and 155). Desire and cupidity, however, now again arose and led to acts of violent appropriation (136 f.). At this juncture the perfect mind-born sons of Brahmā, of different dispositions, who had formerly existed in the Kṛita age, were reproduced in the Tretā as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and destructive men, as a result of their actions in their former existence (138–140). But in consequence of their dissensions and rapacity, the earth swallowed up all the existing plants (142–144). Under the pressure of the distress thus occasioned the inhabitants of the earth resorted to Brahmā, who milked the earth, through the medium of mount Sumeru acting as a calf, and recovered the plants which had disappeared (145–149). As, however, these plants did not propagate themselves spontaneously, Brahmā introduced agriculture (158–160). Having thus provided the means of subsistence, he divided the people into classes according to their characteristics (160–165). But as these classes did not perform their several duties, and came into mutual conflict, Brahmā prescribed their respective functions with greater precision (166–171); and assigned the future celestial abodes which the members of each class might attain by their fulfilment (172–174). He then ordained the four orders of householder, religious

[196] It is not quite clear, however, what is intended by the word *akāle*, "out of season," in verse 87. See the emendation proposed above in the note on that verse.

student, etc. (175–190). After a few verses in praise of moral purity (190–193), the abodes and destinies of the eminently righteous are set forth (194–199). Just when we had arrived at a point in the narrative, from which we might have imagined that it had only to be carried on further to afford us a sufficient explanation of the state of things existing up to the present age, we are suddenly arrested (199–202) by being informed that the people distributed according to the system of castes and orders did not multiply, and are introduced to a new mind-born creation, which took place in the Tretā age, to remedy this failure. We are next told (203) of what appears to be another creation of beings endowed with goodness and passion. And, finally, a yet further re-incorporation of previously existing souls is described as having taken place (205–209). It would thus seem that after all we are left without any account of the origin of the system of castes which prevailed when the Purāṇa was compiled. The only suppositions on which this conclusion can be avoided are either (1) that the cessation in the increase of the generation alluded to in verse 200, which led to the new creation, was not universal, that the race than existing did not entirely die out, but that the old blood was re-invigorated by that of the newly created beings; or (2) that the other set of creatures, mentioned in verse 203, as characterized by goodness and passion, were the progenitors of the present race of men. On these points, however, the text throws no light.

The preceding account of the creation of mankind and of the vicissitudes and deterioration of society, is in some places obscure and confused, and its several parts do not appear to be consistent with each other. At the outset the writer describes the creation of four thousand pairs of human beings, of whom each separate set of one thousand is distinguished by widely different innate characters, the first class having the quality of goodness, the second that of passion, the third those of passion and darkness, and the fourth that of darkness. Nevertheless (as in the parallel passage of the Vishṇu Purāṇa) we cannot find in the narrative the least trace of those inherent differences of character having for a long time manifested themselves by producing dissimilarity either of moral conduct or of physical condition; for the perfection, which is described as existing in the Kṛita age, is spoken of as if it was universal; and not only is no distinction alluded to as prevailing at this period between

the component parts of society, but we are expressly told that no castes or orders then existed. The deterioration also, which ensued towards the end of the Kṛita age, is described as general, and not peculiar to any class. How is this complete uniformity, first of perfection, and afterwards of declension, which, for anything that appears to the contrary, is predicated of the descendants of the whole of the four thousand pairs, to be reconciled with the assertion that each thousand of those pairs was characterized by different innate qualities? The difficulty is not removed by saying that the writer supposed that these inherent varieties of character existed in a latent or dormant state in the different classes, and were afterwards developed in their descendants; for he distinctly declares (verse 54) in general terms that mankind were at that period *sattva-bahulāḥ*, *i.e.* "possessed the quality of goodness in abundance;" and in the earlier part of the subsequent narrative no allusion is made to the different qualities at first ascribed to the four sets of a thousand pairs being separately developed in the members of the four classes respectively. In verse 74, indeed, it appears to be assumed that the division into castes had existed from the creation; for we there find an assertion that in "all the Manvantaras, according to the division of the four yugas," (including apparently the Kṛita) "there is declared to have existed a perfection effected by the observances of the castes and orders, and arising from the fulfilment of works;" but how is this to be reconciled with the express statement of verses 60 and 61, that "in the Kṛita age no works were performed which were either virtuous or sinful," and that "there then existed neither distinctions of caste or order, nor any mixture of castes?" In the Tretā age the state of deterioration continued, but no reference is made of any separation of classes till we come to verse 138, where it is said that the beings who in the Kṛita age had existed as the perfect mind-born sons of Brahmā, were now, as a consequence of their former actions, recalled into human existence, and in conformity with their previous characters as calm, fiery, laborious, or depressed, became Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and men of violence. These creatures, after they had been furnished with the means of subsistence, were eventually divided into classes, according to their varieties of disposition, character, and occupation; and as at first they did not fulfil their proper duties, but encroached upon each others'

provinces, their functions were afterwards more stringently defined and the means of enforcing obedience were provided. Here it is intimated that different sets of beings were born as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, on account of the different qualities which they had manifested in a previous existence, and that in conformity with those same characteristics they were afterwards formally distributed into castes. This description is therefore so far consistent with itself. The difference of caste is made to depend upon the dispositions of the soul. But how are we to reconcile this postulation of different characters formerly exhibited with the description given in the previous part of the narrative, where we are informed that, in the earlier parts, at least, of the Kṛita age, all men were alike perfect, and that no actions were performed which were either virtuous or vicious? If such was the case at that period, how could the beings who then existed have manifested those differences of disposition and character which are asserted to have been the causes of their being subsequently reborn as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Śūdras, and Vaiśyas? It may be admitted that the differences of character, which are attributed in the Purāṇa to the four primeval sets of a thousand pairs of human beings, correspond to those qualities which are described as having subsequently given rise to the division into castes; but the assertion of such a state of uniform and universal perfection, as is said to have intervened between the creation of mankind and the realization of caste, seems incompatible with the existence of any such original distinctions of a moral character.

As regards this entire account when compared with the other two descriptions of the creation given in the previous part of this section, the same remarks are applicable as have been made in the last section, p. 65 f., on the corresponding passages from the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

The chapter which I have just translated and examined, is followed immediately by the one of which I have already in a preceding page quoted the commencement, descriptive of the creation of Asuras, Gods, Fathers, etc., from the different bodies assumed and cast off successively by Brahmā.

I shall now give an extract from the following, or tenth chapter, in which the the legend of Śatarūpā is related.

Sūta uvācha | 1. *Evambhūteshu lokeshu Brahmaṇā loka-karttṛiṇā*[196] |

[196] This form *karttriṇā* (one which, as is well known, may be optionally employed in

yadā tāḥ na pravarttante prajāḥ kenāpi hetunā | 2. *Tamo-mātrāvṛito Brahmā tadā-prabhṛiti duḥkhitaḥ* | *tataḥ sa vidadhe buddhim artha-niśchaya-gāminīm* | 3. *Athātmani samasrākshīt tamo-mātrāṁ nijātmikām* | *rajaḥ-sattvam parājitya varttamānaṁ sa dharmataḥ* | 4. *Tapyate tena duḥkhena śokaṁ chakre jagat-patiḥ* | *tamas tu vyanudat tasmād rajas tach cha samāvṛinot* | 5. *Tat tamaḥ pratinuttaṁ vai mithunaṁ samvyajāyata* | *adharmaś charaṇāj jajne hiṁsā śokād ajāyata* | 6. *Tatas tasmin samudbhūte mithune charaṇātmani* | *tataś cha bhagavān āsīt prītiśchainam aśiśriyat* | 7. *Svāṁ tanuṁ sa tato Brahmā tām apohad abhāsvarām* | *dvidhā 'karot sa taṁ deham ardhena purusho 'bhavat* | 8. *Ardhena nārī sā tasya S'atarūpā vyajāyata* | *prākṛitām bhūta-dhātrīm tāṁ kāmād vai sṛishṭavān vibhuḥ* | 9. *Sā divam pṛithivīṁ chaiva mahimnā vyāpya dhishṭhitā* | *Brahmaṇaḥ sā tanuḥ pūrvā divam āvṛitya tishṭhati* | 10. *Yā tv ardhāt sṛijate nārī S'atarūpā vyajāyata* | *sā devī niyataṁ taptvā tapaḥ parama-duśckaram* | *bharttāram dīptayaśasam Purusham pratyapadyata* | 11. *Sa vai Svāyambhuvaḥ pūrvam Purusho Manur uchyate* | *tasyaikasaptati-yugam Manvantaram ihochyate* | 12. *Labdhvā tu purushaḥ patnīṁ S'atarūpām ayonijām* | *tayā sa ramate sārddham tasmāt sā Ratir uchyate* | 13. *Prathamaḥ samprayogaḥ sa kalpādau samavarttata* | *Virājam asṛijad Brahmā so 'bhavat Purusho Virāṭ* | 14. *Sa samrāṭ māsarūpāt tu vairājas tu Manuḥ smṛitaḥ* | *sa vairājaḥ prajā-sargaḥ sa sarge purusho Manuḥ* | 15. *Vairājāt purushād vīrāch chhatarūpā vyajāyata* | *Priyavratottānapādau putrau putravatāṁ varau* |

"1. When the worlds had thus been formed by Brahmā their creator, but the creatures, for some reason did not engage in action,[197] (2) Brahmā, enveloped in gloom, and thenceforward dejected, formed a resolution tending to ascertain the fact. 3. He then created in himself (a body) of his own, formed of pure gloom (*tamas*), having overpowered the passion (*rajas*) and goodness (*sattva*) which existed (in him) naturally. 4. The Lord of the world was afflicted with that suffering, and la-

the neuter, but not in the masculine) is here used for metrical reasons. Such irregularities are, as we have seen, designated by the Commentators as *ārsha*. It is unlikely that Brahman should be here used in a neuter sense.

[197] The true reading here may be *pravarddhante*, in which case the sense will be "did not multiply." Compare the parallel passage in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 4, p. 64.

mented.[198] He then dispelled the gloom, and covered over the passion. 5. The gloom, when scattered, was formed into a pair.[199] Unrighteousness arose from activity (?), and mischief sprang from sorrow. 6. That active (?) pair having been produced, he became glorious (?) and pleasure took possession of him. 7. Brahmā after that cast off that body of his, which was devoid of lustre, and divided his person into two parts; with the half he became a male (*purusha*) (8) and with the half a female: it was S'atarūpā who was so produced to him. Under the impulse of lust he created her a material supporter of beings. 9. By her magnitude she pervaded both heaven and earth. That former body of Brahmā invests the sky. 10. This divine female S'atarūpā, who was born to him from his half, as he was creating, by incessantly practising austere fervour of a highly arduous description, acquired for herself as a husband a Male (*purusha*) of glorious renown. He is called of old the Male, Manu Svāyambhuva; and his period (*manvantara*) is declared to extend to seventy-one Yugas. 12. This Male, having obtained for his wife, S'atarūpā, not sprung from any womb, lived in dalliance with her (*ramate*); and from this she is called Rati (the female personification of sexual love). 13. This was the first cohabitation practised in the beginning of the Kalpa. Brahmā created Virāj; he was the Male, Virāj. 14. He is the sovereign (*samrāj*), from his having the form of a month; and Manu is known as the son of Virāj.[200] This creation of living beings is called that of Virāj. In this creation Manu is the male. 15. S'atarūpā bore to the heroic Purusha, son of Virāj, two sons, Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, the most eminent of those who have sons." This is followed by a further genealogy, into which I will not enter.

By comparing this account with the one extracted above, p. 64 f. from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 1 ff., it will be seen that while it makes no allusion to the production of Rudra, as related in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (which, as well as the birth of the mental sons of Brahmā, the Vāyu Purāṇa had described in the preceding chapter, verses 67–83), it is somewhat fuller in regard to the legend of S'atarūpā; and although it

[198] With this account of Brahmā's dejection and grief the accounts quoted above pp. 68 ff. from the Brāhmaṇas may be compared.

[199] Compare the narrative of the Vishṇu Purāṇa i. 7, 9 ff. quoted in p. 64 f.

[200] Compare the account given in Manu's Institutes, above, p. 36.

does not allow that Brahmā cohabited with his daughter, and assigns to her another husband, Manu Svāyambhūva, it describes the creator as having been actuated by carnal desire in generating her. I shall give further illustrations of this story in the next section.

Sect. IX.—*Legend of Brahmā and his daughter, according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and of Satarūpā, according to the Matsya Purāṇa.*

The story which forms the subject of the present section is noticed at some length in the fourth volume of this work, pp. 38–46, where one of the oldest passages in which it is related, is quoted from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 4, 1 ff., together with one of a comparatively late age from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, iii. 12, 28 ff. As however the legend, though repulsive in its character, is not without interest as illustrating the opinions which Indian mythologists have entertained regarding their deities, I shall quote two other texts in which it is narrated.

The first, from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 33, has, no doubt (along with the passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa just referred to, and another from the same work, xiv. 4, 2, 1 ff., quoted above, in p. 24 ff.), furnished the ideas which are expanded in the later versions of the story. It is as follows:

Prajāpatir vai svāṁ duhitaram abhyadhyāyat | Divam ity anye āhur Ushasam ity anye | tām ṛiśyo bhūtvā rohitām bhūtām abhyait | tam devā apaśyan | "akṛitaṁ vai Prajāpatiḥ karoti" iti | te tam aichhan yaḥ enam ārishyati | etam anyonyasmin na avindan | teshām yā eva ghoratamās tanvaḥ āsaṁs tāḥ ekadhā samabharan | tāḥ sambhṛitāḥ esha devo 'bhavat | tad asya etad bhūtavan-nāma | bhavati vai sa yo 'sya etad evaṁ nāma veda | taṁ devā abruvann "ayaṁ vai Prajāpatir akṛitam akar imam vidhya" iti | sa "tathā" ity abravīt | "sa vai vo varaṁ vriṇai" iti | "vṛiṇīshva" iti | sa etam eva varam avṛinīta paśūnām ādhipatyam | tad asya etat paśuman-nāma | paśumān bhavati yo 'sya etad evaṁ nāma veda | tam abhyāyatya avidhyat | sa viddhaḥ ūrddhve udaprāpatad ityādi[201] |

[201] See the translation of this passage given by Dr. Haug in his Aitareya Brāhmaṇa

"Prajāpati lusted after his own daughter. Some call her the Sky, others Ushas. Becoming a buck, he approached her after she had become a doe. The gods saw him; (and said) Prajāpati does a deed which was never done (before).[202] They sought some one who should take vengeance on him. Such a person they did not find among themselves. They then gathered together their most dreadful bodies. These when combined formed this god (Rudra). Hence (arises) his name connected with Bhūta (*Bhūtapati*). That man flourishes[203] who thus knows this name of his. The gods said to him, 'This Prajāpati has done a deed which was never done before: pierce him.' He replied, 'so be it,' (adding), 'let me ask a boon of you.' They rejoined, 'ask.' He asked for this boon, viz., lordship over cattle. Hence arises his name connected with Paśu (*Paśupati*). He who thus knows his name, becomes the owner of cattle. He then attacked (Prajāpati) and pierced him. He, when pierced, soared upwards," etc. etc.

The second passage I proposed to cite is from the Matsya Purāṇa, chapter iii. verses 32 ff.: *Etad tattvātmakaṁ kṛitvā jagad dvedhā ajījanat* | 33. *Sāvitrīm loka-siddhyartham hṛidi kṛitvā samāsthitaḥ* | *tataḥ sanjapatas tasya bhitvā deham akalmasham* | 34. *strī-rūpam arddham akarod arddham purusha-rūpavat* | *Śatarūpā cha sā khyātā Sāvitrī cha nigadyate* | 35. *Sarasvaty atha Gāyatrī Brahmāṇī cha parantapa* | *tataḥ sa Brahmadevās tām ātmajām ity akalpayat* | 36. *Dṛishṭvā tāṁ vyathitas tāvat kāma-vāṇārdito vibhuḥ* | "*aho rūpam aho rūpam*" *ity uvācha tadā 'vyayaḥ* | 37. *Tato Vasishṭha-pramukhā* "*bhaginīm*" *iti chukruśuḥ* | *Brahmā na kinchid dadṛiśe tan-mukhālokanād ṛite* | 38. "*Aho rūpam aho rūpām*" *iti āha punaḥ punaḥ* | *tataḥ praṇāma-namrāṁ tām punas tām abhyalokayat* | 39. *Atha pradakshiṇām chakre sā pitur varavarṇinī* | *putrebhyo lajjitasyāsya tad-rūpālokanechhayā* | 40. *Āvirbhūtaṁ tato vaktram dakshiṇam pāṇḍu-gaṇḍavat* |

vol. ii. pp. 218 ff.; and the remarks on this translation by Professor Weber, Indische Studien, ix. 217 ff.; and also Professor Roth's explanation of the word *bhūtavat* in his Lexicon.

[202] This seems to be imitated in the line of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa iii. 12, 30, quoted in vol. iv. of this work, p. 40: *naitat pūrvaiḥ kṛitaṁ tvad ye na karishyanti chāpare* | "This was never done by those before thee, nor will those after thee do it."

[203] *Bhavati.* In the Brāhmaṇas this verb has frequently the sense of prospering, as opposed to *parābhavati*, "he perishes." See Böthlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s. v., and the passages there referred to.

vismaya-sphurad-oshṭhaṁ cha pāśchātyam udagāt tataḥ | 41. *Chaturtham abhavat paśchād vāmaṁ kāma-śarāturam* | *tato 'nyad abhavat tasya kāmāturatayā tathā* | 42. *Utpatantyās tadā "kāśe ālokena kutūhalāt* | *sṛishṭy-arthaṁ yat kṛitam tena tapaḥ paramadāruṇam* | 43. *Tat sarvam nāśam agamat sva-sutopagamechhayā* | *tenāśu*[304] *vaktram abhavat panchamaṁ tasya dhīmataḥ* | 44. *Āvirbhavaj jaṭābhiścha tad vaktranchāvṛiṇot prabhuḥ* | *tatas tān abravīd Brahmā putrān ātma-samudbhavān* | 45. "*Prajāḥ sṛijadhvam abhitaḥ sa-devāsura-mānushāḥ*" | *evam uktās tataḥ sarve sasṛijur vividhāḥ prajāḥ* | 46. *Gateshu teshu sṛishṭyartham praṇāmāvanatām imām* | *upayeme sa viśvātmā S'atarūpām aninditām* | 47. *Sambabhūva tayā sārddham atikāmāturo vibhuḥ* | *salajjāṁ chakame devaḥ kamalodara-mandire* | 48. *Yāvad abda-śataṁ divyaṁ yathā 'nyaḥ prākṛito janaḥ* | *tataḥ kālena mahatā tasyāḥ putro 'bhavad Manuḥ* | 49. *Svāyambhuva iti khyātaḥ sa Virāḍ iti naḥ śrutam* | *tad-rūpa-guṇa-sāmānyād adhipūrusha uchyate* | 50. *Vairājā yatra te jātāḥ bahavaḥ saṁśitavratāḥ* | *Svāyambhuvā mahābhāgāḥ sapta sapta tathā 'pare* | 51. *Svārochishādyāḥ sarve te Brahma-tulya-svarūpiṇaḥ* | *Auttami-pramukhās tadvad yeshāṁ tvaṁ saptamo 'dhunā* | (*Adhyāya*. 4.) *Manur uvācha* | 1. *Aho kashṭataraṁ chaitad angajāgamanaṁ vibhoḥ* | *Kathaṁ na dosham agamat karmaṇā tena Padmajaḥ* | 2. *Parasparañcha sambandhaḥ sagotrāṇām abhūt katham* | *vaivāhikas tat-sutānām chhindi me saṁśayaṁ vibho* | *Matsya uvācha* | 3. *Divyeyam ādi-sṛishṭis tu rajo-guṇa-samudbhavā* | *atīndriyendriyā tadvad atīndriya-śarīrikā* | 4. *Divya-tejomayī bhūpa divya-jnāna-samudbhavā* | *na chānyair abhitaḥ śakyā jnātuṁ vai māṁsa-chakshushā* | 5. *Yathā bhujangāḥ sarpāṇām ākāśe sarva-pakshiṇām* | *vidanti mārgām divyānāṁ divyā eva na mānavāḥ* | 6. *Kāryākāryeṇa devāścha śubhāśubha-phala-pradāḥ* | *yasmāt tasmād na rājendra tad-vichāro nṛiṇāṁ śubhaḥ* | 7. *Anyachcha sarva-devānām adhishṭhātā chaturmukhaḥ* | *gāyatrī Brahmaṇas tadvad anga-bhūtā nigadyate* | 8. *Amūrtta-mūrttimad vāpi mithunancha prachakshate* | *Viranchir yatra bhagavāns tatra devī Sarasvatī* | 9. *Bhāratī yatra yatraiva tatra tatra Prajāpatiḥ* | *yathātapena rahitā chhāyā vai* (? *na*) *dṛiśyate kvachit* | 10. *Gāyatrī Brahmaṇaḥ pārśvam tathaiva na vimunchati* | *veda-rāśiḥ smṛito Brahmā Sāvitrī tad-adhishṭhitā* | 11. *Tasmād na kaśchid doshaḥ syāt Sāvitrī-gamane vibhoḥ* | *tathāpi lajjāvanataḥ Prajāpatir abhūt purā* | 12. *Sva-sutopagamād Brāhmā śaśāpa Kusumāyudham* | *yasmād mamāpi*

[304] Instead of *tenāśu* the Gaikowar MS. reads *tenordhva*.

bhavatā manaḥ saṁkshobhitaṁ śaraiḥ | 13. *Tasmāt tvad-deham achirād Rudro bhasmīkarishyati* | *tataḥ prasādayāmāsa Kāmadevas Chaturmukham* | 14. "*Na māṁ akāraṇaṁ śaptuṁ tvam ihārhasi māṁ ava* | *aham evaṁ-vidhaḥ sṛishṭas tvayaiva chaturānana* | 15. *Indriya-kshobha-janakaḥ sarveshām eva dehinām* | *strī-puṁsor avichāreṇa mayā sarvatra sarvadā* | 16. *Kshobhyam manaḥ prayatnena tvayaivoktam purā vibho* | *tasmād anaparādhena tvayā śaptas tathā vibho* | 17. *Kuru prasādam bhagavan sva-śarīrāptaye punaḥ* | *Brahmā uvācha* | 18. *Vaivasvate 'ntare prāpte Yādavānvaya-sambhavaḥ* | *Rāmo nāma yadā martyo mat-sattva-balam āśritaḥ* | 19. *Avatīryyāsura-dhvaṁsī Dvārakām adhivatsyati* | *tad-dhātus tat-samaścha*[205] *tvaṁ tadā putratvam eshyasi ityādi* |

"32. Having thus formed the universe, consisting of the principles, he generated a twofold creation, (33) having, with a view to the completion of the world, placed and kept Sāvitrī in his heart. Then as he was muttering prayers, he divided his spotless body (34) and gave to the half the form of a woman, and to the half that of a male. (This female) is called Śatarūpā, Sāvitrī, (35) Sarasvatī, Gāyatrī, and Brahmāṇī. Brahmā then took her for his daughter. 36. Beholding her, the imperishable deity, distressed, tortured with the arrows of love, exclaimed, 'o what beauty! o what beauty!' 37. Then (his sons) headed by Vasishṭha, cried aloud, '(our) sister.' Brahmā saw nothing else, looking only at her face; (38) and exclaimed again and again, 'o what beauty! o what beauty!' He then again gazed upon her, as she bend forward in obeisance. 39. The fair woman then made a circuit round her father. As on account of his sons he felt ashamed; from his desire of gazing on her beauty (40) there appeared (on his head) a southern face with pale cheeks; and there was afterwards manifested a western face with lips quivering with astonishment. 41. A fourth was subsequently formed, beautiful, disquieted by the arrows of love. Then another was produced from the disturbing influence of the same passion, (42) and from eagerness in gazing after her as she rose upwards in the sky. That austere fervour, extremely dreadful, which Brahmā had practised with a view to creation, (43) was entirely lost through his desire to approach his daughter (carnally). Through this was produced speedily the fifth face (or, according to one MS., the upper,

[205] Such appears to be the reading of the Gaikowar MS. The original reading of the Taylor MS. has been erased, and another substituted, *tatas tat-samaye tvam cha.*

the fifth face) of the wise deity, (44) which appeared with matted hair, and which he covered up. Brahmā then said to the sons who had sprung from him, (45) 'create living beings everywhere, gods, asuras, and men.' They, being thus addressed, created beings of various kinds. 46. When they had gone away for the purpose of creating, he, who is the universe, took for his wife the unblamed Śatarūpā. 47. Sickened with love, he cohabited with her: like any ordinary being, he loved her,—though she was full of shame—embowered in the hollow of a lotus, (48) for a hundred years of the gods. A long time after, a son was born to her, Manu (49) called Svāyambhuva, who, as we have heard, is Virāj. From their community of form and qualities he is called Adhipūrusha.[206] 50. From him were sprung those numerous Vairājas, steadfast in religious observances, those seven glorious sons of Svayambhū, and those other seven Manus, (51) beginning with Svārochisha and Auttami, in form equal to Brahmā, of whom thou[207] art now the seventh. (4th chapter) 1. Manu says: 'Ah! this is most afflicting, this entrance of love into the god. How was it that the lotus-born did not incur guilt by that act? 2. And how did a matrimonial connection take place between persons of the same family who were sprung from him? Solve this doubt of mine, o Lord. The Fish replied: 3. This primeval creation was celestial, produced from the quality of passion (*rajas*); it had senses removed beyond the cognizance of sense, and bodies of the same description, (4) was possessed of celestial energy, derived from celestial knowledge, and cannot be perfectly perceived by others with the eye of flesh. 5. Just as serpents know the path of serpents, and (beings living) in the sky know the path of all sorts of birds, so too the celestials alone, and not men, know the way of celestials. 6. And since it is the gods who award the recompence, favourable or unfavourable, according as good or bad deeds have been done,—it is not good for men to examine this (question). 7. Furthermore, the four-faced (Brahmā) is the ruler of all the gods, and in like manner the Gāyatrī is delared to be a member of Brahmā. 8. And, as

[206] Compare the Purusha Sukta, above p. 8, in the fifth verse of which the words *Virājo adhi pūrushah* occur. If the last two words are combined they give the name in the text.

[207] This account is given by the deity represented as incarnate in a Fish, to Manu Vaivasvata.

they say, there is a pair consisting of the formless, and of that which has form. Wherever the divine Viranchi (Brahmā) is, there is also the goddess Sarasvatī. 9. Wherever Bhāratī (a name of Sarasvatī) is, there is also Prajāpati. Just as shadow is nowhere seen without sunshine, (10) so Gāyatrī never forsakes the side of Brahmā. He is called the collected Veda, and Sāvitrī rests upon him; (11) there can therefore be no fault in his approaching her. Nevertheless, Brahmā, the lord of creatures, was bowed down with shame, (12) because he had approached his own daugther, and cursed Kusumāyudha[208] (Kāma), (in these words) 'As even my mind has been agitated by thy arrows, Rudra shall speedily reduce thy body to ashes.' Kāmadeva then propitiated the four-faced deity, saying, (14) 'Thou oughtest not to curse me without cause: preserve me. It is by thee thyself that I have been created with such a character, (15) an agitator of the organs of sense of all embodied creatures. The minds both of men and women must always and everywhere (16) be energetically stirred up by me with out hesitation: this thou thyself hast formerly declared. It is therefore without any fault of mine that I have been thus cursed by thee. 17. Be gracious, lord, that I may recover my body.' Brahmā answered: 18. 'When the Vaivasvata Manvantara shall have arrived, a mortal, named Rāma, sprung from the Yādava race, deriving force from my essence, (19) and, becoming incarnate as a destroyer of Asuras, shall inhabit Dvārakā. Thou shalt then become a son of his substance and like to him," etc.

The narrator of this legend does not hesitate to depict in the strongest colours (though without the least approach to grossness) the helpless subjection of Brahmā to the influence of sexual desire. This illicit indulgence was regarded by the authors of the Satapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas as in the highest degree scandalous, and they do not attempt to palliate its enormity by any mystical explanation, such as that which we find in the Matsya Purāṇa. Whether this apology proceeded from the original narrator, or from a later writer of a more sensitive disposition, who perceived its inconsistency with any elevated idea of the superior powers, is difficult to say. It is quite possible that the same writer who gave his fancy scope in describing the unbecoming scene, of which the substance had been handed down in works regarded

[208] The word means "He whose weapons are flowers."

as authoritative, may also have thought it necessary to discover some device for counteracting the scandal. On the other hand, the original writer seems to cut himself off from the privilege of resorting to any mystical refinements to explain away the offence, by having in the first instance represented Brahmā's indulgence as on a level with that of ordinary beings. And even after the apology has been concluded, we are still told that Brahmā could not help feeling ashamed of what he had done. The writer of the explanation ought to have perceived that if his defence was of any value, the deity for whom he was apologizing had no ground for humiliation. But he did not venture to expunge the popular features of the story. The grounds on which the apology proceeds are partly of the same character as those which the writer of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa assumes in the passage (x. 33, 27 ff.) which is given in the fourth volume of this work, pp. 42 f., viz., that the gods are not to be judged on the same principles as men,—that "the celestials have laws of their own" (*sunt superis sua jura*). The Bhāgavata Purāṇa has, however, different measures for Brahmā and for Krishṇa; for whilst the adultery of the latter is defended in the verses just referred to, no desire is shown to vindicate the former in the other passage, iii. 12, 28 ff., adduced in the same volume, page 40.

As regards the details of the story according to the different Purāṇas, I may observe that while the Vishṇu, the Vāyu (see above, pp. 65, and 106), and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, xl. 13 f., represent S'atarūpā as the wife of Manu Svāyambhuva, the Matsya Purāṇa, as we have just seen, declares her to have been the spouse of Brahmā himself, and the mother of Manu Svāyambhuva.[209] This is repeated in the twenty-sixth verse of the fourth chapter:

Yā sā dehārddha-sambhūtā Gāyatrī brahma-vādinī | jananī yā Manor devī S'atarūpā S'atendriyā | 27. *Ratir Manas Tapo Buddhir mahad-ādi-samudbhavā*[210] | *tataḥ sa S'atarūpāyām saptāpatyāny ajījanat* | 28. *Ye Marīchyādayaḥ putrāḥ mānasās tasya dhīmataḥ | teshām ayam abhūl lokaḥ sarva-jnānātmakaḥ purā* | 29. *Tato 'sṛijad Vāmadevam triśūla-vara-dhārinam | Sanatkumārañcha vibhum pūrveshām api pūrvajam* | 30.

[209] Compare the account given in Manu's Institutes (above, p. 36), which does not coincide in all particulars with any of the Purāṇas here quoted.

[210] In this line the original readings are in several places erased in the Taylor MS. I have endeavoured to restore it with the help of the Gaikowar MS.

Vāmadevaś tu bhagavān asṛijad mukhato dvijān | rājanyān asṛijad bāhvor Viṭ-śūdrāv ūru-pādayoḥ | . . . . 35. Svāyambhuvo Manur dhīmāṁs tapas taptvā suduścharam | patnīm avāpa rūpāḍhyām Anantām nāma nāmataḥ | Priyavratottānapādau Manus tasyām ajījanat |

"She who was produced from the half of his body, Gāyatrī the declarer of sacred science, she who was the mother of Manu, the goddess Śatarūpā (*i.e.* having a hundred forms), Śatendriyā (*i.e.* having a hundred senses), (27) (was also) Rati, Mind, Austere Fervour, Intellect, sprung from Mahat and the other principles. He then begot upon Śatarūpā seven sons. 28. This world, composed of all knowledge, sprang from Marīchi, and the others who were the mind-born sons of that wise Being. He next created Vāmadeva (Mahādeva), the wielder of the excellent trident, and the lord Sanatkumāra, born before the earliest. 30. Then the divine Vāmadeva created Brāhmans from his mouth, Rājanyas from his breast, the Viś and the Śūdra from his thighs and feet." [After describing in the following verses some other creations of Vāmadeva, the writer proceeds in verse 35:] "The wise Manu Svāyambhuva, having practised austere fervour of the most arduous kind, obtained a beautiful wife named Anantā. On her he begot Priyavrata and Uttānapāda."

Having made Manu the son of Śatarūpā, the writer was obliged to give him another female for a wife, as we see he has here done.

It will be observed that in this passage Vāmadeva—and not Brahmā, as in the other Purāṇas—is described as the creator of the four castes.

SECT. X.—*Quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa on the Creation, and on the Origin of Castes.*

The substance of the first of the following passages has already been stated above in a note on page 36. Part of it is also quoted in p. 54, and it is more fully cited in the fourth volume of this work, p. 29, but for facility of reference I repeat it here.

Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay edition) ii. 110, 1. *Kruddham ājnāya Rāmaṁ tu Vasishṭhaḥ pratyuvācha ha | Jābālir api jānīte lokasyāsya gatāgatim | 2. Nivarttayitu-kāmas tu tvām etad vākyam abravīt | imām loka-samut-*

pattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me | 3. *Sarvaṁ salilam evāsīt pṛithivī tatra nirmitā* | *tataḥ samabhavat Brahmā Svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha* | 4. *Sa varāhas tato bhūtvā projjahāra vasundharām* | *asṛijach cha jagat sarvaṁ saha putraiḥ kṛitātmabhiḥ* | 5. *Ākāśaprabhavo Brahmā śāśvato nitya avyayaḥ* | *tasmād Marīchiḥ sanjajne Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutaḥ* | 6. *Vivasvān Kaśyapāj jajne Manur Vaivasvataḥ svayam* | *sa tu prajāpatiḥ pūrvam Ikshvākus tu Manoḥ sutaḥ* | 7. *Yasyeyam prathamaṁ dattā samṛiddhā Manunā mahī* | *tam Ikshvākum Ayodhyāyāṁ rājānaṁ viddhi pūrvakam* |

"1. Perceiving Rāma to be incensed[311] Vasishṭha replied: 'Jābāli also knows the destruction and renovation of this world. 2. But he spoke as he did from a desire to induce you to return. Learn from me, lord of the earth, this (account of) the origin of the world. 3. The universe was nothing but water. In it the earth was fashioned. Then Brahmā Svayambhū came into existence, with the deities. He next, becoming a boar, raised up the earth, and created the entire world, with the saints his sons. 5. Brahmā, the eternal, unchanging, and undecaying, was produced from the æther (*ākāśa*). From him sprang Marīchi, of whom Kaśyapa was the son. 6. From Kaśyapa sprang Vivasvat: and from him was descended Manu, who was formerly the lord of creatures (*prajāpati*). Ikshvāku[312] was the son of Manu (7) and to him this prosperous earth was formerly given by his father. Know that this Ikshvāku was the former king in Ayodhyā."

The account which I next quote does not agree with the last in its details, as, besides representing the Prajāpatis or sons of Brahmā to be seventeen in number, it places Marīchi, Kaśyapa, and Vivasvat in the same rank as contemporaries, while the former narrative declares them to have been respectively father, son, and grandson.

Rāmāyaṇa iii. 14, 5. *Rāmasya vachanaṁ śrutvā kulam ātmānam eva cha* | *āchachakshe dvijas tasmai sarva-bhūta-samudbhavam* | 6. *Pūrvakāle mahābāho ye prajāpatayo 'bhavan* | *tān me nigadataḥ sarvān āditaḥ śṛiṇu Rāghava* | 7. *Kardamaḥ prathamas teshāṁ Vikṛitas tad-anantaram* | *S'eshaś cha Saṁśrayaś chaiva Bahuputraś cha vīryavān* | 8.

[311] On account of a materialistic and immoral argument which had been addressed to him by Jābāli to induce him to disregard his deceased father's arrangements regarding the succession to the throne. See Journ. Roy. As. Soc. vol. xix. pp. 303 ff.

[312] The name Ikshvāku occurs in R. V. x. 60, 4. See Professor Max Müller's article in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, pp. 451 and 462.

Sthāṇur Marīchir Atriś cha Kratuś chaiva mahābalaḥ | *Pulastyaś chāngirāś chaiva Prachetāḥ Pulahas tathā* | 9. *Daksho Vivasvān aparo 'rishṭanemiś cha Rāghava* | *Kaśyapaś cha mahatejās teshām āsīch cha paśchimah* | 10. *Prajāpates tu Dakshasya babhūvur iti viśrutāḥ* | *shashṭir duhitaro Rāma yaśasvinyo mahāyaśāḥ* | 11. *Kaśyapaḥ pratijagrāha tāsām ashṭau sumadhyamāḥ* | *Aditiṁ cha Ditiṁ chaiva Danūm api cha Kālakām* | 12. *Tāmrāṁ Krodhavaśāṁ chaiva Manuṁ*[213] *chāpy Analām api* | *tās tu kanyās tataḥ prītaḥ Kaśyapaḥ punar abravīt* | 13. *Putrāṁs trailokya-bhartṛīn vai janayishyatha mat-samān* | *Aditis tan-manāḥ Rāma Ditiścha Danūr eva cha* | 14. *Kālakā cha mahābāho śeshās tv amanaso*[214] *'bhavan* | *Adityāṁ jajnire devās trayastriṁśad arindama* | 15. *Ādityā Vasavo Rudrā Aśvinau cha parantapa* | . . . . 29. *Manur manushyān janayat Kāśyapasya mahātmanaḥ* | *brāhmaṇān kshattriyān vaiśyān śūdrāṁś cha manujarshabha* | 30. *Mukhato brāhmaṇā jātāḥ urasaḥ kshattriyās tathā* | *ūrubhyāṁ jajnire vaiśyāḥ padbhyāṁ śūdrā iti śrutiḥ* | 31. *Sarvān puṇya-phalān vṛikshān Analā 'pi vyajāyata* |

"5. Having heard the words of Rāma, the bird (*Jaṭāyus*) made known to him his own race, and himself, and the origin of all beings. 6. 'Listen while I declare to you from the commencement all the Prajāpatis (lords of creatures) who came into existence in the earliest time. 7. Kardama was the first, then Vikṛita, Śesha, Saṁśraya, the energetic Bahuputra, (8) Sthāṇu, Marīchi, Atri, the strong Kratu, Pulastya, Angiras, Prachetas, Pulaha, (9) Daksha, then Vivasvat, Arishṭanemi, and the glorious Kaśyapa, who was the last. 10. The Prajāpati Daksha is famed to have had sixty daughters. 11. Of these Kaśyapa took in marriage eight elegant maidens, Aditi, Diti, Danū, Kālakā, (12) Tāmrā, Krodhavaśā, Manu,[215] and Analā. Kaśyapa, pleased, then said

[213] *Balām Atibalām api.*—Gorr. [214] *Manoratha-hīnāḥ.*—Comm.

[215] I should have doubted whether Manu could have been the right reading here, but that it occurs again in verse 29, where it is in like manner followed in verse 31 by Analā, so that it would certainly seem that the name Manu is intended to stand for a female, the daughter of Daksha. The Gauḍa recension, followed by Signor Gorresio (iii. 20, 12), adopts an entirely different reading at the end of the line, viz. *Balām Atibalām api*, "Balā and Atibalā," instead of Manu and Analā. I see that Professor Roth s.v. adduces the authority of the Amara Kosha and of the Commentator on Pāṇini for stating that the word sometimes means "the wife of Manu." In the following text of the Mahābhārata i. 2553, also, Manu appears to be the name of a female: *Anavadyām Manuṁ Vaṁśām Asurām Mārgaṇapriyām* | *Anūpām Subhagām Bhāsīm iti Prādhā vyajāyata* | "Prādhā (daughter of Daksha) bore Anavadyā, Manu, Vanśā, Asurā, Mārgaṇapriyā, Anūpā, Subhagā, and Bhāsī.

to these maids, (13) 'ye shall bring forth sons like to me, preservers of the three worlds.' Aditi, Diti, Danū, (14) and Kālakā assented; but the others did not agree. Thirty-three gods were borne by Aditi, the Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, and the two Aśvins." [The following verses 15–28 detail the offspring of Diti, Danū, Kālakā, Tāmrā, Krodhavaśā, as well as of Kraunchī, Bhāsī, Syenī, Dhṛitarāshṭrī, and Sukī the daughters of Kālakā, and of the daughters of Krodhavaśā. (Compare the Mahābharata, i. 2620–2635; and Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. ii. pp. 72 f.) After this we come upon Manu and the creation of mankind.] "29. Manu, (wife) of Kaśyapa,[216] produced men, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras. 30. 'Brāhmans were born from the mouth, Kshattriyas from the breast, Vāiśyas from the thighs, and Sūdras from the feet,' so says the Veda. 31. Analā gave birth to all trees with pure fruits."

It is singular to observe that in this passage, after having represented men of all castes as sprung from Manu, the writer next adds a verse to state, on the authority of the Veda, that the different castes were produced from the different parts of the body out of which they issued. Unless Manu's body be here meant, there is a contradiction between the two statements. If Manu's body is meant, the assertion conflicts with the common account. And if the Manu here mentioned is, as appears from the context, a woman, we should naturally conclude that her offspring was born in the ordinary way; especially as she is said to have been one of the wives of Kaśyapa.

The next passage from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, 74, 8 f., describes the condition of men in the Kṛita age, and the subsequent introduction of the caste system in the Tretā. The description purports to have been occasioned by an incident which had occurred just before. A Brāhman had come to the door of Rāma's palace in Ayodhyā, carrying the body of his dead son,[217] and bewailing his loss, the blame

[216] The text reads Kāśyapa, "a descendant of Kāsyapa," who, according to Rām. ii. 110, 6, ought to be Vivasvat. But as it is stated in the preceding part of this passage iii. 14, 11 f. that Manu was one of Kāśyapa's eight wives, we must here read Kāśyapa. The Gauḍa recension reads (iii. 20, 30) *Manur manushyāṁś cha tathā janayāmāsa Rāghava*, instead of the corresponding line in the Bombay edition.

[217] The boy is said, in 73, 5, to have been *aprāpta-yauvanam bālam pancha-varsha-sahasrakam* | "a boy of five thousand years who had not attained to puberty!" The Commentator says that *varsha* here means not a year, but a day (*varsha-śabdo 'tra*

of which (as he was himself unconscious of any fault) he attributed to some misconduct on the part of the king. Rāma in consequence convoked his councillors, when the divine sage Nārada spoke as follows:

8. *Sṛiṇu rājan yathā 'kāle prāpto bālasya sankshayaḥ | śrutvā karttavyatāṁ rājan kurushva Raghunandana* | 9. *purā kṛita-yuge rājan brāhmaṇā vai tapasvinaḥ* | 10. *Abrāhmaṇas tadā rājan na tapasvī kathanchana | tasmin yuge prajvalite brahmabhūte tv anāvṛite* | 11. *Amṛityavas tadā sarve jajnire dīrgha-darśinaḥ | tatas tretā-yugaṁ nāma mānavānāṁ vapushmatām* | 12. *Kshattriyā yatra jāyante pūrveṇa tapasā 'nvitāḥ | vīryyeṇa tapasā chaiva te 'dhikāḥ pūrva-janmani | mānavā ye mahātmānas tatra tretā-yuge yuge* | 13. *Brahma kshattraṁ cha tat sarvaṁ yat pūrvam avaraṁ cha yat | yugayor ubhayor asīt sama-vīryya-samanvitam* | 14. *Apaśyantas tu te sarve viśesham adhikaṁ tataḥ | sthāpanaṁ chakrire tatra chāturvarṇyasya sammatam* | 15. *Tasmin yuge prajvalite dharmabhūte hy anāvṛite | adharmaḥ pādam ekaṁ tu pātayat pṛithivītale* | . . . . 19. *Pātite tv anṛite tasminn adharmeṇa mahītale | śubhāny evācharal lokaḥ satya-dharma-parāyaṇaḥ* | 20. *Tretā-yuge cha varttante brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāś cha ye | tapo 'tapyanta te sarve śuśrūshām apare janāḥ* | 21. *Sva-dharmaḥ paramas teshāṁ vaiśya-śūdraṁ tadā "gamat | pūjāṁ cha sarva-varṇānāṁ śūdrāś chakrur viśeshataḥ* | . . . . . 23. *Tataḥ pādam adharmasya dvitīyam avātārayat | tato dvāpara-sankhyā sā yugasya samajāyata* | 24. *Tasmin dvāparā-sankhye tu varttamāne yuga-kshaye | adharmaś chānritaṁ chaiva vavṛidhe purusharshabha* | 25. *Asmin dvāpara-sankhyāte tapo vaiśyān samāviśat | tribhyo yugebhyas trīn varṇān kramād vai tapa āviśat* | 26. *Tribhyo yugebhyas trīn varṇān dharmaścha parinishṭhitaḥ | na śūdro labhate dharmaṁ yugatas tu nararshabha* | 27. *Hīna-varṇo nṛipa-śreshṭha tapyate sumahat tapaḥ | bhavishyachchhūdrayonyāṁ hi tapaś-charyā kalau yuge* | 28. *adharmaḥ paramo rājan dvāpare śūdra-janmanaḥ | sa vai vishaya-paryante tava rājan mahātapāḥ* | 29. *Adya tapyati durbuddhis tena bāla-badho hy ayam* |

Nārada speaks: 8. "Hear, o king, how the boy's untimely death occurred: and having heard the truth regarding what ought to be

dinaparaḥ),—just as it does in the ritual prescription that a man should perform a sacrifice lasting a thousand years ("*sahasra-saṁvatsaraṁ satram upāsīta*" *iti vat*),—and that thus some interpreters made out the boy's age to be sixteen, and others under fourteen. But this would be a most unusual mode of reckoning age.

done, do it. 9. Formerly, in the Kṛita age, Brāhmans alone practised austere fervour (*tapas*). 10. None who was not a Brāhman did so in that enlightened age, instinct with divine knowledge (or, with Brahma), unclouded (by darkness). 11. At that period all were born immortal, and far-sighted. Then (came) the Tretā age, the era of embodied men, (12) in which the Kshattriyas were born, distinguished still by their former austere fervour; although those men who were great in the Tretā age had been greater, both in energy and austere fervour, in the former birth. 13. All the Brāhmans and Kshattriyas, both the former and the later, were of equal energy in both Yugas.[218] 14. But not perceiving any more distinction (between the then existing men) they all[219] next established the approved system of the four castes. 15. Yet in that enlightened age, instinct with righteousness, unclouded (by darkness), unrighteousness planted one foot upon the earth." [After some other remarks (verses 16–18), which are in parts obscure, the writer proceeds:] 19. "But, although this falsehood had been planted upon the earth by unrighteousness, the people, devoted to true righteousness, practised salutary observances. 20. Those Brāhmans and Kshattriyas who lived in the Tretā practised austere fervour, and the rest of mankind obedience. 21. (The principle that) their own duty was the chief thing pervaded the Vaiśyas and S'ūdras among them: and the S'ūdras especially paid honour to all the (other) classes. . . . . 23. Next the second foot of unrighteousness was planted on the earth, and the number of the Dvāpara (the third yuga) was produced. 24. When this deterioration of the age numbered as the Dvāpara, had come into existence,

[218] The Commentator says, this means that in the Kṛita age the Brāhmans were superior, and the Kshattriyas inferior (as the latter had not then the prerogative of practising *tapas*), but that in the Tretā both classes were equal (*ubhayor yugayor madhye kṛita-yuge brahma pūrvam tapo-vīryābhyām utkṛishṭam kshattram chāvaram cha tābhyām tapo-vīryābhyām nyūnam āsīt | tat sarvam brahma-kshattra-rūpam ubhayam tretāyām sama-vīrya-samanvitam āsīt | kṛite kshattriyānām tapasy anadhikārāt tadyugīyebhyo brāhmaṇebhyas teshām nyūnatā | tretāyām tu ubhayo rapi tapo-'dhikārād ubhāv api tapo-vīryābhyām samau* | But in the previous verse (12) it is said that the Kshattriyas were born in the Tretā distinguished by their former *tapas*. But perhaps they were formerly Brahmans, according to verses 9, 10, and 12.

[219] Manu and other legislators of that age, according to the Commentator (*Manv-ādayaḥ sarve tātkālikāḥ dharma-pravarttanādhikṛitāḥ*). He adds that in the Kṛita age all the castes were spontaneously devoted to their several duties, although no fixed system had been prescribed (*kṛite tu vinaiva sthāpanam svayam eva sarve varṇāḥ sva-sva-dharma-ratāḥ*).

unrighteousness and falsehood increased. 25. In this age, numbered as the Dvāpara, austere fervour entered into the Vaiśyas. Thus in the course of three ages it entered into three castes; (26) and in the three ages righteousness (*dharma*) was established in three castes. But the Śūdra does not attain to righteousness through the (lapse of these three) ages. 27. A man of low caste performs a great act of austere fervour. Such observance will belong to the future race of Śūdras in the Kali age, (28) but is unrighteous in the extreme if practised by that caste in the Dvāpara. On the outskirts of thy territory such a foolish person, of intense fervour, is practising austerity. Hence this slaughter of the boy."

Here then was a clue to the mystery of the young Brāhman's death A presumptuous Śūdra, paying no regard to the fact that in the age[220] in which he lived the prerogative of practising self-mortification had not yet descended to the humble class to which he belonged, had been guilty of seeking to secure a store of religious merit by its exercise. Rāma mounts his car Pushpaka, makes search in different regions, and at length comes upon a person who was engaged in the manner alleged. The Śūdra, on being questioned, avows his caste, and his desire to conquer for himself the rank of a god by the self-mortification he was undergoing. Rāma instantly cuts off the offender's head. The gods applaud the deed, and a shower of flowers descends from the sky upon the vindicator of righteousness. Having been invited to solicit a boon from the gods, he asks that the Brāhman boy may be resuscitated, and is informed that he was restored to life at the same moment when the Śūdra was slain. (Sections 75 and 76.)[221]

The following curious account of the creation of mankind, among whom it states that no distinction of class (or colour) originally existed, is given in the Uttara Kānda, xxx. 19 ff., where Brahmā says to Indra:

Amarendra mayā buddhyā prajāḥ sṛishṭās tathā prabho | eka-varṇāḥ sama-bhāshā eka-rūpāś cha sarvaśaḥ | 20. *Tāsāṁ nāsti viśesho hi darśane lakshaṇe 'pi vā | tato 'ham ekāgramanās tāḥ prajāḥ samachintayam* | 21. *So 'ham tāsāṁ viśeshārtham striyam ekām vinirmame | yad yat prajānām pratyangam viśishṭaṁ tat tad uddhṛitam* | 22. *Tato mayā*

[220] The Tretā, according to the Commentator.

[221] See the Rev. Professor Banerjea's Dialogues on the Hindu philosophy, pp. 44 ff., where attention had previously been drawn to the story.

rūpa-guṇair ahalyā strī vinirmitā | halam nāmeha vairūpyaṁ halyaṁ tat-prabhavam bhavet | 23. *Yasyā na vidyate halyam tenāhalyeti viśrutā | Ahalyety eva cha mayā tasyā nāma prakīrttitam* | 24. *Nirmitāyāṁ cha devendra tasyām nāryāṁ surarshabha | bhavishyatīti kasyaishā mama chintā tato 'bhavat* | 25. *Tvaṁ tu S'akra tadā nārīṁ jānīshe manasā prabho | sthānādhikatayā patnī mamaisheti purandara* | 26. *Sa mayā nyāsa-bhūtā tu Gautamasya mahātmanaḥ | nyastā bahūni varshāṇi tena niryātitā cha ha* | 27. *Tatas tasya parijnāya mahāsthairyam mahāmuneḥ | jnātvā tapasi siddhiṁ cha patny-arthaṁ sparśitā tadā* | 28. *Sa tayā saha dharmātmā ramate sma mahāmuniḥ | āsan nirāśā devās tu Gautame dattayā tayā* | 29. *Tvaṁ kruddhas tv iha kāmātmā gatvā tasyāśramam muneḥ | dṛishṭavāṁś cha tadā tām strīṁ dīptām agni-śikhām iva* | 30. *Sā tvayā dharshitā S'akra kāmārttena samanyunā ; dṛishṭas tvaṁ cha tadā tena āśrame paramarshiṇā* | 31. *Tataḥ kruddhena tenāsi śaptaḥ paramatejasā | gato 'si yena devendra daśā-bhāga-viparyayam* |

"19. O chief of the immortals (Indra) all creatures were formed by my will of one class (or colour), with the same speech, and uniform in every respect. 20. There was no distinction between them in appearance, or in characteristic marks. I then intently reflected on these creatures. 21. To distinguish between them I fashioned one woman. Whatever was most excellent in the several members of different creatures was taken from them, (22) and with this (aggregate) I formed a female, faultless in beauty and in all her qualities. *Hala* means 'ugliness,' and *halya*, 'what is produced from ugliness.' 23. The woman in whom there is no *halya*, is called *Ahalyā*. And this was her name to which I gave currency. 24. When this female had been fashioned, I anxiously considered to whom she should belong. 25. Thou, Indra, didst, from the eminence of thy rank, determine in thy mind, 'She must be my spouse.' 26. I, however, gave her in trust to the great Gautama; and after having retained her in charge for many years, he restored her. 27. Knowing then the great steadfastness of that distinguished Muni, and the perfection of his austere fervour, I, in due form, gave her to him for his wife. 28. The holy sage lived with her in the enjoyment of connubial love. But the gods were filled with despair when she had been given away to Gautama. 29. And thou, Indra, angry, as well as inflamed with lust, wentest to the Muni's hermitage,

and didst behold that female brilliant as the flame of fire. 30. She was then corrupted by thee who wert tormented by lust, as well as heated by anger.[222] But thou wert then seen by the eminent rishi in the hermitage, (31) and cursed by that glorious being in his indignation. Thou didst in consequence fall into a reverse of condition and fortune," etc., etc.

SECT. XI.—*Extracts from the Mahābhārata on the same subjects.*

The first passage which I shall adduce is from the Ādi Parvan, or first book, verses 2517 ff.:

Vaiśampāyana uvācha | *hanta te kathayishyāmi namaskṛitya Svayambhuve* | *surādīnām ahaṁ samyak lokānām prabhavāpyayam* | *Brahmaṇo mānasāḥ putrāḥ viditāḥ shaṇ-maharshayaḥ* | *Marīchir Atry-angirasau Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ* | *Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapāt tu prajā imāḥ* | *prajajnire mahābhāgā Daksha-kanyās trayodaśa* | 2520. *Aditir Ditir Danuḥ Kālā Danāyuḥ Siṁhikā tathā* | *Krodhā Pradhā cha Viśvā cha Vinatā Kapilā Muniḥ* | *Kadrūś cha manujavyāghra Daksha-kanyaiva Bhārata* | *etāsāṁ vīrya-sampannam putra-pautram anantakam* |

"Vaiśampayana said: I shall, after making obeisance to Svayambhū, relate to thee exactly the production and destruction of the gods and other beings. Six[223] great rishis are known as the mind-born sons

[222] In regard to this story of Indra and Ahalyā, as well as to that of Brahmā and his daughter, above referred to, see the explanation given by Kumārila Bhatta, as quoted by Professor Max Müller in his Hist. of Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 529 f. The name of Ahalyā is there allegorically interpreted of the night, to which this name is said to have been given because it is absorbed in the day (*ahani līyamānatayā*). Indra is the sun.

[223] Another passage (S'ānti-p. 7569 ff.) raises the number of Brahmā's sons to seven by adding Vasishṭha: *Ekaḥ Svayambhūr bhagavān ādyo Brahmā sanātanaḥ* | *Brahmaṇaḥ sapta vai putrā mahātmānaḥ Svayambhuvaḥ* | *Marīchir Atry-Angirasau Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ* | *Vaśishṭhaś cha mahābhāgaḥ sadṛiśo vai Svayambhuvā* | *sapta Brahmāṇa ity ete purāṇe niśchayaṁ gatāḥ* | "There is one primeval eternal lord, Brahmā Svayambhū; who had seven great sons, Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasishṭha, who was like Svayambhū. These are the seven Brahmās who have been ascertained in the Puranic records." In another part of the same S'āntiparvan, verses 12685 ff., however, the Prajāpatis are increased to twenty-one: *Brahmā Sthāṇur Manur Daksho Bhṛigur Dharmas tathā Yamaḥ* | *Marīchir Angirā 'triścha Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ* | *Vaśishṭhaḥ Parameshṭhī cha Vivasvān Soma eva cha* | *Kardamaś chāpi yaḥ proktaḥ Krodho Vikrīta eva cha* | *ekaviṁśatir utpannās te prajāpatayaḥ smṛitāḥ* | "There are reputed to have been twenty-one Prajāpatis produced, viz. Brahmā, Sthāṇu, Manu, Daksha, Bhṛigu, Dharma, Yama, Marīchi,

of Brahmā, viz., Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, and Kratu. Kaśyapa was the son of Marīchi; and from Kaśyapa sprang these creatures. There were born to Daksha thirteen daughters of eminent rank, (2520) Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kālā, Danāyu, Siṁhikā, Krodhā, Pradhā, Viśvā, Vinatā, Kapilā, and Muni.[224] Kadrū also was of the number. These daughters had valorous sons and grandsons innumerable."

Daksha, however, had other daughters, as we learn further on in verses 2574 ff., where the manner of his own birth also is related:

Dakshas tv ajāyatāngushṭhād dakshiṇād bhagavān ṛishiḥ | Brahmaṇaḥ pṛithivīpāla śāntātmā sumahātapāḥ | vāmād ajāyatāngushṭhād bhāryā tasya mahātmanaḥ | tasyām panchāśatam kanyāḥ sa evājanayad muniḥ | . . . . 2577. *Dadau cha daśa Dharmāya saptaviṁśatim Indave | divyena vidhina rājan Kaśyapāya trayodaśa |* . . . . . 2581. *Paitāmahaḥ Manur devas tāsya putraḥ prajāpatiḥ* ·| *tasyāshṭau Vasavaḥ putrās teshām vakshyāmi vistaram |* . . . . . 2595. *Stanaṁ tu dakshiṇam bhitvā Brahmaṇo nara-vigrahaḥ | nissṛito bhagavān Dharmaḥ sarva-loka-sukhāvahaḥ | trayas tasya varāḥ putrāḥ sarva-bhūta-manoharāḥ | S'amaḥ Kāmaś cha Harshaś cha tejasā loka-dhāriṇaḥ |* . . . . . 2610. *Ārushī to Manoḥ kanyā tasya patnī manīshiṇaḥ |* . . . . . 2614. *Dvau putrau Brahmaṇas tv anyau yayos tishṭhati lakshaṇam | loke Dhātā Vidhātā cha yau sthitau Manunā saha | tayor eva svasā devī Lakshmī padma-gṛihā śubhā | tasyās tu mānasāḥ putrās turagāḥ vyoma-chāriṇaḥ |* . . . . . 2617. *Prajānām annakāmānām anyonya-paribhakshaṇāt | Adharmas tatra sanjātaḥ sarva-bhūta-vināśakaḥ | tasyāpi Nirṛitir bhāryā nairṛitā yena Rākshasāḥ | ghorās tasyās trayaḥ putrāḥ pāpa-karma-ratāḥ sadā | Bhayo Mahābhayas chaiva Mṛityur bhūtāntakas tathā | na tasya bhāryā putro vā kaśchid asty antako hi saḥ |*

Angiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vaśishṭha, Parameshṭhin, Vivasvat, Soma, the person called Kardama, Krodha, and Vikrīta." (Here, however, only twenty names are specified including Brahmā himself.) Compare this list with those quoted above, p. 116, from the Rāmāyaṇa, iii. 14, 7 ff., from Manu in p. 36, and from the Vishṇu P. in p. 65.

[224] That Muni is a name, and not an epithet, is shown (1) by the fact that we have otherwise only twelve names; and (2) by her descendants, both gods and gandharvas, being afterwards enumerated in verses 2550 ff. (*ity ete deva-gandharvā Mauneyāḥ parikīrttitāḥ*). Kapilā, another of the thirteen daughters of Daksha is said to have been the mother of Ambrosia, Brāhmans, kine, Gandharvas and Apsarasas (*amṛitam brāhmaṇā gāvo gandharvāpsarasas tathā | apatyam kapilāyās tu purāṇe parikīrttitam |*).

"2574. Daksha, the glorious rishi, tranquil in spirit, and great in austere fervour, sprang from the right thumb of Brahmā.[225] From the left thumb sprang that great Muni's wife, on whom he begot fifty[226] daughters. Of these he gave ten to Dharma, twenty-seven to Indu (Soma),[227] and according to the celestial system, thirteen to Kaśyapa." I proceed with some other details given in the verses I have extracted: 2581. "Pitāmaha's descendant, Manu, the god and the lord of creatures, was his (it does not clearly appear whose) son. The eight Vasus, whom I shall detail, were his sons. . . . . . 2595. Dividing the right breast of Brahmā, the glorious Dharma (Righteousness), issued in a human form, bringing happiness to all people. He had three eminent sons, Śama, Kāma, and Harsha (Tranquillity, Love, and Joy), who are the delight of all creatures, and by their might support the world. . . . . . 2610. Arushī, the daughter of Manu, was the wife of that sage (Chyavana, son of Bhrigu). . . . . . 2614. There are two other sons of Brahmā, whose mark remains in the world, Dhātṛi,[228] and Vidhātṛi, who remained with Manu. Their sister was the beautiful goddess Lakshmī,[229] whose home is in the lotus. Her mind-born sons are the steeds who move in the sky. . . . . . 2617. When the creatures who were desirous of food, had devoured one another, Adharma (Unrighteousness) was produced, the destroyer of all beings. His wife was Nirṛiti, and hence the Rākshasas are called Nairṛitas, or the offspring of Nirṛiti. She had three dreadful sons, continually addicted to evil deeds, Bhaya Mahābhaya (Fear and Terror) and Mṛityu (Death) the ender of beings. He has neither wife, nor any son, for he is the ender."[230]

The next passage gives a different account of the origin of Daksha; and describes the descent of mankind from Manu:

Adip. 3128. *Tejobhir uditāḥ sarve maharshi-sama-tejasaḥ | daśa Pra-*

[225] See above, p. 72 f. The Matsya P. also states that Daksha sprang from Brahmā's right thumb, Dharma from his nipple, Kāma from his heart, etc.

[226] The passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, quoted above, p. 116, affirms that they were sixty in number. Compare Wilson's Vishṇu P. vol. i. pp. 109 ff., and vol. ii. pp. 19 ff.

[227] The Taitt. Sanhitā, ii. 3, 5, 1, says Prajāpati had thirty-three daughters, whom he gave to King Soma (*Prajāpates trayastriṁśad duhitara āsan | tāḥ Somāya rājne 'dadāt*).

[228] Dhātṛi had been previously mentioned, in verse 2523, as one of the sons of Aditi. See also Wilson's Vishṇu P. ii. 152.

[229] See Wilson's Vishṇu P. i. pp. 109, 118 ff., 144 ff. and 152.

[230] The Vishṇu P. (Wilson, i. 112) says he had five children.

chetasaḥ putrāḥ santaḥ puṇya-janāḥ smṛitāḥ | mukhajenāgninā yais te pūrvaṁ dagdhā mahaujasaḥ | tebhyaḥ Prāchetaso jajne Daksho Dakshād imāḥ prajāḥ | sambhūtāḥ purusha-vyāghra sa hi loka-pitāmahaḥ | Vīriṇyā saha sangamya Dakshaḥ Prāchetaso muniḥ | ātma-tulyān ajanayat sahasraṁ śaṁsita-vratān | sahasra-sankhyān sambhūtān Daksha-putrāṁś cha Nāradaḥ | moksham adhyāpayāmāsa sānkhya-jnānam anuttamam | tataḥ panchāśataṁ kanyāḥ putrikāḥ abhisandadhe | Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ Dakshaḥ sisṛikshur Janamejaya | dadau cha daśa Dharmāya Kaśyapāya trayodaśa | kālasya nayane yuktāḥ saptaviṁśatim Indave | 3135. *Trayodaśānām patnīnām yā tu Dākshāyaṇī varā | Mārīchaḥ Kaśyapas tasyām Ādityān samajījanat | Indrādīn vīryya-sampannān Vivasvantam athāpi cha | Vivasvataḥ suto jajne Yamo Vaivasvataḥ prabhuḥ | Mārtaṇḍasya Manur dhīmān ajāyata sutaḥ prabhuḥ | Yamaś chāpi suto jajne khyātas tasyānujaḥ prabhuḥ | dharmātmā sa Manur dhīmān yatra vaṁśaḥ pratishṭhitaḥ | Manor vaṁśo mānavānām tato 'yam prathito 'bhavat | brahma-kshatrādayas tasmād Manor jātās tu mānavāḥ | tato 'bhavad mahārāja brahma kshattreṇa sangatam |* 3140. *Brāhmaṇā mānavās teshām sāngam vedam adhārayan | Venam Dhṛishṇuṁ Narishyantam Nābhāgekshvākum eva cha | Kārūsham atha Śāryatiṁ tathā chaivāshṭamīm Ilām | Pṛishadhraṁ navamam prāhuḥ kshattra-dharma-parāyaṇam | Nābhāgārishṭa-daśamān Manoḥ putrān prachakshate | panchāśat tu Manoḥ putrās tathaivānye 'bhavan kshitau | anyonya-bhedāt te sarve vineśur iti naḥ śrutam | Purūravas tato vidvān Ilāyaṁ samapadyata | sā vai tasyābhavad mātā pitā chaiveti naḥ śrutam |*

"3128. Born all with splendour, like that of great rishis, the ten sons of Prachetas are reputed to have been virtuous and holy; and by them the glorious beings[231] were formerly burnt up by fire springing from their mouths. From them was born Daksha Prāchetasa;[232] and from Daksha, the Parent of the world (were produced), these creatures. Cohabiting with Vīriṇī, the Muni Daksha begot a thousand sons like himself, famous

[231] "Trees and plants," according to the Commentator (*mahāprabhāvā vṛikshaushadhayāḥ*). Compare Wilson's Vishṇu P. ii. p. 1.

[232] The same account of Daksha's birth is given in the S'āntip. 7573: *Daśānāṁ tanayas tv eko Daksho nāma prajāpatiḥ | tasya dve nāmanī loke Dakshaḥ Ka iti chochyate |* "These ten Prachetases had one son called Daksha, the lord of creatures. He is commonly called by two names, Daksha and Ka." (Compare vol. iv. of this work, p. 13, note 30, and p. 24; and the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 1, 19, and ii. 4, 4, 1, there quoted.) The following verse 7574 tells us that Kas'yapa also had two names, the other being Arishṭanemi. See Rām. iii. 14, 9, quoted above.

for their religious observances, to whom Nārada taught the doctrine of final liberation, the unequalled knowledge of the Sānkhya. Desirous of creating offspring, the Prajāpati Daksha next formed fifty daughters, of whom he gave ten to Dharma, thirteen to Kaśyapa, and twenty-seven, devoted to the regulation of time,[233] to Indu (Soma). . . . . 3135. On Dākshāyanī,[234] the most excellent of his thirteen wives, Kaśyapa, the son of Marīchi, begot the Ādityas, headed by Indra and distinguished by their energy, and also Vivasvat.[235] To Vivasvat was born a son, the mighty Yama Vaivasvata. To Mārtaṇḍa (*i.e.* Vivasvat, the Sun) was born the wise and mighty Manu, and also the renowned Yama, his (Manu's) younger brother. Righteous was this wise Manu, on whom a race was founded. Hence this (family) of men became known as the race of Manu. Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and other men sprang from this Manu. From him, o king, came the Brāhman conjoined with the Kshattriya. 3140. Among them the Brāhmans, children of Manu, held the Veda with the Vedāngas. The children of Manu are said to have been Vena, Dhṛishṇu, Narishyanta, Nābhāga, Ikshvāku, Kārusha, Śaryāti, Ilā the eight, Pṛishadra the ninth, who was addicted to the duties of a Kshattriya, and Nābhāgārishṭa the tenth. Manu had also fifty other sons; but they all, as we have heard, perished in consequence of mutual dissensions. Subsequently the wise Purūravas was born of Ilā, who, we heard, was both his mother and his father."

The tradition, followed in this passage, which assigns to all the castes one common ancestor, removed by several stages from the creator, is, of course, in conflict with the account which assigns to them a fourfold descent from the body of Brahmā himself.

The Śāntiparvan, verses 2749 ff., contains an account of the origin of castes which has evidently proceeded from an extreme assertor of the dignity of the Brahmanical order. The description given of the prerogatives of the priestly class is precisely in the style, and partly in almost the identical words, of the most extravagant declarations of

[233] This phrase *kālasya nayane yuktāḥ* had previously occurred in verse 2580, where it is followed by the words *sarvā nakshatra-yoginyo loka-yātrā-vidhānataḥ* | "all identified with the lunar asterisms, and appointed to regulate the life of men." See also Vishṇu P. i. 15, 56, and Professor Wilson's translation ii. p. 10, note 1, and p. 28, note 1.

[234] *i.e.* Aditi. See verses 2520, 2522, and 2600 of this same book.

[235] The account in the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 110, 5 ff., agrees with this in making Kaśyapa son of Marīchi, and father of Vivasvat.

Manu (i. 99 f.) on the same subject. In other places, however, the Mahābhārata contains explanations of a very different character regarding the origin of the distinctions, social and professional, which prevailed at the period of its composition. A comparison of these various passages will afford an illustration of the fact already intimated in p. 6,[236] that this gigantic poem is made up of heterogeneous elements, the products of different ages, and representing widely different dogmatical tendencies, the later portions having been introduced by successive editors of the work to support their own particular views, without any regard to their inconsistency with its earlier contents. In fact, a work so vast, the unaided compilation of which would have taxed all the powers of a Didymus Chalkenterus, could scarcely have been created in any other way than that of gradual accretion. And some supposition of this kind is certainly necessary in order to explain such discrepancies as will be found between the passages I have to quote, of which the three first are the productions of believers (real or pretended) in the existence of a natural distinction between their own Brahmanical order and the other classes of the community, while the two by which these three are followed have emanated from fair and moderate writers who had rational views of the essential unity of mankind, and of the superiority of moral and religious character to any factitious divisions of a social description.

In the first passage, Bhīshma, the great uncle of the Pāndus, when describing to Yudhishthira the duties of kings, introduces one of those ancient stories which are so frequently appealed to in the Mahābhārata. Without a minute study of the poem it would be difficult to say whether these are ever based on old traditions, or are anything more than mere vehicles invented to convey the individual views of the writers who narrate them. Bhīshma says, Śāntiparvan, 2749:

Ya eva tu sato rakshed asataś cha nivarttayet | sa eva rājnā karttavyo rājan rāja-purohitaḥ | 2750. *Atrāpy udāharantīmam itihāsam purātanam | Purūravasa Ailasya saṁvādam Mātariśvanaḥ | Purūravā uvācha | Kutaḥ svid brāhmaṇo jāta varṇāś chāpi kutas trayaḥ | kasmāchcha bhavati śreshṭhas tan me vyākhyātum arhasi | Mātariśvovācha | Brahmaṇo mukhataḥ sṛishṭo brāhmaṇo rāja-sattama | bāhubhyāṁ kshattriyaḥ sṛishṭa ūrubhyāṁ vaiśya eva cha | varṇānām parichāryyārtham trayāṇām Bha-*

[236] See also the fourth volume of this work, pp. 141 ff. and 152.

ratarshabha | varṇaś chaturthaḥ sambhūtaḥ padbhyām śūdro vinirmitaḥ | brāhmaṇo jāyamāno hi pṛithivyām anujāyate[237] | *īśvaraḥ sarva-bhūtānām dharma-koshasya guptaye* | 2755. *Ataḥ pṛithivyā yantāram kshattriyam daṇḍa-dhāraṇe | dvitīyam Daṇḍam akarot prajānām anutṛiptaye | vaiśyas tu dhana-dhānyena trīn varṇān bibhṛiyād imān | śūdro hy etān parichared iti Brahmānuśāsanam | Aila uvācha | dvijasya kshattrabandhor vā kasyeyam pṛithivī bhavet | dharmataḥ saha vittena samyag Vāyo prachakshva me | Vāyur uvācha | viprasya sarvam evaitad yat kinchij jagatīgatam | jyeshṭhenābhijaneneha tad dharma-kuśalā viduḥ | svam eva brāhmaṇo bhunkte svam vaste svaṁ dadāti cha | gurur hi sarva-varṇānāṁ jyeshṭhaḥ śreshṭhaś cha vai dvijaḥ* | 2760. *Paty-abhāve yathaiva strī devaram kurute patim | esha te prathamaḥ kalpaḥ āpady anyo bhaved ataḥ* |

"2749. The king should appoint to be his royal priest[238] a man who will protect the good, and restrain the wicked. 2750. On this subject they relate this following ancient story of a conversation between Purūravas the son of Ilā, and Mātariśvan (Vāyu, the Wind-god). Purūravas said: You must explain to me whence the Brāhman, and whence the (other) three castes were produced, and whence the superiority (of the first) arises. Mātariśvan answered: The Brāhman was created from Brahmā's mouth, the Kshattriya from his arms, the Vaiśya from his thighs, while for the purpose of serving these three

[237] Manu, i. 99, has *adhi jāyate*.

[238] *Rāja-purohitaḥ*. The king's priest (*rāja-purohitaḥ*) is here represented as one who should be a confidential and virtuous minister of state. Such is not, however, the character always assigned to this class of persons. In Manu xii. 46, quoted above (p. 41f.), the purohita is placed in a lower class than other Brāhmans. And in the following verse (4527) of the Anuśāsanaparvan, taken from a story in which the Rishis utter maledictions against anyone who should have stolen certain lotus roots, part of the curse spoken by Viśvāmitra is as follows: *varshācharo 'stu bhṛitako rājnaś chāstu purohitaḥ | ayājyasya bhavatv ṛitvig visa-stainyaṁ karoti yaḥ* | "Let the man who steals lotus roots be a hireling trafficker in rain incantations (?) and the *domestic priest of a king*, and the priest of one for whom no Brāhman should officiate." Again, in verse 4579, the same person says: *karotu bhṛitako 'varshāṁ rājnaś chāstu purohitaḥ | ṛitvig astu hy ayājyasya yas te harati pushkaram* | "Let him who steals thy lotus perform as a hireling incantations to cause drought, and be a king's domestic priest, and the priest of one for whom no Brāhman should officiate." I have had partly to guess at the sense of the words *varshācharaḥ* and *avarshām*. The Commentator does not explain the former; and interprets the latter (for which the Edinburgh MS. reads *avarshāḥ*) by *vṛishṭi-nibandham*, "causing drought." He adds, *papishṭhāḥ eva avarshāh*, "those who cause drought are most wicked."

castes was produced the fourth class, the S'ūdra, fashioned from his feet. The Brāhman, as soon as born, becomes the lord of all beings upon the earth, for the purpose of protecting the treasure of righteousness. 2755. Then (the creator) constituted the Kshattriya the controuler of the earth, a second Yama to bear the rod, for the satisfaction of the people. And it was Brahmā's ordinance that the Vaiśya should sustain these three classes with money and grain, and that the S'ūdra should serve them. The son of Ilā then enquired: Tell me, Vāyu, to whom the earth, with its wealth, rightfully belongs, to the Brāhman or the Kshattriya? Vāyu replied: All this, whatever exists in the world, is the Brāhman's property[230] by right of primogeniture: this is known to those who are skilled in the laws of duty. It is his own which the Brāhman eats, puts on, and bestows. He is the chief of all the castes, the first-born and the most excellent. Just as a woman when she has lost her (first) husband, takes her brother in law for a second; so the Brāhman is thy first resource in calamity; afterwards another may arise."

A great deal is shortly afterwards added about the advantages of concord between Brāhmans and Kshattriyas. Such verses as the following (2802): "From the dissensions of Brāhmans and Kshattriyas the people incur intolerable suffering" (*mitho bhedād brāhmaṇa-kshattriyāṇām prajā duḥkhaṁ dussahaṁ chāviśanti*) afford tolerably clear evidence that the interests of these two classes must frequently have clashed.

In the same strain as the preceding passage is the following:

Vanaparvan, 13436. *Nādhyāpanād yājanād vā anyasmād vā pratigrahāt | dosho bhavati viprāṇāṁ jvalitāgni-samā dvijāḥ | durvedā vā suvedā vā prākṛitāḥ saṁskṛitās tathā | brāhmaṇā nāvamantavyā bhasmachannā ivāgnayaḥ | yathā śmaśāne dīptaujāḥ pāvako naiva dushyati | evaṁ vidvān avidvān vā brāhmaṇo daivatam mahat | prākārais cha puradvāraiḥ prāsādais cha pṛithag-vidhaiḥ | nagarāṇi na śobhante hīnāni brāhmaṇottamaiḥ | vedāḍhyā vṛitta-sampannā jnānavantas tapasvinaḥ | yatra tishṭhanti vai viprās tan-nāma nagaraṁ nṛipa | vraje vā py athavā*

[230] Kullūka, the Commentator on Manu (i. 100), is obliged to admit that this is only spoken in a panegyrical or hyperbolical way, and that property is here used in a figurative sense, since theft is afterwards predicated by Manu of Brāhmans as well as others ("*svam*" *iti stutyā uchyate | svam iva svaṁ na tu svam eva | brāhmaṇasyāpi Manunā steyasya vakshyamāṇatvāt*).

'raṇye yatra santi bahu-śrutāḥ | tat tad nagaram ity āhuḥ pārtha tīrthaṁ cha tad bhavet |

"No blame accrues to Brāhmans from teaching or sacrificing, or from receiving money in any other way: Brāhmans are like flaming fire. Whether ill or well versed in the Veda, whether untrained or accomplished, Brāhmans must never be despised, like fires covered by ashes. Just as fire does not lose its purity by blazing even in a cemetery, so too, whether learned or unlearned, a Brāhman is a great deity. Cities are not rendered magnificent by ramparts, gates, or palaces of various kinds, if they are destitute of excellent Brāhmans. 13440. The place where Brāhmans, rich in the Veda, perfect in their conduct, and austerely fervid, reside, is (really) a city (*nagara*). Wherever there are men abounding in Vedic lore, whether it be a cattle-pen, or a forest, that is called a city, and that will be a sacred locality."

The following verses from the Anuśāsanap. 2160 ff. are even more extreme in their character, and are, in fact, perfectly sublime in their insolence:

Brāhmaṇānām paribhavād asurāḥ salile śayāḥ | brāhmaṇānām prasādāch cha devāḥ svarga-nivāsinaḥ | aśakyaṁ srashṭum ākāśam achālyo himavān giriḥ | adhāryyā setunā Gangā durjayā brāhmaṇā bhuvi | na brāhmaṇa-virodhena śakyā śāstuṁ vasundharā | brāhmaṇā hi mahātmāno devānām api devatāḥ | tān pūjayasva satataṁ dānena paricharyyayā | yadīchhasi mahīm bhoktum imām sāgara-mekhalām |

"Through the prowess of the Brāhmans the Asuras were prostrated on the waters; by the favour of the Brāhmans the gods inhabit heaven. The ether cannot be created; the mountain Himavat cannot be shaken; the Gangā cannot be stemmed by a dam; the Brāhmans cannot be conquered by any one upon earth. The world cannot be ruled in opposition to the Brāhmans; for the mighty Brāhmans are the deities even of the gods. If thou desire to possess the sea-girt earth, honour them continually with gifts and with service."

The next passage seems to be self-contradictory, as it appears to set out with the supposition that the distinction of castes arose after the creation; while it goes on to assert the separate origin of the four classes:

Śāntiparvan, 10861. *Janaka uvācha | varṇo viśesha-varṇānām maharshe kena jāyate | etad ichhāmy ahaṁ jnātum tad brūhi vadatāṁ vara | yad etaj jāyate 'patyaṁ sa evāyam iti śrutiḥ | katham brāhmaṇato jāto*

viśeshe grahaṇaṁ gataḥ | *Parāśara uvācha* | *Evam etad mahārāja yena jātaḥ sa eva saḥ* | *tapasas tv apakarsheṇa jātigrahaṇatāṁ gataḥ* | *sukshettrāchcha suvījāch cha puṇyo bhavati sambhavaḥ* | *ato 'nyatarato hīnād avaro nāma jāyate* | 10865. *Vaktrād bhujābhyām ūrubhyām padbhyāṁ chaivātha jajnire* | *srijataḥ Prajāpater lokān iti dharmavido viduḥ* | *mukhajā brāhmaṇās tāta bāhujāḥ kshattriyāḥ smṛitāh* | *ūrujāḥ dhanino rājan pādajāḥ parichārakāḥ* | *chaturṇām eva varṇānām āgamaḥ purusharshabha* | *ato 'nye vyatiriktā ye te vai sankarajāḥ smṛitāḥ* | . . . . . 10870. *Janaka uvācha* | *Brahmaṇaikena jātānām nānātvaṁ gotrataḥ katham* | *bahūnīha hi loke vai gotrāṇi muni sattama* | *yatra tatra kathaṁ jātāḥ svayonim (? suyonim) munayo gatāḥ* | *śuddha-yonau samutpannā viyonau cha tathā 'pare* | *Parāśara uvācha* | *rājan naitad bhaved grāhyam apakṛishṭena janmanā* | *mahātmanāṁ samutpattis tapasā bhāvitatmanām* | *utpādya putrān munayo nṛipate yatra tatra ha* | *svenaiva tapasā teshām ṛishitvam pradadhuḥ punaḥ* | . . . . 10876. *Ete svām prakṛitim prāptā Vaideha tapasośrayāt* | *pratishṭhitā veda-vido damena tapasaiva hi* |

"Janaka asks: 10861. How, o great rishi, does the caste of the separate classes arise? Tell me, as I desire to know. According to the Veda, the offspring which is born (to any one) is the very man himself. How does offspring born of a Brāhman fall into distinct classes? Parāśara replied: It is just as you say, o great king. A son is the very same as he by whom he was begotten; but from decline of austere fervour, (men) have become included under different classes. And from good soil and good seed a pure production arises, whilst from those which are different and faulty springs an inferior production. Those acquainted with duty know that men were born from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Prajāpati when he was creating the worlds. The Brāhmans sprang from his mouth, the Kshattriyas from his arms, the merchants from his thighs, and the servants from his feet. The scriptural tradition speaks only of four classes. The men not included in these are declared to have sprung from a mixture (of the four). . . . . 10870. Janaka asked: How is there a difference in race between men sprung from one and the same Brahmā? for there are now many races in the world. How have Munis born anywhere (indiscriminately) entered into a good family; some of them having sprung from a pure source and others from an inferior stock? Parāśara replied: It would not be credible that noble-minded men, whose souls

had been perfected by austere fervour, should have been the offspring of a degraded birth. Munis who had begotten sons in an indiscriminate way conferred on them the position of rishis by their own austere fervour." The speaker then names a number of sages (10876) "famed for their acquaintance with the Veda, and for their self-command and austere fervour," as "having all attained to their respective conditions by practising the latter observance."

In the latter verses the speaker appears to admit, at the very moment that he denies, the degraded origin of some of the renowned saints of Indian antiquity. What else is the meaning of the verse, "Munis who had begotten sons in an indiscriminate way conferred on them the position of rishis by their own austere fervour?" No doubt it is intended to represent those as exceptional times: but while we refuse to admit this assumption, we may find some reason to suppose that the irregularities, as they were afterwards considered to be, which this assumption was intended to explain away, were really samples of the state of things which commonly prevailed in earlier ages.

The next extract declares that there is a natural distinction between the Brāhmans and the other castes; and appears to intimate that the barrier so constituted can only be overpassed when the soul re-appears in another body in another birth:

Anuśāsana-parva, 6570. *Deva uvācha | Brāhmaṇyaṁ devi dushprāpyaṁ nisargād brāhmaṇaḥ śubhe | kshattriyo vaiśyaśūdrau vā nisargād iti me matiḥ | karmaṇā dushkṛiteneha sthānād bhraśyati vai dvijaḥ | jyeshṭham varṇam anuprāpya tasmād raksheta vai dvijaḥ | sthito brāhmaṇa-dharmeṇa brāhmaṇyam upajīvati | kshattriyo vā 'tha vaiśyo vā brahmabhūyam sa gachhati | yas tu brahmatvam utsṛijya kshāttraṁ dharmaṁ nishevate | brāhmaṇyāt sa paribhrashṭaḥ kshattra-yonau prajāyate | vaiśya-karma cha yo vipro lobha-moha-vyapāśrayaḥ | brāhmaṇyaṁ durlabham prāpya karoty alpa-matiḥ sadā | sa dvijo vaiśyatām eti vaiśyo vā śūdratām iyat | sva-dharmāt prachyuto vipras tataḥ śūdratvam āpnute* | . . . . 6590. *Ebhis tu karmabhir devi śubhair ācharitais tathā | śūdro brāhmaṇatām yāti vaiśyaḥ kshattriyatāṁ vrajet | śūdra-karmāṇi sarvāṇi yathānyāyam yathāvidhi | śuśrūshām paricharyyāṁ cha jyeshṭhe varṇe prayatnataḥ | kuryād ityādi |*

Mahādeva says: 6570. "Brāhmanhood, o fair goddess, is difficult to

be attained. A man, whether he be a Brāhman, Kshattriya, Vaiśya, or Śūdra, is such by nature; this is my opinion. By evil deeds a twice-born man falls from his position. Then let a twice-born man who has attained to the highest caste, keep it. The Kshattriya, or Vaiśya, who lives in the condition of a Brāhman, by practising the duties of one, attains to Brāhmanhood. But he who abandons the state of a Brāhman and practises the duty of a Kshattriya, falls from Brāhmanhood and is born in a Kshattriya womb. And the foolish Brāhman, who, having attained that Brāhmanhood which is so hard to get, follows the profession of a Vaiśya, under the influence of cupidity and delusion, falls into the condition of a Vaiśya. (In like manner) a Vaiśya may sink into the state of a Śūdra. A Brāhman who falls away from his own duty becomes afterwards a Śūdra. . . . . 6590. But by practising the following good works, o goddess, a Śūdra becomes a Brāhman, and a Vaiśya becomes a Kshattriya: Let him actively perform all the functions of a Śūdra according to propriety and rule, *i.e.* obedience and service to the highest caste," etc.

The next passage is the first of those which I have already noted, as in spirit and tenor very different from the preceding. The conversation which it records arose as follows: Yudhishthira found his brother Bhīmasena caught in the coils of a serpent, which, it turned out, was no other than the famous king Nahusha, who by his sacrifices, austerities, etc., had formerly raised himself to the sovereignty of the three worlds; but had been reduced to the condition in which he was now seen, as a punishment for his pride and contempt of the Brāhmans. He promises to let Bhīmaseva go, if Yudhishthira will answer certain questions. Yudhishthira agrees, and remarks that the serpent was acquainted with whatever a Brāhman ought to know. Whereupon the Serpent proceeds:

Vana-parva, verses 12469 ff.: *Sarpa uvācha | brāhmaṇaḥ ko bhaved rājan vedyaṁ kiṁ cha Yudhishṭhira |* 12470. *Bravīhy atimatim tvāṁ hi vākyair anumimīmahe | Yudhishṭhira uvācha | satyaṁ dānam kshamā śīlam ānṛiśaṁsyaṁ tapo ghṛiṇā | dṛiśyante yatra nāgendra sa brāhmaṇah iti smṛitiḥ | vedyaṁ sarpa param Brahma nirduḥkham asukham cha yat | yatra gatvā na śochanti bhavataḥ kiṁ vivakshitam | Sarpa uvācha | chāturvarṇyam pramāṇaṁ cha satyaṁ cha brahma chaiva hi | Sūdreshv api cha satyaṁ cha dānam akrodha eva cha | ānṛiśamsyam ahiṁsā cha ghṛiṇā chaiva Yudhishṭhira | vedyāṁ yach chātra nirduhkham asukhaṁ cha na-*

rādhipa | *tābhyām hīnam padam chānyad na tad astīti lakshaye* | *Yudhishthira uvācha* | 12475. *Śūdre tu yad bhavel lakshma dvije tach cha na vidyate* | *na vai śūdro bhavech chhūdro brāhmaṇo na cha brāhmaṇaḥ* | *yatraital lakshyate sarpa vṛittam sa brāhmaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ* | *yatraitad na bhavet sarpa tam śūdram iti nirddiśet* | *yat punar bhavatā proktam na vedyam vidyatīti cha* | *tābhyām hīnam ato 'nyatra padam nāstīti ched api* | *evam etad matam sarpa tābhyām hīnam na vidyate* | *yathā śītoshṇayor madhye bhaved noshṇam na śītatā* | *evam vai sukha-duḥkhābhyām hīnam nāsti padam kvachit* | *eshā mama matiḥ sarpa yathā vā manyate bhavān* | *Sarpa uvācha* | 12480. *Yadi te vṛittato rājan brāhmaṇaḥ prasamīkshitaḥ* | *vṛithā jātis tadā "yushman kṛitir yāvad na vidyate* | *Yudhishṭhira uvācha* | *jātir atra mahāsarpa manushyatve mahāmate* | *sankarāt sarva-varṇānām dushparīkshyeti me matiḥ* | *sarve sarvāsv apatyāni janayanti sadā narāḥ* | *vāṅ maithunam atho janma maraṇam cha samam nṛiṇām* | *idam ārsham pramāṇam cha "ye yajāmahe" ity api* | *tasmāch chhīlam pradhāneshṭam vidur ye tattvadarśinaḥ* | *"prāṅ nābhi-varddhanāt pumso jāta-karma vidhīyate"* | *"tadā 'sya mātā sāvitrī pitā tv āchāryya uchyate"* | 12485. *"Tāvach chhūdra-samo hy esha yāvad vede na jāyate"* | *tasminn evam mati-dvaidhe Manuḥ Svāyambhuvo 'bravīt* | *kṛita-krityāḥ punar varṇā yadi vṛittam na vidyate* | *sankaras tatra nāgendra balavān prasamīkshitaḥ* | *yatredānīm mahāsarpa samskṛitam vṛittam ishyate* | *tam brāhmanam aham pūrvam uktavān bhujagottama* |

"12469. The Serpent said: Who may be a Brāhman, and what is the thing to be known, o Yudhishthira;—tell me, since by thy words I infer thee to be a person of extreme intelligence. Yudhishthira replied: 12470. The Smṛiti declares, o chief of Serpents, that he is a Brāhman, in whom truth, liberality, patience, virtue, innocence, austere fervour, and compassion are seen. And the thing to be known is the supreme Brahma, free from pain, as well as from pleasure,—to whom, when men have attained, they no longer sorrow. What is your opinion? The Serpent replied: The Veda (*brahma*) is beneficial to all the four castes and is authoritative and true.[240] And so we find in

[240] Such is the sense assigned by the Commentator to this line, the drift of which is not very clear. The comment runs thus: *Sarpas tu brāhmaṇa-padena jāti-mātram vivakshitvā śūdre tal lakshaṇam vyabhichārayati "chāturvarṇyam" iti sārddhena* | *chaturṇām varṇānam hitam* | *satyam pramānam cha dharma-vyapasthāpakam brahma vedaḥ* | *śūdrāchāra-smṛiter api veda-mūlakatvāt sarvo 'py āchārādiḥ śruti-mūlakaḥ*

S'ūdras also truth, liberality, calmness, innocence, harmlessness, and compassion. And as for the thing to be known, which is free from pain and pleasure, I perceive that there is no other thing free from these two influences. Yudhishthira rejoined: 12475. The qualities characteristic of a S'ūdra do not exist in a Brāhman (nor *vice versâ*). (Were it otherwise) the S'ūdra would not be a S'ūdra, nor the Brāhman a Brāhman.[261] The person in whom this regulated practice is perceived is declared to be a Brāhman; and the man, in whom it is absent, should be designated as a S'ūdra. And as to what you say further, that there is nothing other than this (Brahma) to be known, which is free from the susceptibilities in question; this is also (my own) opinion, that there is nothing free from them. Just as between cold and heat there can be neither heat nor cold, so there is nothing free from the feeling of pleasure and pain. Such is my view; or how do you consider? The Serpent remarked: 12480. If a man is regarded by you as being a Brāhman only in consequence of his conduct, then birth is vain until action is shown. Yudhishthira replied: O most sapient Serpent, birth is difficult to be discriminated in the present condition

ity arthaḥ | evaṁ cha satyādikaṁ yadi śūdre 'py asti tarhi so 'pi brāhmaṇa eva syād iti āha "śūdreshv api" iti | "The serpent, however, understanding by the term Brāhman mere birth, shows in a sloka and a half that Yudhishthira's definition fails by being applicable also to a S'ūdra. *Chāturvarṇya* means 'beneficial to the four castes.' (Such is the Veda), which is also 'true' and 'authoritative,' as establishing what is duty. Inasmuch as the Smṛiti which prescribes a S'ūdra's conduct is itself founded on the Veda; all conduct, etc., is based on the Veda. And so if (the characters of) truth, etc., are found also in a S'ūdra, he too must be a Brāhman—such is his argument in the words 'In S'ūdras also.'" According to this explanation the connection between the first line and the second and third may be as follows: The Veda is beneficial to all the castes, and therefore S'ūdras also, having the advantage of its guidance, although at second hand, may practise all the virtues you enumerate; but would you therefore call them Brāhmans?

[261] This verse is not very lucid; but the sense may be that which I have assigned. The Commentator says: *Itaras tu brāhmaṇa-padena brahma-vidaṁ vivakshitvā śūdrāder api brāhmaṇatvam abhyupagamya pariharati "Sūdre tu" iti | S'ūdra-lakshya-kāmādikaṁ na brāhmaṇe 'sti na brāhmaṇa-lakshya-śamādikaṁ śūdre 'sti ity arthaḥ | śūdro 'pi śamādy-upeto brāhmaṇaḥ | brāhmaṇo 'pi kāmādy-upetaḥ śūdra eva ity arthaḥ* | "The other (Yudhishthira), however, understanding by the word Brāhmaṇa one who knows the Veda (or, Brahma), and conceding the fact of a S'ūdra's Brāhmanhood, obviates by the words 'but in a S'ūdra,' etc. (the objection thence drawn). The qualities, lust, etc., distinctive of a S'ūdra, do not exist in a Brāhman, nor do the qualities tranquillity, etc., characteristic of a Brāhman exist in a S'ūdra. A S'ūdra distinguished by the latter is a Brāhman; while a Brāhman characterized by lust, etc., is a S'ūdra."

of humanity, on account of the confusion of all castes.[243] All (sorts of)

[243] In the tenth vol. of his Indische Studien, p. 83, Professor Weber adduces some curious evidence of the little confidence entertained in ancient times by the Indians in the chastity of their women. He refers to the following passages: (1) Nidāna Sutra, iii. 8. *Uchchāvacha-charaṇāḥ striyo bhavanti | saha deva-sākshye cha manushya-sākshye cha yeshām putro vakshye teshām putro bhavishyāmi | yāṁś cha putrān vakshye te me putrāḥ bhavishyanti* | "Women are irregular in their conduct. Of whatsoever men, I, taking gods and men to witness, shall declare myself to be the son, I shall be their son; and they whom I shall name as my sons shall be so." (2) S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 2, 1, 40. *Atha yad "brāhmaṇaḥ" ityāha | anaddhā iva vai asya ataḥ purā jānam bhavati | idaṁ hy āhuḥ "rakshāṁsi yoshitam anusachante tad uta rakshāṁsy eva reta ādadhati iti | atha atra addhā jāyate yo brāhmaṇo yo yajnāj jāyate | tasmād api rājanyaṁ vā vaiśyaṁ vā "brāhmaṇaḥ" ity eva brūyāt | brāhmaṇo hi jāyate yo yajnāj jāyate | tasmād āhuḥ "na savana-kṛitaṁ hanyad enasvī ha eva savana-kṛitā" iti* | "Now as regards what he says '(this) Brāhman (has been consecrated):' before this his birth is uncertain. For they say this that 'Rakshases follow after women, and therefore that it is Rakshases who inject seed into them.'" (Compare what it said of the Gandharvas in Atharva V. iv. 37, 116, and Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1865, p. 301.) So then he is certainly born who is born from sacred science (*brahma*) and from sacrifice. Wherefore also let him address a Rājanya or a Vaiśya as 'Brāhman,' for he is born from sacred science (*brāhma*, and consequently a Brāhman) who is born from sacrifice. Hence they say 'let no one slay an offerer of a libation, for he incurs (the) sin (of Brahmanicide?) by so doing." (3) On the next passage of the S'. P. Br. ii. 5, 2, 20, Professor Weber remarks that it is assumed that the wife of the person offering the Varuṇa praghāsa must have one or more paramours: *Atha pratiprasthātā pratiparaiti | sa patnīm udāneshyan prichhati 'kena* (*jāreṇa* Comm.) *charasi' iti | Varuṇyaṁ vai etat strī karoti yad anyasya saty anyena charati | atho "na id me 'ntaḥ-śalpā juhuvad" iti tasmāt prichhati | niruktaṁ vai enaḥ kanīyo bhavati | satyaṁ hi bhavati | tasmād vā iva prichhati | sā yad na pratijānīta jnātibhyo ha asyai tad ahitaṁ syāt* | "The pratiprasthātṛi (one of the priests) returns. Being about to bring forward the wife, he asks her, 'with what (paramour) dost thou keep company?' For it is an offence incurring punishment from Varuṇa that being the wife of one man she keeps company with another. He enquires 'in order that she may not sacrifice with me while she feels an inward pang.' For a sin when declared becomes less: for it is not attended with falsehood. Therefore he enquires. If she does not confess, it will be ill for her relations." (This passage is explained in Kātyāyana's S'rauta Sūtras, v. 5, 6–11.) (4) S'. P. Br. i. 3, 2, 21. *Tad u ha uvācha Yājnavalkyo "yathādishṭam patnyāḥ astu | kas tad ādriyeta yat parapuṁsā vā patnī syāt"* | "Yājnavalkya said this (in opposition to the doctrine of some other teachers): 'let the prescribed rule be followed regarding a wife. Who would mind his wife consorting with other men?'" The last clause has reference to the consequence which the other teachers said would follow from adopting the course they disapproved, viz., that the wife of the man who did so would become an adulteress. (5) Taitt. S. v. 6, 8, 3. *Na agniṁ chitvā rāmām upeyād "ayonau reto dhasyāmi" iti | na dvitīyaṁ chitvā 'nyasya striyam upeyāt | na tṛitīyaṁ chitvā kānchana upeyāt | reto vai etad nidhatte yad agniṁ chinute | yad upeyād retasā vyṛidhyeta* | "Let not a man, after preparing the altar for the sacred fire, approach a woman (a S'ūdra-woman, according to the Commentator), (considering) that in doing so, he would be discharging seed into an improper place. Let no man, after a second time preparing the fire-

men are continually begetting children on all (sorts of) women. The speech, the mode of propagation, the birth, the death of all mankind are alike. The text which follows is Vedic and authoritative: 'We who (are called upon) we recite the text.'[248] Hence those men who have an insight into truth know that virtuous character is the thing chiefly to be desired. 'The natal rites of a male are enjoined to be performed before the section of the umbilical cord (Manu, ii. 29). Then Sāvitrī (the Gāyatrī, Manu ii. 77) becomes his mother and his

altar, approach another man's wife. Let no man, after a third time preparing the fire-altar, approach any woman: for in preparing the fire-altar he is discharging seed. Should he approach (a woman in these forbidden cases) he will miscarry with his seed." This prohibition of adultery in a certain case, seems to prove that it was no uncommon occurrence, and is calculated, as Professor Weber remarks, to throw great doubt on the purity of blood in the old Indian families.

[248] To explain the last elliptical expression I will quote part of the Commentator's remarks on the beginning of Yudhishthira's reply: *Vāgādīnām iva maithunasyāpi sādhāraṇyāj jātir durjneyā | tathā chā śrutiḥ "na chaitad vidmo brāhmaṇāḥ smo vayam abrāhmaṇā vā" iti brāhmaṇya-saṁśayaṁ upanyasyati | nanu jāty-aniśchaye katham "brāhmaṇo 'ham" ityādy abhimāna-purassaram yāgādau pravartteta ity āśankyāha "idam ārsham" iti | atra "ye yajāmahe" ity anena cha ye vayaṁ smo brāhmaṇāḥ anye vā te vayam yajāmahe iti brāhmaṇye 'navadhāraṇaṁ darśitam | mantra-lingam api "ya evāsmi sa san yaje" iti* | . . . . *Tasmād āchāra eva brāhmaṇya-niśchayahetur veda-prāmāṇyād ity upasaṁharati* | "As the mode of propagation is common to all the castes, just as speech, etc. are, birth is difficult to be determined. And accordingly, by the words: 'We know not this, whether we are Brāhmans or no Brāhmans,' the Veda signifies a doubt as to Brāhmanhood. Then, having raised the difficulty 'how, if birth is undetermined, can a man engage in sacrifice, etc., with the previous consciousness that he is a Brāhman, etc.?' the author answers in the words 'this text is Vedic, etc.' It is both shewn by the words 'we who . . . . recite,' (which mean) 'we, whoever we are,—Brāhmans or others,—we recite,' that the fact of Brāhmanhood is unascertained; and this is also a characteristic of the formula, 'whosoever I am, being he who I am, I recite.'" The comment concludes: "Hence he briefly infers from the authoritative character of the Veda, that conduct is the cause of certainty in regard to Brāhmanhood." Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out to me that the words *ye yajāmahe* occur in S'. P. Br. i. 5, 2, 16, and in Taitt. S. i. 16, 11, 1. The Commentator on the last-named passage refers in explanation of them to As'valāyana's S'rauta Sūtras, i. 5, 4 f., where it is said that these two words constitute the formula called *āguḥ*, which comes in at the beginning of all the *yājyās* which are unaccompanied by any *anuyāja*. The Commentator interprets the two words thus: *sarve "ye" vayaṁ hotāro 'dhvaryuṇā "yaja" iti preshitās te vayam "yajāmahe" yājyām paṭhāmaḥ* | "All we hotri priests who are called upon by the adhvaryu by the word 'recite,' we recite, *i.e.* repeat the *yājyā*." (See Haug's Ait. Br. ii. p. 133, and note 11.) Prof. Aufrecht thinks the words in the Commentator's note *ya evāsmi sa san yaje* may be a free adaptation of Atharva V. vi. 123, 3, 4. It does not appear from what source the words *na chaitad vidmaḥ* etc. are derived.

religious teacher his father (Manu, ii. 170, 225). 12485. Until he is born in the Vedá, he is on a level with a Sūdra' (Manu, ii. 172);—so, in this diversity of opinions did Manu Svāyambhuva declare. The castes (though they have done nothing) will have done all they need do,[244] if no fixed rules of conduct are observed. In such a case there is considered to be a gross confusion of castes. I have already declared that he is a Brāhman in whom purity of conduct is recognized."

The next passage from the Sāntiparvan, verses 6930 ff., is even more explicit than the last in denying any natural distinction between the people of the different castes:

Bhṛigur uvācha | Asṛijad brāhmaṇān evam pūrvam Brahmā prajāpatīn | ātma-tejo 'bhinirvṛittān bhāskarāgni-sama-prabhān | tataḥ satyaṁ cha dharmaṁ cha tapo brahma cha śāśvatam | āchāram chaiva śauchaṁ cha svargāya vidadhe prabhuḥ | deva-dānava-gandharvā daityāsura-mahoragāḥ | yaksha-rākshasa-nāgāś cha piśāchā manujās tathā | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś cha dvija-sattama | ye chānye bhūta-sanghānāṁ varṇās tāṁs chāpi nirmame | brāhmaṇānāṁ sito varṇaḥ kshattriyāṇaṁ cha lohitaḥ | vaiśyānām pītako varṇaḥ śūdrāṇām asitas tatha | 6935. *Bharadvāja uvācha | Chāturvarṇyasya varṇena yadi varṇo vibhidyate | sarveshāṁ khalu varṇāṇāṁ dṛiśyate varṇa-sankaraḥ | kāmaḥ krodho bhayaṁ lobhaḥ śokaś chintā kshudhā śramaḥ | sarveshāṁ naḥ*[245] *prabhavati kasmād varṇo vibhidyate | sveda-mūtra-purīshāṇi śleshmā pittaṁ sa-śoṇitam | tanuḥ ksharati sarveshāṁ kasmād varṇo vibhajyate | jangamānām asaṁkhyeyāḥ sthāvarāṇāṁ cha jātayaḥ | teshāṁ vividha-varṇānāṁ kuto varṇa-viniśchayaḥ | Bhṛigur uvācha | Na viśesho 'sti varṇānāṁ sarvam brāhmam idaṁ jagat | Brahmaṇā pūrva sṛishṭaṁ hi karmabhir varṇatāṁ gatam |* 6940. *Kāma-bhoga-priyās tīkshṇāḥ krodhanāḥ priya-sāhasāh |*

[244] The Commentator thus explains the word *kṛita-kṛitya*: *Kṛita-kṛityāḥ śūdra-tulyāh | tathā cha smṛitiḥ "na śūdre pātakaṁ kinchid na cha saṁskāram arhati" iti teshāṁ saṁskārānarhatva-nishpāpatvābhidānat kṛita-kṛityatvam darśayati | tadvat traivarṇikā api syur ity arthaḥ |* "*Kṛita kṛityāḥ* (*lit.* having done what was to be done) means, like S'ūdras; so the Smṛiti (when it says), 'No sin exists in a S'ūdra, nor is he fit for purificatory rites,' shews, by declaring the unfitness of this class for such rites, and its freedom from sin, that it has the character of *kṛita-kṛityatvatva*, *i.e.* of having done all it had to do. And such (in the event supposed) would be the case with men of the three (upper) classes also."

[245] The Calcutta edition reads *na*, "not," which cannot be right. The MS. in the Library of the Edinburgh University has *naḥ*, "of us."

tyakta-svadharmā raktāngās te dvijāḥ kshattratāṁ gatāḥ | gobhyo vrittiṁ samāsthāya pītāḥ krishy-upajīvinaḥ | sva-dharmān nānutishṭhanti te dvijā vaiśyatāṁ gatāḥ | hiṁsānrita-priyā lubdhāḥ sarva-karmopajīvinah | krishṇāḥ śaucha-paribhrashṭās te dvijāḥ śūdratāṁ gatāḥ | ity etaiḥ karmabhir vyastā dvijā varṇāntaraṁ gātāḥ | dharmo yajna-kriyā teshāṁ nityaṁ na pratishidhyate | ity ete chaturo varṇā yeshām brāhmī sarasvatī | vihitā Brahmaṇā pūrvaṁ lobhāt tv ajnānatāṁ gātāḥ | 6945. *Brāhmaṇā brahma-tantra-sthās*[246] *tapas teshāṁ na naśyati | brahma dhārayatāṁ nityaṁ vratāni niyamāṁs tathā | brahma chaiva paraṁ srishṭaṁ ye na jānanti te 'dvijāḥ | teshām bahuvidhāś tv anyās tatra tatra hi jātayaḥ | piśāchā rākshasāḥ pretā vividhā mlechha-jātayaḥ | pranashṭa-jnāna-vijnānāḥ svachhandāchāra-cheshṭitāḥ | prajā brāhmaṇa-saṁskārāḥ sva-karma-krita-niśchayāḥ | rishibhiḥ svena tapasā srijyante chāpare paraiḥ | ādi-deva-samudbhūtā brahma-mūlā 'kshayā 'vyayā | sā srishṭir mānasī nāma dharma-tantra-parāyaṇā* | 6950. *Bharadvāja uvācha | Brāhmaṇaḥ kena bhavati kshattriyo vā dvijottama | vaiśyaḥ śūdraś cha viprarshe tad brūhi vadatāṁ vara | Bhrigur uvācha | Jata-karmādibhir yas tu saṁskāraiḥ saṁskritaḥ śuchiḥ | vedādhyayana-sampannaḥ shaṭsu karmasv avasthitaḥ | śauchāchāra-sthitaḥ samyag vighasāśī guru-priyaḥ | nitya-vratī satyaparaḥ sa vai brāhmaṇa uchyate | satyaṁ dānam athādroha ānriśaṁsyaṁ trapā ghriṇā | tapaś cha driśyate yatra sa brāhmaṇa iti smritaḥ | kshattra-jaṁ sevate karma vedādhyayana-sangataḥ | dānādāna-ratir yas tu sa vai kshattriya uchyate* | 6955. *Viśaty āśu paśubhyaś cha krishy-ādāna-ratiḥ śuchiḥ | vedādhyayana-sampannaḥ sa vaiśyaḥ iti sanjnitāḥ | sarva-bhakshya-ratir nityaṁ sarva-karma-karo 'śuchiḥ | tyakta-vedas tv anāchāraḥ sa vai śūdraḥ iti smritaḥ | śūdre chaitad bhavet lakshyaṁ dvije tach cha na vidyate | sa vai śūdro bhavech chhūdro brāhmaṇo brāhmaṇo na cha |*

"Bhrigu replied: 6930. 'Brahmā thus formerly created the Prajāpatis, Brahmanic,[247] penetrated by his own energy, and in splendour equalling the sun and fire. The lord then formed truth, righteousness, austere fervour, and the eternal veda (or sacred science), virtuous practice, and purity for (the attainment of) heaven. He also formed the gods, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Daityas, Asuras, Mahoragas, Yakshas,

[246] *Brahma-tantram = vedoktānushṭhānam* | Comm.

[247] *Brāhmaṇān*, "Brāhmans," is the word employed. It may mean here "sons of Brahmā."

Rākshasas, Nāgas, Piśāchas, and men, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, as well as all other classes (*varnāḥ*) of beings. The colour (*varṇa*) of the Brāhmans was white; that of the Kshattriyas red; that of the Vaiśyas yellow, and that of the Sūdras black.'[248] 6935. Bharadvāja here rejoins: 'If the caste (*varṇa*) of the four classes is distinguished by their colour (*varṇa*), then a confusion of all the castes is observable. Desire, anger, fear, cupidity, grief, apprehension, hunger, fatigue, prevail over us all: by what, then, is caste discriminated? Sweat, urine, excrement, phlegm, bile, and blood (are common to all); the bodies of all decay: by what then is caste discriminated? There are innumerable kinds of things moving and stationary: how is the class (*varṇa*) of these various objects to be determined?' Bhṛigu replies: 'There is no difference of castes:[249] this world, having been at first created by Brahmā entirely Brahmanic,[250]

[248] It is somewhat strange, as Professor Weber remarks in a note to p. 215 of his German translation of the Vajra Sūchī, that in the passage of the Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa xi. 6, which he there quotes, a white colour is ascribed to the Vais'ya and a dark hue to the Rājanya. The words are these: *Yach chhuklānām (brihīṇām) ādityebhyo nirvapati tasmāch chhukla iva vaiśyo jāyate | yat kṛishṇāṇām vāruṇām tasmād dhūmra iva rājanyaḥ* | "Since the Vais'ya offers an oblation of white (rice) to the Ādityas, he is born as it were white; and as the Vāruṇa oblation is of black (rice) the Rājanya is as it were dusky."

[249] Compare with this the words attributed in S'āntiparvan, verses 2819 ff., to King Muchukunda, who had been reproached by the god Kuvera with trusting for victory to the aid of his domestic priest instead of to his own prowess: *Muchukundas tataḥ kruddhah pratyuvācha Dhaneśvaram | nyāya-pūrvam asaṁrabdham asambhrāntam idaṁ vachaḥ | brahma kshattram idaṁ sṛishṭam eka-yoni svayambhuvā | pṛithag-bala-vidhānaṁ tanna lokam paripālayet | tapo-mantra-balam nityam brāhmaṇeshu pratishṭhitam | astra-bāhu-balam nityaṁ kshattriyeshu pratishṭhitam | tābhyāṁ sambhūya karttavyam prajānām paripālanam* | "Muchukunda then, incensed, addressed to the Lord of riches these reasonable words, which did not partake of his anger or excitement: 'Brāhmans and Kshattriyas were created by Brahmā from the same womb (or source) with different forces appointed to them: this cannot (neither of these separate forces can?) protect the world. The force of austere fervour and of sacred texts abides constantly in the Brahmans; and that of weapons and their own arms in the Kshattriyas. By these two forces combined the people must be protected."

[250] *Brāhmam* is the word employed. That it is to be understood in the sense of "Brāhmanical" appears from the following lines in which the word *dvijāḥ* must be taken in the special signification of Brāhmans and not of "twice-born men" (who may be either Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, or Vais'yas) in general. The Brāhman is considered to have been formed of the essence of Brahmā, and to represent the original type of perfect humanity as it existed at the creation. The Commentator takes the word *brāhmam* as = *brāhmaṇa-jātimat*, "having the caste of Brāhmans;" and he explains the different colours mentioned in the next verses as follows: red (*rakta*)

became (afterwards) separated into castes in consequence of works. 6940. Those Brāhmans (*lit.* twice-born men), who were fond of sensual pleasure, fiery, irascible, prone to violence, who had forsaken their duty, and were red-limbed, fell into the condition of Kshattriyas. Those Brāhmans, who derived their livelihood from kine, who were yellow, who subsisted by agriculture, and who neglected to practise their duties, entered into the state of Vaiśyas. Those Brāhmans, who were addicted to mischief and falsehood, who were covetous, who lived by all kinds of work, who were black and had fallen from purity, sank into the condition of S'ūdras. Being separated from each other by these works, the Brāhmans became divided into different castes. Duty and the rites of sacrifice have not been always forbidden to (any of) them. Such are the four classes for whom the Brahmanic[251] Sarasvatī was at first designed by Brahmā, but who through their cupidity fell into ignorance. 6945. Brāhmans live agreeably to the prescriptions of the Veda; while they continually hold fast the Veda, and observances, and ceremonies, their austere fervour (*tapas*) does not perish. And sacred science was created the highest thing: they who are ignorant of it are no twice-born men. Of these there are various other classes in different places, Piśāchas, Rākshasas, Pretas, various tribes of Mlechhas, who have lost all knowledge sacred and profane, and practise whatever observances they please. And different sorts of creatures with the purificatory rites of Brāhmans, and discerning their own duties, are created by different rishis through their own austere fervour. This creation, sprung from the primal god, having its root in Brahma, undecaying, imperishable, is called the mind-born creation, and is devoted to the prescriptions of duty.' 6950. Bharadvāya again enquires: 'What is that in virtue of which a man is a Brāhman, a Kshattriya,

means "formed of the quality of passion" (*rajo-guṇa-maya*); yellow (*pīta*) "formed of the qualities of passion and darkness" (*rajas-tamo-maya*), and black (*krishṇa* or *asita*) "formed of darkness only" (*kevala-tamomaya*).

[251] *Brāhmī.* This word is thus interpreted by the Commentator: *vedamayī | chaturṇām api varṇānām Brahmaṇā pūrvam vihitā | lobha-doshena tu ajnānatām tamobhāvam gatāḥ śūdrāḥ anadhikāriṇo vede jātāḥ* | "Sarasvatī, consisting of the Veda, was formerly designed by Brahmā for all the four castes: but the S'ūdras having through cupidity fallen into 'ignorance,' *i.e.* a condition of darkness, lost their right to the Veda." See Indische Studien, ii. 194, note, where Professor Weber understands this passage to import that in ancient times the S'ūdras spoke the language of the Āryas.

a Vaiśya, or a Śūdra; tell me, o most eloquent Brahman rishi.' Bhrigu replies: 'He who is pure, consecrated by the natal and other ceremonies, who has completely studied the Veda, lives in the practice of the six ceremonies, performs perfectly the rites of purification, who eats the remains of oblations, is attached to his religious teacher, is constant in religious observances, and devoted to truth,—is called a Brāhman. 6953. He in whom are seen truth, liberality, inoffensiveness, harmlessness, modesty, compassion, and austere fervour,—is declared to be a Brāhman. He who practises the duty arising out of the kingly office, who is addicted to the study of the Veda, and who delights in giving and receiving,[252]—is called a Kshattriya. 6955. He who readily occupies himself with cattle,[253] who is devoted to agriculture and acquisition, who is pure, and is perfect in the study of the Veda,—is denominated a Vaiśya. 6956. He who is habitually addicted to all kinds of food, performs all kinds of work, who is unclean, who has abandoned the Veda, and does not practise pure observances,—is traditionally called a Śūdra. And this (which I have stated) is the mark of a Śūdra, and it is not found in a Brāhman: (such) a Śūdra will remain a Śūdra, while the Brāhman (who so acts) will be no Brāhman."[254]

The passage next to be quoted recognizes, indeed, the existence of castes in the Kṛita age, but represents the members of them all as having been perfect in their character and condition, and as not differing from one another in any essential respects.

It is related in the Vanaparvan that Bhīmasena, one of the Pāndus,

[252] *Dānam viprebhyaḥ* | *ādānam prajabhyaḥ*, "Giving to Brāhmans, receiving from his subjects."—Comm.

[253] *Paśūn vāṇijyāya upayoginaḥ upalabdhvā viśati pratishṭhām labhate* | "Who perceiving cattle to be useful for trade, 'enters,' obtains a basis (for his operations)." —Comm. As we have seen above p. 97, these etymologies are frequently far-fetched and absurd.

[254] On this verse the Commentator annotates as follows: *etat satyādi-saptakam dvije traivarṇike* | *dharma eva varṇa-vibhāge kāraṇaṁ na jātir ity arthaḥ* | "These seven virtues, beginning with truth (mentioned in verse 6953), exist in the twice-born man of the first three classes. The sense is that righteousness, and not birth, is the cause of the division into classes." This explanation is not very lucid. But the sense seems to be that the seven good qualities referred to are the proper characteristics of the three upper castes, while the defects specified in verse 6956 are the proper distinctive marks of the S'ūdras. Thus the S'ūdra who has the four defects will remain a S'ūdra, but a Brāhman who has them will be no Brāhman.

in the course of a conversation with his brother[255] Hanūmat the monkey chief, had requested information on the subject of the Yugas and their characteristics. Hanūmat's reply is given in verses 11234 ff.:

Kṛitaṁ nāma yugaṁ tāta yatra dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ | *kṛitam eva na karttavyaṁ tasmin kāle yugottame* | *na tatra dharmāḥ sīdanti kshīyante na cha vai prajāḥ* | *tataḥ kṛita-yugam nāma kālena guṇatāṁ gatam* | *deva-dānava-gandharva-yaksha-rākshasa-pannagāḥ* | *nāsan kṛita-yuge tāta tadā na kraya-vikrayaḥ*[256] | *na sāma-ṛig-yajur-varṇāḥ*[257] *kriyā nāsīch cha mānavī* | *abhidhyāya phalaṁ tatra dharmaḥ sannyāsa eva cha* | *na tasmin yuga-saṁsarge vyādhayo nendriya-kshayaḥ* | *nāsūyā nāpi ruditam na darpo nāpi vaikṛitaṁ*[258] | *na vigrahaḥ*[259] *kutas tandrī na dvesho na cha paiśunam* | 11240. *Na bhayaṁ nāpi santāpo na chershyā na cha matsaraḥ* | *tataḥ paramakam Brahma sā gatir yoginām parā* | *ātmā cha sarva-bhūtānāṁ śuklo Nārāyaṇas tadā* | *brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ śūdrāścha kṛita-lakshaṇāḥ* | *kṛite yuge samabhavan sva-karma-niratāḥ prajāḥ* | *samāśrayaṁ samāchāraṁ sama-jnānaṁ cha kevalam* | *tadā hi sāmakarmāṇo varṇā dharmān avāpnuvan* | *eka-deva-sadā-yuktāḥ eka-mantra-vidhi-kriyāḥ* | *pṛithagdharmās tv eka-vedā dharmam ekam anuvratāh* | *chāturaśramya-yuktena karmaṇā kāla-yoginā* | 11245. *Akāma-phala-saṁyogāt prāpnuvanti parām gatim* | *ātma-yoga-samāyukto dharmo 'yaṁ kṛita-lakshaṇaḥ* | *kṛite yuge chatushpādāś chāturvarṇyasya śāśvataḥ* | *etat kṛita-yugaṁ nāma traiguṇya-parivarjjitam* | *tretām api nibodha tvaṁ tasmin sattram pravarttate* | *pādena hrasate dharmo raktatām yāti chāchyutaḥ* | *satya-pravṛittāś cha narāḥ kriyā-dharma-parāyaṇāḥ* | *tato yajnāḥ pravarttante dharmāścha vividhāḥ kriyāḥ* | *tretāyām bhāva-sankalpāḥ kriyā-dāna-phalopagāḥ* | *prachalanti na vai dharmāt tapo-dāna-parāyaṇāh* | 11250. *Sva-dharma-sthāḥ kriyāvanto narās tretā-yuge 'bhavan* | *dvāpare tu yuge dharmo dvibhāgonaḥ pravarttate* | *Vishṇur vai pītatāṁ yāti chaturdhā veda eva cha* | *tato 'nye cha chatur-vedās tri-vedāś cha tathā pare* | *dvi-vedāś chaika-vedāś chāpy anṛichaś cha tathā pare* | *evaṁ śāstreshu bhinneshu bahudhā nīyate kriyā* | *tapo-dāna-pravṛittā cha rājasī bhavati prajā* | *eka-vedasya chājnānād vedās te bahavaḥ*

[255] Both were sons of Vāyu. See verses 11134, 11169 f. and 11176 f. of this same book. The Rāmāyaṇa is mentioned in verse 11177.

[256] The MS. in the Edinburgh University Library reads as the last pāda: *dānādhyayana-viśramāḥ*.

[257] The Edinburgh MS. reads *vedāḥ* instead *varṇāḥ*.

[258] *Kapaṭam*—Comm.

[259] *Vairam*—Comm.

kṛitāḥ | *sattvasya cheha vibhraṁśāt satye*[260] *kaśchid avasthitaḥ* | *sattvāt prachyavamānānāṁ vyādhayo bahavo 'bhavan* | 11255. *Kāmāś chopadravāśchaiva tadā vai daiva-kāritāḥ* | *yair ardyamānāḥ subhṛiśam tapas tapyanti mānavāḥ* | *kāma-kāmāḥ svarga-kāmā yajnāṁs tanvanti chāpare* | *evaṁ dvāparam āsādya prajāḥ kshīyanty adharmataḥ* | *pādenaikena Kaunteya dharmaḥ kali-yuge sthitaḥ* | *tāmasaṁ yugam āsādya kṛishṇo bhavati Keśavaḥ* | *vedāchārāḥ praśāmyanti dharma-yajna-kriyās tathā* | *ītayo vyādhayas trandrī doshāḥ krodhādayās tathā* | *upadravāś cha varttante ādhayah kshud bhayam tathā* | *yugeshv āvarttamāneshu dharmo vyāvarttate punaḥ* | *dharme vyāvarttamāne tu loko vyāvarttate punaḥ* | *loke kshīṇe kshayaṁ yānti bhāvā loka-pravarttakāḥ* | *yuga-kshaya-kṛitā dharmāḥ prārthanāni vikurvate* | *etat kaliyugaṁ nāma achirād yat pravarttate* | *yugānuvarttanaṁ tv etat kurvanti chirajīvinaḥ* |

"11234. The Kṛita is that age in which righteousness is eternal. In the time of that most excellent of Yugas (everything) had been done (*kṛita*), and nothing (remained) to be done. Duties did not then languish, nor did the people decline. Afterwards, through (the influence of) time, this yuga fell into a state of inferiority.[261] In that age there were neither Gods,[262] Dānavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, nor Pannagas; no buying or selling went on; the Vedas were not classed[263] as Sāman, Ṛich, and Yajush; no efforts were made by men:[264] the fruit (of the earth was obtained) by their mere wish: righteousness and abandonment of the world (prevailed).

[260] The Edinburgh MS. reads *sattve* instead of *satye*.

[261] In thus rendering, I follow the Commentator, whose gloss is this: *Mukhyam apy amukhyatām gatam* | "although the chief, it fell into inferiority." In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon this line is quoted under the word *guṇatā*, to which the sense of "superiority, excellence," is assigned.

[262] Compare with this the verses of the Vāyu Purāṇa quoted in p. 90, which state that in the Kṛita age there were neither plants nor animals; which are the products of unrighteousness.

[263] I do not venture to translate "there was then no [division of the Veda into] Sāman, Ṛich, and Yajush, nor any castes," (1) because the Edinburgh MS. reads *vedāḥ* instead of *varṇāḥ*, and the Commentator does not allude to the word *varṇāḥ*; and (2) castes (*varṇāḥ*) are referred to below (verses 11242 f.) as existing, though without much distinction of character. The Commentator explains: *trayī-dharmasya chitta-śuddhy-arthatvāt tasyāś cha tadānīṁ svabhāvatvāt na sāmādīny āsan* | "As the object of the triple veda is purity of heart, and as that existed naturally at that period, there were no (divisions of) Sāman, etc."

[264] I follow the Commentator whose gloss is: "*Mānavī kriyā*" *kṛishy-ādy-ārambha-bhūta* | *kintu* "*abhidhyāya phalam*," *sankalpād eva sarvam sampadyate* |

No disease or decline of the organs of sense arose through the influence of the age; there was no malice, weeping, pride, or deceit; no contention, and how could there be any lassitude? no hatred, cruelty, (11240) fear, affliction, jealousy, or envy. Hence the supreme Brahma was the transcendent resort of those Yogins. Then Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all beings, was white.[265] Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras possessed the characteristics of the Kṛita.[266] In that age were born creatures devoted to their duties. They were alike in the object of their trust, in observances and in their knowledge. At that period the castes, alike in their functions, fulfilled their duties, were unceasingly devoted to one deity, and used one formula (*mantra*), one rule, and one rite. Though they had separate duties, they had but one Veda, and practised one duty.[267] By works connected with the four orders, and dependent on conjunctures of time,[268] (11245) but unaffected by desire, or (hope of) reward, they attained to supreme felicity. This complete and eternal righteousness of the four castes during the Kṛita was marked by the character of that age and sought after union with the supreme soul. The Kṛita age was free from the three qualities.[269] Understand now the Tretā, in which sacrifice commenced,[270] righteousness decreased by a fourth, Vishnu became red;

[265] In verse 12981 of this same Vanaparvan the god says of himself: *śvetaḥ kṛita-yuge varṇaḥ pītas tretāyuge mama | rakto dvāparam āsādya kṛishṇaḥ kali-yuge tathā |* "My colour in the Kṛita age is white, in the Tretā yellow, when I reach the Dvāpara it is red, and in the Kali black."

[266] The Commentator's gloss is: *kṛitāni svataḥ siddhāni lakshaṇāni śamo damas tapa ity-ādīni yeshāṁ te |* "They were men whose characteristics, tranquillity, etc., were effected, spontaneously accomplished." On verse 11245 he explains the same term *kṛita-lakshaṇaḥ* by *kṛita-yuga-sūchakaḥ*, "indicative of the Kṛita age."

[267] The different clauses of this line can only be reconciled on the supposition that the general principle of duty, and the details of the duties are distinguished. *Dharma* is the word used in both parts of the verse for "duty."

[268] *Kāla-yoginā*. The Commentator explains: *kālo darśādiḥ | tad-yuktena |* "connected with time, *i.e.* the appearance of the new moon, etc."

[269] And yet we are told in the Vāyu P. that the creation itself proceeded from the influence of the quality of passion (see above, p. 75), and that the four castes when originally produced were characterized in different ways by the three qualities, pp. 62 and 89

[270] Compare S'ānti-parva, 13088. *Idam kṛita-yugaṁ nāma kālaḥ śreshṭhaḥ pravarttitaḥ | ahiṁsyā yajna-paśavo yuge 'smin na tad anyathā | chatushpāt sakalo dharmo bhavishyaty atra vai surāḥ | tatas tretā-yugaṁ nāma trayī yatra bhavishyati | prokshitā yatra paśavo badham prāpsyanti vai makhe |* "This Kṛita age is the most excellent of periods: then victims are not allowed to be slaughtered; complete and

and men adhered to truth, and were devoted to a righteousness dependent on ceremonies. Then sacrifices prevailed, with holy acts and a variety of rites. In the Tretā men acted with an object in view, seeking after reward for their rites and their gifts, and no longer disposed to austerities and to liberality from (a simple feeling of) duty. 11250. In this age, however, they were devoted to their own duties, and to religious ceremonies. In the Dvāpara age righteousness was diminished by two quarters, Vishṇu became yellow, and the Veda fourfold. Some studied four Vedas, others three, others two, others one, and some none at all.[271] The scriptures being thus divided, ceremonies were celebrated in a great variety of ways; and the people being occupied with austerity and the bestowal of gifts, became full of passion (*rājasī*). Owing to ignorance of the one Veda, Vedas were multiplied. And now from the decline of goodness (*sattva*) few only adhered to truth. When men had fallen away from goodness, many diseases, (11255) desires and calamities, caused by destiny, assailed them, by which they were severely afflicted, and driven to practice austerities. Others desiring enjoyments and heavenly bliss, offered sacrifices. Thus, when they had reached the Dvāpara, men declined through unrighteousness. In the Kali righteousness remained to the extent of one-fourth only. Arrived in that age of darkness, Vishṇu became black: practices enjoined, by the Vedas, works of righteousness, and rites of sacrifice, ceased. Calamities, diseases, fatigue, faults, such as anger, etc., distresses, anxiety, hunger, fear, prevailed. As the ages revolve, righteousness again declines. When this takes place, the people also decline. When they decay, the impulses which actuate them also decay. The practices generated by this declension of the Yugas frustrate men's aims. Such is the Kali Yuga which has existed for a short time. Those who are long-lived act in conformity with the character of the age."

The next passage from the same book (the Vana-parvan) does not make any allusion to the Yugas, but depicts the primeval perfection of mankind with some traits peculiar to itself, and then goes on to describe their decline. Mārkandeya is the speaker.

perfect righteousness will prevail. Next is the Tretā in which the triple veda will come into existence; and animals will be slain in sacrifice." See note 65, page 39, above.

[271] The Commentator explains *anṛichas* ("without the Rig-veda") by *krita krityāḥ*. On the sense of the latter word see above.

12619. *Nirmalāni śarīrāṇi viśuddhāni śarīriṇām | sasarja dharma-tantrāṇi pūrvotpannaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | amogha-phala-sankalpāḥ suvratāḥ satyavādinaḥ | brahma-bhūtā narāḥ puṇyāḥ purāṇāḥ kuru-sattama | sarve devaiḥ samāḥ yānti svachhandena nabhas-talam | tataś cha punar āyānti sarve svachhanda-chāriṇaḥ | svachhanda-maraṇāś chāsan narāḥ svachhanda-chāriṇaḥ | alpa-bādhā nirātankāḥ siddhārthā nirupadravāḥ | drashṭāro deva-sanghānām ṛishīṇāṁ cha mahātmanām | pratyakshāḥ sarva-dharmāṇām dāntā vigata-matsarāḥ | āsan varsha-sahasrīyās tathā putra-sahasriṇaḥ |* 12625. *Tataḥ kālāntare 'nyasmin pṛithivī-tala-chāriṇaḥ | kāma-krodhādhibhūtās te māyā-vyājopajīvinaḥ | lobha-mohābhibhūtās te saktā dehais tato narāḥ | aśubhaiḥ karmabhiḥ pāpās tiryan-niraya-gāminaḥ |*

"The first-born Prajāpati formed the bodies of corporeal creatures pure, spotless, and obedient to duty. The holy men of old were not frustrated in the results at which they aimed; they were religious, truth-speaking, and partook of Brahma's nature. Being all like gods they ascended to the sky and returned at will. They died too when they desired, suffered few annoyances, were free from disease, accomplished all their objects, and endured no oppression. Self-subdued and free from envy, they beheld the gods[273] and the mighty rishis, and had an intuitive perception of all duties.[274] They lived for a thousand years, and had each a thousand sons. Then at a later period of time, the in-

[273] See the passage from S'ankara's Commentary on the Brahma Sūtras i. 3, 32, in the 3rd vol. of this work, pp. 49 f., and note 49 in p. 95; and S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 3, 4, 4, *ubhaye ha vai idam agre saha āsur devāś cha manushyāś cha | tad yad ha sma manushyāṇāṁ na bhavati tad ha devān yāchante "idaṁ vai no nāsti idaṁ no 'stv" iti | te tasyai eva yāchnyāyai dveshena devās tirobhūtā "na id hinasāni na id dveshyo 'sāni" iti |* "Gods and men, together, were both originally (component parts of) this world. Whatever men had not they asked from the gods, saying, 'We have not this; let us have it.' From dislike of this solicitation the gods disappeared, (saying each of them) 'let me not hurt (them), let me not be hateful.'" Compare also the passage of the S'. P. Br. iii. 6, 2, 26, referred to by Professor Weber in Indische Studien, x. 158: *Te ha sma ete ubhaye deva-manushyāḥ pitaraḥ sampibante | sā eshā sampā | te ha sma dṛiśyamānā eva purā sampibante uta etarhy adṛiśyamānāḥ |* "Both gods, men, and fathers drink together. This is their symposium. Formerly they drank together visibly: now they do so unseen." Compare also Plato, Philebus, 18: Καὶ οἱ μὲν παλαιοί, κρείττονες ἡμῶν καὶ ἐγγυτέρω θεῶν οἰκοῦντες, ταύτην φήμην παρέδοσαν, "And the ancients who were better than ourselves, and dwelt nearer to the gods, have handed down this tradition."

[274] Compare the passage of the Nirukta, i. 20, beginning, *sākshāt-kṛita-dharmāṇa ṛishayo babhūvuḥ*, quoted in the 2nd vol. of this work, p. 174.

habitants of the earth became subject to desire and anger, and subsisted by deceit and fraud. Governed by cupidity and delusion, devoted to carnal pursuits, sinful men by their evil deeds walked in crooked paths leading to hell," etc., etc.

At the end of the chapter of the Bhīshmaparvan, entitled *Jambū-khaṇḍa-nirmāṇa*, there is a paragraph in which Sanjaya gives an account of the four yugas in Bhāratavarsha (Hindustan), and of the condition of mankind during each of those periods. After stating the names and order of the yugas, the speaker proceeds:

389. *Chatvāri tu sahasrāṇi varshāṇāṁ Kuru-sattama | āyuḥ-sankhyā kṛita-yuge sankhyātā rāja-sattama | tathā trīṇi sahasrāṇi tretāyāṁ manujādhipa | dve sahasre dvāpare cha bhuvi tishṭhanti sāmpratam | na pramāṇa-sthitir hy asti tishye 'smin Bharatarshabha | garbha-sthāś cha mriyante cha tathā jātā mriyanti cha | mahābalā mahāsattvāḥ prajnā-guṇa-samanvitāḥ | prajāyante cha jātāś cha śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ | jātāḥ kṛita-yuge rājan dhaninaḥ priya-darśinaḥ | prajāyante cha jātāś cha munayo vai tapodhanāḥ | mahotsāhāḥ mahātmāno dhārmikāḥ satya-vādinaḥ | priyadarśanā vapushmanto mahāvīryā dhanurdharāḥ | varārhā yudhi jāyante kshattriyāḥ śūra-sattamāh | tretāyāṁ kshattriyā rājan sarve vai chakravarttinaḥ | āyushmanto mahāvīrā dhanurdhara-varā yudhi | jāyante kshattriyā vīrās tretāyāṁ vaśa-varttinaḥ | sarve varṇā mahārāja jāyante dvāpare sati | mahotsāhā vīryavantaḥ paraspara-jayaishiṇah | tejasā 'lpena saṁyuktāḥ krodhanāḥ purushā nṛipa | lubdhā anṛitakāś chaiva tishye jāyanti Bhārata | īrshā mānas tathā krodho māyā 'sūyā tathaiva cha | tishye bhavati bhūtānāṁ rāgo lobhaś cha Bhārata | sankshepo vart-rājan dvāpare 'smin narādhipa |*

"389. Four thousand years are specified as the duration of life in the Kṛita age,[274] three thousand in the Tretā, and two thousand form the period at present established on earth in the Dvāpara. There is no fixed measure in the Tishya (Kali): embryos die in the womb, as well as children after their birth. Men of great strength, goodness, wisdom, and virtue were born, and born too in hundreds and thousands. In the Kṛita age men were produced opulent and beautiful, as well as munis rich in austere fervour. Energetic, mighty, righteous, veracious, beautiful, well-formed, valorous, bow-carrying, (395) heroic Kshattriyas,

[274] See above, p. 91, note 174.

distinguished in battle, were born.[275] In the Tretā all sovereigns were Kshattriyas. Heroic Kshattriyas were born in the Tretā, long-lived, great warriors, carrying bows in the fight, and living subject to authority. During the Dvāpara all castes are produced, energetic, valorous, striving for victory over one another. In the Tishya age are born men of little vigour, irascible, covetous, and mendacious. During that period, envy, pride, anger, delusion, ill-will, desire, and cupidity prevail among all beings. During this Dvāpara age there is some restriction."

As it is here stated that men of all castes were born in the Dvāpara, while Brāhmans and Kshattriyas only are spoken of as previously existing, it is to be presumed that the writer intends to intimate that no Vaiśyas or Śūdras existed during the Kṛita and Tretā ages. This accords with the account given in the passage quoted above from the Uttara Kānda of the Rāmāyaṇa, chapter 74, as well as with other texts which will be quoted below.

The following verses might be taken for a rationalistic explanation of the traditions regarding the yugas; but may be intended as nothing more than a hyperbolical expression of the good or bad effects of a king's more or less active discharge of his duties:

Śānti-parva, 2674. *Kālo vā kāraṇaṁ rājno rājā vā kāla-kāraṇam | iti te saṁśayo mā bhūd rājā kālasya kāraṇam | daṇḍa-nītyāṁ yadā rājā samyak kārtsnyena varttate | tadā kṛita-yugam nāma kāla-sṛishṭam pravarttate | . . . . 2682. Daṇḍa-nītyāṁ yadā rājā trīn aṁśān anuvarttate | chaturtham aṁśam utsṛijya tadā tretā pravarttate | . . . . 2684. Ardhaṁ tyaktvā yadā rājā nīty-artham anuvarttate | tatas tu dvāparaṁ nāma sa kālaḥ sampravarttate | . . . . 2686. Daṇḍa-nītim parityajya yadā kārttsnyena bhūmipaḥ | prajāḥ kliśnāty ayogena pravartteta tadā kaliḥ | . . . . 2693. Rājā kṛita-yuga-srashṭā tretāyā dvāparasya cha | yugasya cha chaturthasya rājā bhavati kāraṇam |*

"2674. The time is either the cause of the king, or the king is the cause of the time. Do not doubt (which of these alternatives is true): the king is the cause of the time. When a king occupies himself fully in criminal justice, then the Kṛita age, brought into existence by time,

[275] It does not appear clearly whether we are to suppose them to have been produced in the Kṛita, or in the Tretā, as in the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, quoted in page 119.

prevails." [Then follows a description of the results of such good government: righteousness alone is practised; prosperity reigns; the seasons are pleasant and salubrious; longevity is universal; no widows are seen; and the earth yields her increase without cultivation.] "2682. When the king practises criminal justice only to the extent of three parts, abandoning the fourth, then the Tretā prevails." [Then evil is introduced to the extent of a fourth, and the earth has to be tilled.] "2684. When the king administers justice with the omission of a half, then the period called the Dvāpara prevails." [Then evil is increased to a half, and the earth even when tilled yields only half her produce.] "2686. When, relinquishing criminal law altogether, the king actively oppresses his subjects, then the Kali age prevails." [Then the state of things, which existed in the Kṛita age, is nearly reversed.] "2693. The king is the creator of the Kṛita, Tretā, and Dvāpara ages, and the cause also of the fourth yuga."

The next extract is on the same subject of the duties of a king, and on the yugas as forms of his action (see Manu, ix. 301, quoted above, p. 49):

Śānti-parvan, 3406. *Karma śūdre kṛishir vaiśye daṇḍa-nītiś cha rājani | brahmacharyyaṁ tapo mantrāḥ satyaṁ chāpi dvijātishu | teshāṁ yaḥ kshattriyo veda vastrāṇām iva śodhanam*[276] | *śīla-doshān vinirharttum sa pitā sa prajāpatiḥ | kṛitaṁ tretā dvāparaṁ cha kaliś Bharatarshabha | rāja-vṛittāṇi sarvāṇi rājaiva yugam uchyate | chāturvarṇyaṁ tathā vedāś chāturāśramyam eva cha | sarvam pramuhyate hy etad yadā rājā pramādyati* |

"3406. Labour (should be found) in a Śūdra, agriculture in a Vaiśya, criminal justice in a King, continence, austere fervour, and the use of sacred texts in a Brāhman. The Kshattriya, who knows how to separate their good and bad qualities, (as (a washerman) understands the cleansing of clothes), is a father and lord of his subjects. The Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali, are all modes of a King's action. It is a King who is called by the name of Yuga. The four castes, the Vedas, and the four orders, are all thrown into disorder when the king is regardless."

[276] This comparison is more fully expressed in a preceding verse (3404): *Yo na jānāti nirharttuṁ vastrāṇāṁ rajako malam | raktānāṁ vā śodhayituṁ yathā nāsti tathaiva saḥ* |

In two of the preceding passages different colours are represented as characteristic either of particular castes (Śānti-p. verses 6934 ff.), or of particular yugas (Vana-p. verses 11241 ff.). Colours (though not ranked in the same order of goodness) are similarly connected with moral and physical conditions in verses 10058 ff. of the Śāntiparvan, of which I shall offer a few specimens:

Shaḍ jīva-varṇāḥ paramam pramāṇaṁ kṛishṇo dhūmro nīlam athāsya madhyam | raktam punaḥ sahyataraṁ sukhaṁ tu hāridra-varṇam susukhaṁ cha śuklam | parantu śuklam vimalaṁ viśokaṁ gata-klamaṁ siddhyati dānavendra | gatvā tu yoni-prabhavāṇi daitya sahasraśaḥ siddhim upaiti jīvaḥ | 10060. . . . . *Gatiḥ punar varṇa-kṛitā prajānāṁ varṇas tathā kāla-kṛito 'surendra* | . . . . 10062. *Kṛishṇasya varṇasya gatir nikṛishṭā sa sajate narake pachyamānaḥ* |

" 10058. Six colours of living creatures are of principal importance, black, dusky, and blue which lies between them; then red is more tolerable, yellow is happiness, and white is extreme happiness. White is perfect, being exempted from stain, sorrow, and exhaustion; (possessed of it) a being going through (various) births, arrives at perfection in a thousand forms. 10060. . . . . Thus destination is caused by colour, and colour is caused by time. . . . . 10062. The destination of the black colour is bad. When it has produced its results, it clings to hell."

The next passage, from the Harivanśa, assigns to each of the four castes a separate origin, but at the same time gives an explanation of their diversity which differs from any that we have yet encountered: unless, indeed, any one is prepared to maintain that the four principles, out of which the castes are here represented to have arisen, are respectively identical with the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Brahmā! This passage, however, corresponds with one of those already quoted in associating different colours with the several castes. The question with which the passage opens refers to an account which had been given in the preceding section (verses 11799 ff.) of the creation of Bhṛigu and Angiras, to both of whom the epithet "progenitor of Brāhmans" (*brahma-vaṁśa-kara*) is applied. No mention is made there of Kshattriyas or any other castes. M. Langlois, the French translator of the Harivanśa, remarks that the distinction between the age of the Brāhmans and that of the Kshattriyas is an unusual one, and receives

no explanation in the context. But in two of the passages which have been quoted above (1) from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, chapter 74 (p. 119), and (2) from the Bhīshma-parva of the Mahābhārata, verses 393 ff. (p. 149), I think we find indications that the Kṛita Yuga was regarded as an age in which Brāhmans alone existed, and that Kshattriyas only began to be born in the Tretā.

Harivaṁśa, 11808. *Janameya uvācha | Śrutam brahma-yugam brahman yugānām prathamaṁ yugam | kshattrasyāpi yugam brahman śrotum ichhāmi tattvataḥ | sasaṁkshepaṁ savistaraṁ niyamaiḥ bahubhiś chitam | upāya-jnaiś cha kathitaṁ kratubhiś chopaśobhitam | Vaiśampāyana uvācha |* 11810. *Etat te kathayishyāmi yajna-karmabhir architam | dāna-dharmaiś cha vividhaiḥ prajābhir upaśobhitam | te 'ngushṭha-mātrā munayaḥ ādattāḥ sūrya-raśmibhiḥ | moksha-prāptena vidhinā nirābādhena karmaṇā | pravṛitte chāpravṛitte cha nityam Brahma-parāyaṇāḥ | parāyaṇasya sangamya Brahmaṇas tu mahīpate | śrī-vṛittāḥ pāvanāś chaiva brāhmaṇāś cha mahīpate | chārita-brahmacharyyāś cha brahma-jnānena bodhitāḥ | pūrṇe yuga-sahasrānte prabhāve pralayāṁ gatāḥ | brāhmaṇā vṛitta-sampannā jnāna-siddhāḥ samāhitāḥ |* 11815. *Vyatiriktendriyo Vishṇur yogātmā brahma-sambhavah | Dakshaḥ prajāpatir bhūtvā sṛijate vipulāḥ prajāḥ | aksharād brāhmaṇāḥ saumyāḥ ksharāt kshattriya-bāndhavāḥ | vaiśyā vikārataś chaiva śūdrāh dhūma-vikārataḥ | śveta-lohitakair varṇaiḥ pītair nīlaiś cha brāhmaṇāḥ | abhinirvarttitāḥ varṇāṁś chintayānena Vishṇunā | tato varṇatvam āpannāḥ prajā loke chaturvidhāḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś chaiva mahīpate | ekalingāh pṛithag-dharmā dvipādāḥ paramādbhutāḥ | yātanayā 'bhisampannā gati-jnāḥ sarva-karmasu | trayāṇāṁ varṇa-jātānāṁ veda-proktāḥ kriyāḥ smṛitāḥ | tena brāhmaṇa-yogena vaishṇavena mahīpate | prajnayā tejasā yogāt tasmāt Prāchetasaḥ prabhuḥ | Vishṇur eva mahāyogī karmaṇām antaraṁ gataḥ | tato nirvāṇa-sambhūtāḥ śūdrāḥ karma-vivarjitāḥ | tasmād nārhanti saṁskāram na hy atra brahma vidyate | yathā 'gnau dhūma-sanghāto hy araṇyā mathyamānayā | prādurbhūto visarpan vai nopayujyati karmaṇi | evaṁ śūdrā visarpanto bhuvi kārtsnyena janmanā | na saṁskṛitena*[277] *dharmeṇa veda-proktena karmaṇā |*

"Janamejaya says: 11808. I have heard, o Brāhman, the (description of the) Brahma Yuga, the first of the ages. I desire also to be accurately informed, both summarily and in detail, about the age of the

[277] The printed text reads *nāsaṁskṛitena;* but *na saṁskṛitena* seems necessary.

Kshattriyas, with its numerous observances, illustrated as it was by sacrifices, and described as it has been by men skilled in the art of narration. Vaiśampāyana replied: 11810. I shall describe to you that age revered for its sacrifices and distinguished for its various works of liberality, as well as for its people. Those Munis of the size of a thumb had been absorbed by the sun's rays. Following a rule of life leading to final emancipation, practising unobstructed ceremonies, both in action and in abstinence from action constantly intent upon Brahma, united to Brahma as the highest object,—Brāhmans glorious and sanctified in their conduct, leading a life of continence, disciplined by the knowledge of Brahma,—Brāhmans complete in their observances, perfect in knowledge, and contemplative,—when at the end of a thousand yugas, their majesty was full, these Munis became involved in the dissolution of the world. 11815. Then Vishṇu sprung from Brahma, removed beyond the sphere of sense, absorbed in contemplation, became the Prajāpati Daksha, and formed numerous creatures. The Brāhmans, beautiful (or, dear to Soma),[278] were formed from an imperishable (*akshara*), the Kshattriyas from a perishable (*kshara*), element, the Vaiśyas from alteration, the Śūdras from a modification of smoke. While Vishṇu was thinking upon the castes (*varṇān*), Brāhmans were formed with white, red, yellow, and blue colours (*varṇaiḥ*).[279] Hence in the world men have become divided into castes, being of four descriptions, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, one in form, distinct in their duties, two-footed, very wonderful, full of energy(?), skilled in expedients in all their occupations. 11820. Rites are declared to be prescribed by the Vedas for the three (highest) castes. By that contemplation practised by the being sprung from Brahma (see v. 11815) —by that practised in his character as Vishṇu,—the Lord Prāchetasa (Daksha), *i.e.* Vishṇu the great contemplator (*yogin*), passed through his wisdom and energy from that state of meditation into the sphere of works.[280] Next the Śūdras, produced from extinction, are destitute

[278] In verse 11802, we read *abhishichya tu Somaṁ cha yauvarājye Pitāmahaḥ* | *brāhmaṇānāṁ cha rājānaṁ śāśvataṁ rajanī-charam* | "Brahmā also inaugurated Soma as the heir to the kingdom, as the king of the Brāhmans who walks eternally through the night."

[279] This play upon the two senses of the word *varṇa* will be noticed.

[280] I do not profess to be certain that I have succeeded in discovering the proper meaning of this last sentence.

of rites. Hence they are not entitled to be admitted to the purificatory ceremonies, nor does sacred science belong to them. Just as the cloud of smoke which rises from the fire on the friction of the fuel, and is dissipated, is of no service in the sacrificial rite, so too the Śūdras wandering over the earth, are altogether (useless for purposes of sacrifice) owing to their birth, their mode of life devoid of purity and their want of the observances prescribed in the Veda."

The next extract gives an account at variance with all that precedes, as it does not assign to all the Brāhmans themselves the same origin, but describes the various kinds of officiating priests as having been formed from different members of Vishṇu's body:

Harivaṁśa, 11355. *Evam ekārṇave bhūte śete loke mahādyutiḥ | prachhādya salilaṁ sarvaṁ Harir Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ | mahato rajaso madhye mahārṇava-samasya vai | virajasko mahābāhur aksharam brāhmaṇā viduḥ | ātma-rūpa-prakāśena tapasā saṁvṛitaḥ prabhuḥ | trikam āchhādya kālaṁ tu tataḥ sushvāpa sas tadā | purusho yajna ity evaṁ yat param parikīrttitam | yach chānyat purushākhyaṁ tu tat sarvam purushottamaḥ | ye cha yajnaparā viprā ṛitvijā iti sanjnitāḥ | ātma-dehāt purā bhūtā yajnebhyaḥ śrūyatāṁ tadā |* 11360. *Brahmāṇam paramaṁ vaktrād udgātāraṁ cha sāma-gām | hotāraṁ atha chādhvaryyuṁ bāhubhyām asṛijat prabhuḥ | brāhmāṇo brāhmaṇatvāch cha prastotāraṁ cha sarvaśaḥ | tam maitrāvaruṇam sṛishṭvā pratishṭhātāram eva cha | udarāt pratihartāram potāraṁ chaiva Bhārata | achhāvākam athorubhyām neshṭāraṁ chaiva Bhārata | pāṇibhyām athachāgnīdhram brahmaṇyaṁ chaiva yajṇiyam | grāvāṇam atha bāhubhyām unnetāraṁ cha yājnikam | evam evaisha bhagavān shoḍaśaitān jagatpatiḥ | pravaktṛīn sarva-yajnānām ṛitvijo 'sṛijad uttamān | tad esha vai yajnamayaḥ purusho veda-saṁjnitaḥ | vedāś cha tanmayāḥ sarve sāngopanishada-kriyāḥ |*

Vaisampāyana said: 1135. "Thus the glorious Lord Hari Nārāyaṇa, covering the entire waters, slept on (the world) which had become one sea, in the midst of the vast expanse of fluid[231] (*rajas*), resembling a mighty ocean, himself free from passion (*virajaskaḥ*), with mighty arms:—Brāhmans know him as the undecaying. Invested through austere fervour with the light of his own form, and clothed with triple time (past, present, and future), the Lord then slept. Purushottama

[231] *Rajas* is said in two places of the Nirukta, iv. 19, and x. 44, to have the sense of "water."

(Vishṇu) is whatever is declared to be the highest, Purusha the sacrifice, and everything else which is known by the name of Purusha. Hear how the Brāhmans devoted to sacrifice, and called *ṛitvijes*, were formerly produced by him from his own body for offering sacrifices. 11360. The Lord created from his mouth the brāhman, who is the chief, and the udgātṛi, who chaunts the Sāman; from his arms the hotṛi and the adhvaryu. He then . . . .[288] created the prastotṛi, the maitrāvaruṇa, and the pratishṭhātṛi; from his belly the pratiharttṛi and the potṛi, from his thighs the achhāvāka and the neshṭṛi, from his hands the agnīdhra and the sacrificial brahmaṇya, from his arms the grāvan and the sacrificial unnetṛi. Thus did the divine Lord of the world create these sixteen excellent ṛitvijes, the utterers of all sacrifices. Therefore this Purusha is formed of sacrifice and is called the Veda; and all the Vedas with the Vedāngas, Upanishads, and ceremonies, are formed of his essence."

SECT. XII.—*Extracts from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa on the same subject.*

I will conclude my quotations from the Purāṇas on the subject of the origin of mankind and of castes with a few passages from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The first extract reproduces some of the ideas of the Purusha Sūkta[289] more closely than any of the Puranic accounts yet given.

ii. 5, 34. *Varsha-pūga-sahasrānte tad aṇḍam udake śayam | kāla-karma-svabhāva-stho jīvo 'jīvam ajīvayat* | 35. *Sa eva Purushas tasmād aṇḍaṃ nirbhedya nirgataḥ | sahasrorv-anghri-bāhv-akshaḥ sahasrānana-śirshavān* | 36. *Yasyehāvayavair lokān kalpayanti manīshiṇaḥ | katy-*

[288] I am unable to make a proper sense out of the words *brahmaṇo brāhmaṇatvāch cha*, which, however, as I learn from Dr. FitzEdward Hall, are found (with only a difference of long and short vowels) in the best MSS. to which he has access, as well as in the Bombay edition. One of the sixteen priests, the Brāhmanāchhaṁsin, is not found in the enumeration, and his name may therefore have stood at the beginning of the line. Instead of the inept reading *sarvaśaḥ*, at the end, the author may perhaps have written *vakshasaḥ*, "from his chest," as, indeed, one MS. reads in the next line. The Bombay edition reads *pṛishṭhāt*, "from the back," instead of *sṛishṭvā*.

[289] M. Burnouf remarks in the Preface to the first vol. of his edition of the Bhāgavata, pp. cxxii. ff., on the manner in which its author has gone back to Vedic sources for his materials. The same thing is noticed by Professor Weber, Indische Studien, i. 286, note.

ādibhir adhaḥ sapta saptordhvaṁ jaghanādibhiḥ | 37. *Purushasya mukham brahma kshatram etasya bāhavaḥ* | *ūrvor vaiśyo bhagavataḥ padbhyāṁ śūdro vyajāyata* | 38. *Bhūrlokaḥ kalpitah padbhyām bhuvarloko 'sya nābhitaḥ* | *hṛidā svarloka urasā maharloko mahātmanaḥ* |

"34. At the end of many thousand years the living soul which resides in time, action, and natural quality gave life to that lifeless egg floating on the water. 35. Purusha then having burst the egg, issued from it with a thousand thighs, feet, arms, eyes, faces, and heads. 36. With his members the sages fashion the worlds, the seven lower worlds with his loins, etc., and the seven upper worlds with his groin, etc. 37. The Brāhman (was) the mouth of Purusha, the Kshattriya his arms, the Vaiśya was born from the thighs, the Śūdra from the feet of the divine being. The earth was formed from his feet, the air from his navel; the heaven by the heart, and the maharloka by the breast of the mighty one."

In the following verse the figurative character of the representation is manifest:

ii. 1, 37. *Brahmānanaṁ kshattra-bhujo mahātmā viḍ-ūrur anghri-śrita-kṛishṇa-varṇaḥ* |

"The Brāhman is his mouth; he is Kshattriya-armed, that great One, Vaiśya-thighed, and has the black caste abiding in his feet."

The next passage is more in accord with the ordinary representation, though here, too, the mystical view is introduced at the close:

iii. 22, 2. *Brahmā 'srijat sva-mukhato yushmān ātma-parīpsayā* | *chhandomayas tapo-vidyā-yoga-yuktān alampaṭān* | 3. *Tat-trāṇāyā-srijach chāsmān doḥ-sahasrāt sahasra-pāt* | *hṛidayaṁ tasya hi brahma kshattram angam prachakshate* |

"Brahmā, who is formed of the Veda (*chhandas*), with a view to the recognition of himself, created you (the Brāhmans) who are characterized by austere fervour, science, devotion and chastity, from his mouth. For their protection he, the thousand-footed, created us (the Kshattriyas) from his thousand arms: for they declare the Brāhman to be his heart, and the Kshattriya his body."

iii. 6, 29 ff. contains another reference to the production of the castes:

29. *Mukhato 'varttata brahma Purushasya Kurūdvaha* | *yastūn-mukhatvād varṇānām mukhyo 'bhūd brāhmaṇo guruḥ* | 30. *Bāhubhyo 'varttata kshattraṁ kshattriyas tad-anuvrataḥ* | *yo jātas trāyate varṇān*

paurushaḥ kaṇṭaka-kshatāt | 31. *Viśo 'varttanta tasyorvor loka-vṛitti-karīr vibhoḥ* | *vaiśyas tad-udbhavo vārttāṁ nṛiṇāṁ yaḥ samavarttayat* | 32. *Padbhyām bhagavato jajne śuśrūshā dharma-siddhaye* | *tasyāṁ jātaḥ purā śūdro yad-vṛittyā tushyate Hariḥ* | 33. *Ete varṇāḥ sva-dharmeṇa yajanti sva-guruṁ Harim* | *śraddhayā "tma-viśuddhyarthaṁ yaj jātāḥ saha vṛittibhiḥ* |

"29. From the mouth of Purusha, o descendant of Kuru, issued divine knowledge (*brahma*), and the Brāhman, who through his production from the mouth became the chief of the castes and the preceptor. 30. From his arms issued kingly power (*kshattra*), and the Kshattriya devoted to that function, who, springing from Purusha, as soon as born defends the castes from the injury of enemies. 31. From the thighs of the Lord issued the arts,[234] affording subsistence to the world; and from them was produced the Vaiśya who provided the maintenance of mankind. 32. From the feet of the divine Being sprang service for the fulfilment of duty. In it the Śūdra was formerly born, with whose function Hari is well satisfied. By fulfilling their own duties, with faith, for the purification of their souls, these castes worship Hari their parent, from whom they have sprung together with their functions."

In viii. 5, 41, we find the following:

Vipro mukhād brahma cha yasya guhyaṁ rājanya āsīd bhujayor balaṁ cha | *ūrvor viḍ ojo 'nghrir aveda-śūdrau prasīdatāṁ naḥ sa mahā-vibhūtiḥ* |

"May that Being of great glory be gracious to us, from whose mouth sprang the Brāhman and the mysterious Veda, from whose arms came the Rājanya and force, from whose thighs issued the Viś and energy, and whose foot is no-veda (*aveda*) and the Śūdra."

The same work gives the following very brief account of the *Arvāk-srotas* creation, which is described with somewhat more detail in the passages extracted above from the Vishṇu and Vāyu Purāṇas:

iii. 20, 25. *Arvāk-srotas tu navamaḥ kshattar eka-vidho nṛiṇām* | *rajo 'dhikāḥ karma-parāḥ duḥkhe cha sukha-māninaḥ* |

[234] The word so rendered is *viśaḥ*, which in the hymns of the Rig-veda has always the sense of "people." Here, however, it seems to have the sense assigned in the text, if one may judge from the analogy of the following verse, in which the Śūdra is said to be produced from his special function, *śuśrūshā*, "service." The Commentator explains *viśaḥ* = *kṛishy-ādi-vyavasāyāḥ*, "the professions of agriculture," etc.

"The Arvaksrotas creation was of one description,[265] viz., of men, in whom the quality of passion abounded, who were addicted to works, and imagined that in pain they experienced pleasure."

In vi. 6, 40, a new account is given of the origin of mankind. We are there told:

Aryamṇo Mātṛikā patnī tayoś Charshaṇayaḥ sutāḥ | *yatra vai mānushī jātir Brahmaṇā chopakalpitā* |

"The wife of Aryaman (the son of Aditi) was Mātṛikā. The Charshaṇis were the sons of this pair, and among them the race of men was formed by Brahmā." The word *charshaṇi* signifies "men," or "people" in the Veda.

In the following verse (which forms part of the legend of Purūravas, quoted in the 3rd vol. of this work, pp. 27 ff.) it is declared that in the Kṛita age there was only one caste:

ix. 14, 48. *Eka eva purā vedaḥ praṇavaḥ sarva-vāṅmayaḥ* | *devo Nārāyaṇo nānya eko 'gnir varṇa eva cha* | *Purūravasa evāsīt trayī tretā-mukhe nṛipa* |

"There was formerly but one Veda, the *praṇava* (the monosyllable *Om*), the essence of all speech; only one god, Nārāyaṇa, one Agni, and (one) caste. From Purūravas came the triple Veda, in the beginning of the Tretā."

Some of the Commentator's remarks on this text will be found in vol. iii. p. 29. He says the one caste was called "Hansa" (*varṇaś cha eka eva haṁso nāma*), and concludes his note by remarking: "The meaning is this: In the Kṛita age when the quality of goodness predominated in men, they were almost all absorbed in meditation; but in the Tretā, when passion prevailed, the method of works was manifested by the division of the Vedas, etc."

[265] The Sānkhya Kārikā, 53, says: *ashṭa-vikalpo daivas tairyagyonyaś cha panchadhā bhavati mānushyaś chaika-vidhaḥ samāsato bhautikaḥ sargaḥ*; which is thus translated by Mr. Colebrooke (in Wilson's Sānkhya Kārikā, p. 164): "The divine kind is of eight sorts; the grovelling is five-fold; mankind is single in its class. This, briefly, is the world of living beings." The Commentator Gauḍapāda shortly explains the words *mānushyaś chaikavidhaḥ* by *mānushayonir ekaiva*, "the source of production of mankind is one only." Vijnāna Bhikshu, the Commentator on the Sānkhya Pravachana, iii. 46, paraphrases the same words thus, *mānushya-sargaś chaika-prakāraḥ*, "the human creation is of one sort."

Sect. XIII.—*Results of this Chapter.*

The details which I have supplied in the course of this chapter must have rendered it abundantly evident that the sacred books of the Hindus contain no uniform or consistent account of the origin of castes; but, on the contrary, present the greatest varieties of speculation on this subject. Explanations mystical, mythical, and rationalistic, are all offered in turn; and the freest scope is given by the individual writers to fanciful and arbitrary conjecture.

First: we have the set of accounts in which the four castes are said to have sprung from progenitors who were separately created; but in regard to the manner of their creation we find the greatest diversity of statement. The most common story is that the castes issued from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Purusha, or Brahmā. The oldest extant passage in which this idea occurs, and from which all the later myths of a similar tenor have no doubt been borrowed, is, as we have seen, to be found in the Purusha Sūkta; but it is doubtful whether, in the form in which it is there presented, this representation is anything more than an allegory. In some of the texts which I have quoted from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, traces of the same allegorical character may be perceived; but in Manu and the Puranas the mystical import of the Vedic text disappears, and the figurative narration is hardened into a literal statement of fact. In other passages, where a separate origin is assigned to the castes, they are variously said to have sprung from the words Bhūḥ, Bhuvah, Svah; from different Vedas; from different sets of prayers; from the gods, and the asuras; from nonentity (pp. 17–21), and from the imperishable, the perishable, and other principles (Harivamśa, 11816). In the chapters of the Vishṇu, Vāyu, and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, where castes are described as coeval with the creation, and as having been naturally distinguished by different guṇas, or qualities, involving varieties of moral character, we are nevertheless allowed to infer that those qualities exerted no influence on the classes in whom they were inherent, as the condition of the whole race during the Kṛita age is described as one of uniform perfection and happiness; while the actual separation into castes did

not take place, according to the Vāyu Purāṇa, until men had become deteriorated in the Tretā age.

Second: in various passages from the Brāhmanas, Epic poems, and Puranas, the creation of mankind is, as we have seen, described without the least allusion to any separate production of the progenitors of the four castes (pp. 23–27, and elsewhere). And whilst in the chapters where they relate the distinct formation of the castes, the Puranas, as has been observed, assign different natural dispositions to each class, they elsewhere represent all mankind as being at the creation uniformly distinguished by the quality of passion. In one of the texts I have quoted (p. 26 f.) men are said to be the offspring of Vivasvat; in another his son Manu is said to be their progenitor; whilst in a third they are said to be descended from a female of the same name. The passage which declares Manu to have been the father of the human race explicitly affirms that men of all the four castes were descended from him. In another remarkable text the Mahābhārata categorically asserts that originally there was no distinction of classes, the existing distribution having arisen out of differences of character and occupation. Similarly, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in one place informs us that in the Kṛita age there was but one caste; and this view appears also to be taken in some passages which I have adduced from the Epic poems.

In these circumstances we may fairly conclude that the separate origination of the four castes was far from being an article of belief universally received by Indian antiquity.

I shall now proceed to enquire what opinion the writers of the older Vedic hymns appear to have entertained in regard to the origin of the race to which they themselves belonged.

CHAPTER II.

TRADITION OF THE DESCENT OF THE INDIAN RACE FROM MANU.[1]

It appears from the considerations urged in the preceding chapter that in all probability the Purusha Sūkta belongs to the most recent portion of the Rig-veda Sanhitā, and that it is at least doubtful whether the verse in which it connects the four castes with the different members of the creator's body is not allegorical. And we have seen that even if that representation is to be taken as a literal account of the creation of the different classes, it cannot, in the face of many other statements of a different tenor, and of great antiquity, be regarded as expressing the fixed belief of the writers of the period immediately succeeding the collection of the hymns in regard to the origin of the social divisions which prevailed in their own time. But the notions entertained of the origin of caste at the date of the Purusha Sūkta, whatever they may have been, will afford no criterion of the state of opinion on the same subject in an earlier age; and it therefore remains to enquire whether those hymns of the Rig-veda, which appear to be the most ancient, contain either (1) any tradition regarding the origin of mankind, or of the Indian tribes; or (2) any allusion to the existence, in the community contemporary with their composition, of separate classes corresponding to those afterwards known as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras; and if they embrace any reference of the latter kind, whether they afford any explanation of the manner in which these orders of men came to occupy their respective positions

[1] On the subjects treated in this chapter compare my article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xx. for 1863, pp. 406 ff., where a reference is made to the other writers who had previously treated of them, such as M. Nève, Mythe des Ribhavas, etc.

in society. We shall find on examination that the hymns supply some information on both these branches of enquiry.

Numerous references are undoubtedly to be found in all parts of the hymn-collection to a variety of ranks, classes, and professions; of which an account will be given in the next chapter; but no hint is anywhere discoverable, except in the single text of the Purusha Sūkta, of those classes being distinguished from each other by any original difference of race. If, however, the early Vedic Indians had all along believed in the quadruple production of their nation from the different members of Purusha, one might naturally have expected to find allusions to such a variety of birth running through the hymns. But nothing, I repeat, of this kind is to be traced. On the contrary it appears from a considerable number of passages that at least the superior ranks of the community were regarded as being of one stock, the Aryan, and as having one common ancestor. This chapter will therefore embrace, First, the texts which are found in the hymns regarding the origin of the Indian tribes, and the history of their progenitor, and Secondly those passages which occur in the Brāhmaṇas, and other later works in which the statements of the early Vedic poets on these subjects are re-echoed or developed.

SECT. I.—*Manu as the progenitor of the Āryan Indians and the institutor of religious rites according to the Hymns of the Rig-veda.*

In this section I shall first quote the texts which allude to Manu as father (which must of course be understood to designate him as the actual human progenitor of the authors of the hymns, and of the bulk of the people to whom they addressed themselves); and then adduce those which speak of him as the institutor of religious rites, or as the object of divine protection.

(1) The following texts are of the first class:

i. 80, 16. *Yām Atharvā Manush pitā Dadhyañ dhiyam atnata | tasmin brahmāṇi pūrvathā Indre ukthā samagmata |*

"Prayers and hymns were formerly congregated in that Indra, in the ceremony which Atharvan, father Manu, and Dadhyanch celebrated."[2]

[2] This verse is quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 34, where the words *Manush pitā*,

i. 114, 2. *Yat śaṁ cha yoś cha Manur āyeje pitā tad aśyāma tava Rudra praṇītishu* |

"Whatever prosperity or succour father Manu obtained by sacrifice, may we gain all that under thy guidance, O Rudra."

ii. 33, 13. *Yā vo bheshajā Marutaḥ śuchīni yā śantamā vrishaṇo yā mayobhū* | *yāni Manur avriṇīta pitā naḥ tā śaṁ cha yoś cha Rudrasya vaśmi* |

"Those pure remedies of yours, O Maruts, those which are most auspicious, ye vigorous gods, those which are beneficent, those which our[3] father Manu chose, those, and the blessing and succour of Rudra, I desire."

viii. 52, 1 (Sāma-veda, i. 355). *Sa pūrvyo mahānām veno kratubhir ānaje* | *yasya dvārā Manush pitā deveshu dhiyaḥ ānaje* |

"That ancient friend hath been equipped with the powers of the mighty (gods). Father Manu has prepared hymns to him, as portals of access to the gods."[4]

"father Manu," are explained as meaning *Manuścha pitā mānavānām*, "Manu the father of men." Sāyana, the Commentator on the Rig-veda, interprets them as meaning *sarvāsām prajānām pitṛibhūto Manuścha*, "Manu the father of all creatures." In R.V., x. 82, 3, the words "our father and generator" (*yo naḥ pitā janitā*), are applied to Vis'vakarman, the creator of the universe. The word "father" in the R.V. is often applied to Dyaus, the Sky, and "mother" to the Earth, as in vi. 51 5. (Compare Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1864, pp. 55 ff.) But in these passages it is not necessary to suppose that the words are employed in any other than a figurative sense; although in a hymn to the Earth in the Atharva-veda, xii. 1, we find the following verse (the 15th): *Tvaj-jātās tvayi charanti martyās tvam bibharshi dvipadas tvaṁ chatushpadaḥ* | *taveme pṛithivi pancha-mānavāḥ yebhyo jyotir amṛitam martyebhyaḥ udyan sūryo raśmibhir ātanoti* | "Mortals born of thee live on thee: thou supportest both bipeds and quadrupeds. Thine, o Earth, are these five races of men, these mortals on whom the sun rising, sheds undying light with his rays;"—where it might almost appear as if the poet meant to represent mankind as actually generated by the earth. Brihaspati (iv. 50, 6; vi. 73, 1) and the other gods, as Indra, are called "father," or compared to fathers (vii. 52, 3); as are Rudra, vi. 49, 10; and the Rishi, R.V., x. 81, 1; x. 82, 1, 3, 4. S'. P. Br., i. 5, 3, 2, has *Prajāpatau pitari;* and Taitt. Br. iii. 9, 22, 1, *Prajāpatim pitaram.* In both the last places Prajāpati is referred to as the father of the gods.

[3] It is to be observed that while in the two preceeding passages Manu is styled merely "father Manu," he is here called "*our* father Manu" (*Manuḥ pitā naḥ*).

[4] I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for the above translation of this, to me, obscure verse. Sāyaṇa explains it thus: *Sa pūrvyo mukhyo mahānām pūjyānām yajamānānām kratubhiḥ karmabhir nimittabhūtair venaḥ kāntas teshām haviḥ kāmayamānaḥ ānaje āgachhati* | *yasyendrasya dvārā dvārāṇi prāptyupāyāni dhiyaḥ karmaṇi deveshu eteshu madhye pitā sarveshām pālako Manur ānaje prāpa* | *ānajiḥ prāpti-*

The sense of the next text is less clear, but it appears at least to allude to the common designation of Manu as a father:

x. 100, 5. *Yajno Manuḥ pramatir naḥ pitā hi kam* |

"Sacrifice is Manu, our protecting father."

The following verse, according to the Commentator at least, speaks of the *paternal* or *ancestral* path of Manu. Professor Aufrecht thinks it need not mean more than the ancestral human path:

viii. 30. 3. *Te nas trādhvam te avata te u no adhi vochata* | *mā naḥ pathaḥ pitryād mānavād adhi dūram naishṭa parāvataḥ* |

"Do ye (gods) deliver, protect, and intercede for us; do not lead us far away from the paternal path of Manu.[5]

As in the preceding passages Manu is spoken of as the progenitor of the worshippers, so in the following the same persons may perhaps be spoken of as his descendants, although it is also true that the phrases employed may be merely equivalent to "children of men."

i. 68, 4. *Hotā nishatto Manor apatye sa chit nu āsām patiḥ rayīnām* |

"He (Agni) who abides among the offspring of Manu as the invoker (of the gods), is even the lord of these riches."[6]

karmā | "This chief one, in consequence of the rites of the venerable sacrificers, desiring their oblation, comes,—he (Indra) as means of attaining whom Manu the preserver of all has obtained rites among these gods." Professor Benfey renders the verse, where it occurs in the Sāma-veda, thus: "He is the chief of the rich, through works the dear one enlightens him, whose doors father Manu has, and illuminates observances towards the gods." From Prof. Benfey's note to the passage (p. 230) it appears that the Commentator on the Sāma-veda explains *ānaje* by *vyaktīkaroti ātmānam*, "makes himself distinct" (herein differing from Sāyana), Manu by *jnātā sarvasya = Indraḥ*, "the knower of all, Indra," and *ānaje*, where it occurs the second time, by *āgamayati*, "causes to come." Such are the differences of opinion regarding the interpretation of some parts of the hymns.

[5] On this verse Sāyana comments thus: *Sarveshām Manuḥ pitā tataḥ āgatāt* | *parāvataḥ* | *pitā Manur dūram mārgam chakre* | *tasmāt patho mārgāt no asmān mā naishṭa mā nayata* | *apanayanam mā kuruta ity arthaḥ* | *sarvadā brahmacharyyāgnihotrādi-karmāṇi yena mārgeṇa bhavanti tam eva asmān nayata* | *kintu dūram ya etad-vyatirikto viprakṛishṭo mārgo 'sti tasmād adhi adhikam ity arthaḥ asmān apanayata* | "'Of Manu' means, come from Manu who is the father of all. 'Distant:' Father Manu journeyed along a distant path. Do not lead us away from that path. Lead us along that path in which continence, the agnihotra sacrifice, and other duties have always been practised. But lead us away from the distant path which is different from that."

[6] The Commentator here explains "the offspring of Manu" as offspring or creatures in the form of worshippers (*yajamāna-svarūpāyām prajāyām*); and adds that according to a Brāhmaṇa "creatures are sprung from Manu" ("*Mānavyo hi prajāḥ*"

iii. 3, 6. *Agnir devebhir manushaścha jantubhis tanvāno yajnam purupeśasam dhiyā* |

"Agni, together with the gods, and the children (*jantubhih*) of Manush, celebrating a multiform sacrifice with hymns," etc.

In the following texts reference is made to the *people* of Manu, the word for "people" being *viś*, from which *vaiśya*, "a man of the people," is derived:

iv. 37, 1. *Upa no Vājāḥ adhvaram Ṛibhukshāḥ devāḥ yāta pathibhir devayānaiḥ* | *yathā yajnam manusho vikshu āsu dadhidve raṇvāh sudineshu ahnām* |

"Ye gods, Vājas, and Ribhukshans, come to our sacrifice by the path travelled by the gods, that ye, pleasing deities, may institute a sacrifice among these people of Manush (*Manusho vikshu*) on auspicious days."

vi. 14, 2. *Agnim hotāram īḷate yajneshu manusho viśaḥ* |

"The people of Manush praise in the sacrifices Agni the invoker."

viii. 23, 13. *Yad vai u viśpatiḥ śitaḥ suprīto manusho viśi* | *viśvā id Agniḥ prati rakshāṁsi sedhati* |

"Whenever Agni, lord of the people,[7] kindled, abides gratified among the people of Manush, he repels all Rakshases."

(2.) From the preceding texts it appears that the authors of the hymns regarded Manu as the progenitor of their race. But (as is clear from many other passages) they also looked upon him as the first person by whom the sacrificial fire had been kindled, and as the institutor of the ceremonial of worship; though the tradition is not always consistent on this subject. In one of the verses already quoted (i. 80, 16) Manu is mentioned in this way, along with Atharvan and

iti hi brāhmaṇam). Yāska (Nir. iii. 7) gives the following derivations of the word *manushya*, "man:" *Manushyāḥ kasmāt* | *matvā karmāṇi sīvyanti* | *manasyamānena sṛishṭāḥ* . . . . | *Manor apatyam Manusho vā* | "From what are men (named)? Because after reflection they sew together works; (or) because they were created by one who reflected (or, according to Durga, "rejoiced") . . . . (or) because they are the offspring of Manu, or Manush."

[7] *Viśpati*. Compare vi. 48, 8, where it is said: *viśvāsām gṛihapatir viśām asi tvam Agne mānushīnam* | "Agni, thou art the master of the house of all human people (or, people sprung from Manush);" and x. 80, 6, *Agnim viśaḥ īḷate mānushīr yāḥ Agnim Manusho Nahusho vi jātāḥ* | "Human people (or, people descended from Manush) praise Agni: (people) sprung from Manush, from Nahush, (praise) Agni.' Or if *manushaḥ* be the nom. plur. the last clause will run thus: "men sprung from Nahush (praise) Agni."

Dadhyanch, as having celebrated religious rites in ancient times. The following further passages refer to him as a kindler of fire, and offerer of oblations:

i. 36, 19. *Ni tvām Agne Manur dadhe jyotir janāya śaśvate* |

"Manu has placed (or ordained) thee, Agni, a light to all the people."

i. 76, 5. *Yathā viprasya Manusho havirbhir devān ayajaḥ kavibhiḥ kaviḥ san* | *eva hotaḥ satyatara tvam adya Agne mandrayā juhvā yajasva* |

"As thou, thyself a sage, didst, with the sages, worship the gods with the oblations of the wise Manush, so to-day, Agni, most true invoker, worship them with a cheerful flame."

v. 45, 6. *Ā ita dhiyam kriṇavāma sakhāyah . . . . yayā Manur Viśiśipram jigāya . . . .*

"Come, friends, let us perform the prayer . . . . whereby Manu conquered Viśiśipra . . . .

viii. 10. 2. *Yad vā yajnam Manave sammimikshathur eva it Kāṇvasya bodhatam* |

"Or if ye (Aśvins) sprinkled the sacrifice for Manu, think in like manner of the descendant of Kanva."

ix. 96, 11. *Tvayā hi naḥ pitaraḥ Soma pūrve karmāṇi chakruḥ pavamāna dhīrāḥ* | . . . . 12. *Yathā apavathāḥ Manave vayodhāḥ amitrahā varivovid havishmān* | *eva pavasva* . . . .

"For through thee, O pure Soma, our early fathers, who were wise, performed their rites . . . 12. As thou didst flow clear for Manu, thou upholder of life, destroyer of foes, possessor of wealth, rich in oblations, so (now) flow clear." . . . .

x. 63, 7. *Yebhyo hotrām prathamām āyeje Manuḥ samiddhāgnir manasā sapta hotṛibhiḥ* | *tā Ādityā abhayam śarma yachhata* . . . .

"O ye Ādityas, to whom Manu, when he had kindled fire, presented along with seven hotṛi priests the first oblation with a prayer, bestow on us secure protection."

x. 69, 3. "*Yat te Manur yad anīkam Sumitraḥ samīdhe Agne tad idam navīyaḥ*"[8] |

[8] The S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa (i. 4, 2, 5) thus explains the words *devaddho Manviddhah*:—*Manviddhaḥ iti* | *Manur hy etam agre ainddha* | *tasmād āha* "*Manviddhaḥ*" *iti* | "The gods formerly kindled it (fire): hence it is called 'god-kindled.' Manu formerly kindled it: and hence it is called 'kindled by Manu.'" The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (ii. 34), however, explains the word *Manv-iddhah* from the fact that "*men* kindle it" (*imam hi manushyā indhate*).

"That lustre of thine which Manu, which Sumitra, kindled is this same which is now renewed."

In conformity with the preceding texts, the following may be understood as declaring that the sacrificial fire had been first kindled by Manu:

i. 13, 4 (= S.V. ii. 700). *Agne sukhatame rathe devān īḷitaḥ ā vaha* | *asi hotā Manurhitaḥ* |

"O Agni, lauded, bring the gods hither in a most pleasant chariot. Thou art the invoker (of the gods) placed by Manush."[9]

i. 14, 11. *Tvam hotā Manurhito 'gne yajneshu sīdasi* | *saḥ imam no adhvaram yaja* |

"Thou, Agni, the invoker placed by Manush, art present at the sacrifices: do thou present this our oblation." (See also R.V. iii. 2, 15.)

vi. 16, 9. *Tvam hotā Manurhitaḥ* . . . .

"Thou art the invoker placed by Manush . . . ."

viii. 19, 21. *Īḷe girā Manurhitam yam devā dūtam aratim ni erire* | *yajishṭham havya-vāhanam* |

"With a hymn I laud that adorable bearer of oblations placed by Manush,[10] whom the gods have sent as a ministering messenger."

[9] The compound word which I have here rendered "placed by Manush" is in the original *Manur-hita*. Professor Aufrecht would render it "given to man," and quotes i. 36, 10, in support of this view. The sense I have given is supported by i. 36, 19, where the same root, *dhā*, from which *hita* (originally *dhita*) comes, is used, joined with the particle *ni*. The same participle *hita* is used in vi. 16, 1, where it is said: *Tvam Agne yajnānām hotā sarveshām hitaḥ* | *devebhir mānushe jane* | "Thou, Agni, hast been placed, or ordained, among the race of Manush by the gods as the invoker at all sacrifices." The fact that Agni is here said to have been placed by the gods among the race of Manush does not forbid us to suppose that there are other passages in which, either inconsistently, or from a different point of view, Agni may have been said to be placed by Manu. The compound *manur-hita* occurs also in the following texts, where, however, it has probably the sense of "good for man," viz.: i. 106, 5. *Bṛihaspate sadam id naḥ sugaṁ kṛidhi śaṁ yor yat te manur-hitam tad īmahe* | "Brihaspati, do us always good: we desire that blessing and protection of thine which is *good for man*." (Sāyana says that here *manur-hitam* means either "placed in thee by Manu, *i.e.*, Brahmā," or, "favourable to man." Benfey, in loco, renders "destined for man.") vi. 70, 2. *Rājantī asya bhuvanasya rodasī asme retaḥ sinchataṁ yad manur-hitam* | "Heaven and earth, ruling over this world, drop on us that seed which is *good for man*." x. 26, 5. *Ṛishiḥ sa yo manur-hitaḥ* | "He (Pūshan) who is a rishi *kind to man*," etc. Professor Roth *s.v.* gives only the latter sense.

[10] Though the word *manur-hita* is here interpreted by Sāyana as meaning "placed by Manu Prajāpati who sacrificed," it might also signify "friendly to men," as Agni is also said to have been sent by the gods.

viii. 34, 8. *Ā tvā hotā Manurhito devatrā vakshad īḍyaḥ* |

"May the adorable invoker placed by Manu bring thee (Indra) hither among the gods," etc.

There is also a class of passages in which the example of Manush may be referred to by the phrase *manush-vat*, "like Manush," or, "as in the case of Manush."[11] Thus in i. 44, 11, it is said:

Ni tvā yajnasya sādhanam Agne hotāram ṛitvijam manushvad deva dhīmahi . . . . |

"Divine Agni, we, like Manush, place thee, the accomplisher of the sacrifice, the invoker, the priest," etc.

v. 21, 1. *Manushvat tvā ni dhīmahi Manushvat sam idhīmahi* | *Agne Manushvad Angiro devān devayate yaja* |

"Agni, we place thee like Manush, we kindle thee like Manush. Agni, Angiras, worship the gods like Manush, for him who adores them."

vii. 2, 3. *Manushvad Agnim Manunā samiddham sam adhvarāya sadam in mahema* |

"Let us, like Manush, continually invoke to the sacrifice Agni who was kindled by Manu."

viii. 27, 7. *Suta-somāsa Varuṇa havāmahe Manushvad iddhāgnayaḥ* |

"We invoke thee, Varuṇa, having poured out soma, and having kindled fire, like Manush."

viii. 43, 13. *Uta tvā Bhṛiguvat śuche Manushvad Agne āhuta* | *Angirasvad havāmahe* | . . . . 27. *Yam tvā janāsa indhate Manushvad Angirastama* | *Agne sa bodhi me vachaḥ* |

"Like Bhṛigu, like Manush, like Angiras, we invoke thee, bright Agni, who hast been invoked. . . . . 27. Agni, most like to Angiras, whom men kindle like Manush, attend to my words."

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 5, 1, 7, explains thus the word *Manushvat*:[12]—*Manur ha vai agre yajnena īje* | *tad anukṛitya imāḥ prajāḥ ya-*

[11] I should observe that Prof. Aufrecht thinks the phrase—except perhaps with the single exception of viii. 43, 13—means "amongst men." Prof. Roth gives only the sense "like men," "as among, or for, men."

[12] The same work in the same passage thus explains the phrase *Bharata-vat*. "He bears (*bharati*) the oblation to the gods; wherefore men say, Bharata (or 'the bearer') is Agni. Or, he is called Bharata (the 'sustainer') because, being breath, he sustains these creatures." This phrase may, however, refer to the example of King Bharata. See S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 5, 4, 14.

jante | *tasmād āha* "*Manush-vad*" *iti* | "*Manor yajnaḥ*" *iti u vai āhuḥ* | *tasmād vā iva āhur* "*Manushvad*" *iti* | "Manu formerly sacrificed with a sacrifice. Imitating this, these creatures sacrifice. He therefore says, *Manushvat*, 'like Manu.' Or, they say 'like Manu,' because men speak of the sacrifice as being Manu's."

It must, however, be admitted that Manu is not always spoken of in the hymns of the first, or only, kindler of fire or celebrator of religious rites. In i. 80, 16, already quoted, Atharvan and Dadhyanch are specified along with him as having offered sacrifice in early times.

In the following verses Atharvan is mentioned as having generated fire:

vi. 16, 13. *Imam tu tyam Atharva-vad Agnim mathanti vedhasaḥ* |
"The wise draw forth this Agni, as Atharvan did."

vi. 16, 13 (= S. V. i. 9; Vāj. Sanh. xi. 32). *Tvām Agne pushkarād adhy Atharvā nir amanthata* . . . . | 14. *Tam u tvā Dadhyaññ ṛishiḥ putraḥ īdhe Atharvaṇaḥ* |

"Agni, Atharvan drew thee forth from the lotus leaf," etc. 14. "Thee the rishi Dadhyanch, son of Atharvan, kindled," etc.

[In the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, the first of these verses is immediately preceded by the following words (xi. 32): *Atharvā tvā prathamo nir amanthad Agne* | "Atharvan was the first who drew thee forth, Agni."]

Again it is said in the Rig-veda, x. 21, 5. *Agnir jāto Atharvaṇā vidad viśvāni kāvyā* | *bhuvad dūto Vivasvataḥ* | "Agni, produced by Atharvan, knows all wisdom, and has become the messenger of Vivaswat."

In i. 83, 5, Atharvan is mentioned as the earliest institutor of sacrifice: *Yajnair Atharvā prathamaḥ pathas tate tataḥ sūryo vratapāḥ venaḥ ājani* | "Atharvan was the first who by sacrifices opened up paths; then the friendly Sun, the upholder of ordinances, was produced," etc.: so too in x. 92, 10. *Yajnair Atharvā prathamo vi dhārayad devā dakshair Bhṛigavaḥ sam chikitrire* | "Atharvan, the first, established (all things) with sacrifices. The divine Bhṛigus co-operated with their powers." [13]

[13] These two texts might, though not very probably, be understood to mean not that Atharvan was the first to employ sacrifice, but to use it for the purpose referred to in the context.

The next texts speak of the Bhṛigus as the institutors of sacrifice by fire:

i. 58, 6. *Dadhus tvā Bhṛigavo mānusheshv ā rayim na chārum suhavam janebhyaḥ | hotāram Agne |*

"The Bhṛigus have placed thee, o Agni, among men, as an invoker, like a beautiful treasure, and easily invoked for men," etc.

ii. 4, 2. *Imam vidhanto apām sadasthe dvitā adadhur Bhṛigavo vikshu Āyoḥ |*

"Worshipping him (Agni) in the receptacle of waters, the Bhṛigus placed him among the people of Āyu."

x. 46, 2. *Imam vidhanto apām sadasthe paśum na nashṭam padair anu gman | guhā chatantam uśijo namobhir ichhanto dhīrā Bhṛigavo avindan |*

"Worshipping him in the receptacle of waters, and desiring him with prostrations, the wise and longing Bhṛigus followed him with their steps, like a beast who had been lost, and found him lurking in concealment"[14] (i. 65, 1).

In other places, the gods, as well as different sages, are mentioned as introducing or practising worship by fire, or as bringing down the sacred flame from heaven:

i. 36, 10. *Yam tvā devāso manave dadhur iha yajishṭham havyavāhana | yam Kaṇvo Medhyātithir dhanaspṛitam yam Vṛishā yam Upastutaḥ |*

"Thou, o bearer of oblations, whom the gods placed here as an object of adoration to man (or Manu); whom Kaṇva, whom Medhyātithi, whom Vṛishan, whom Upastuta (have placed) a bringer of wealth," etc. Compare vi. 16, 1, quoted above, p. 167, note 9.

iii. 5, 10. *Yadī Bhṛigubhyaḥ pari Mātariśvā guhā santam havyavāham samīdhe |*

"When Mātariśwan kindled for the Bhṛigus Agni, the bearer of oblations, who was in concealment."

x. 46, 9. *Dyāvā yam Agnim pṛithivī janishṭām āpas Tvashṭā Bhṛigavo yam sahobhiḥ | īḷenyam prathamam Mātariśvā devās tatakshur manave yajatram |*

"Mātariśwan and the gods have made, as the first adorable object of worship to man (or Manu), that Agni whom heaven and earth, whom

[14] In the following passages also the Bhṛigus are mentioned as connected with the worship of Agni: i. 71, 4; i. 127, 7; i. 143, 4; iii. 2, 4; iv. 7, 1; vi. 15, 2; viii. 43, 13; viii. 91, 4; x. 122, 5.

the waters, whom Tvashtṛi, whom the Bhṛigus, have generated by their powers."

In the 8th verse the Âyus, and in the 10th the gods, as well as men, are said to have placed Agni.

In i. 60, 1; i. 93, 6; i. 148, 1; iii. 2, 13; iii. 5, 10; iii. 9, 5; vi. 8, 4, Mātariśvan is again spoken of as the bringer or generator of fire. (Compare note 1, in p. 416, of my article "On Manu the progenitor of the Âryan Indians," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xx. for 1863.)

But to return to Manu. Although the distinction of having been the first to kindle fire is thus, in various passages, ascribed to Atharvan or the Bhṛigus, this does not disprove the fact that in other places, it is, somewhat inconsistently, assigned to Manu; and none of these other personages is ever brought forward as disputing with Manu the honour of having been the progenitor of the Aryan race. In this respect the Vedic tradition exhibits no variation, except that Yama also seems in some places to be represented as the first man. (See my article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1865, pp. 287 ff., and especially the words of the Atharva-veda, xviii. 3, 14. *Yo mamāra prathamo marttyānām* | "Who (Yama) died first of men.")

(III.) The following passages describe Manu as being the object of special favour or intervention on the part of some of the gods:

i. 112, 16. *Yābhir narā Śayave yābhir Atraye yābhiḥ purā Manave gātum īshathuḥ* | *yābhiḥ śārīr ājatam Syūmaraśmaye tābhir u shu ūtibhir Aśvinā gatam* | 18. . . . . *Yabhir Manum śūram ishā samāvatam* |

"Come, Aświns, with those succours, whereby, o heroes, ye effected deliverance for Śayu, for Atri, and formerly for Manu, whereby ye shot arrows for Syūmaraśmi. 18. . . . . whereby ye preserved the hero Manu with food."[15]

viii. 15, 5. *Yena jyotīṁshi Āyave Manave cha viveditha* | *mandāno asya barhisho vi rājasi* |

"Exulting in this (exhilaration), wherewith thou didst make known the luminaries to Âyu, and to Manu, thou art lord of the sacrificial grass."

[15] This passage, as far as it concerns Manu, is thus explained by Sāyaṇa: "And with those succours, whereby ye made a path, a road which was the cause of escape from poverty, by sowing barley and other kinds of grain, etc., for Manu, the royal rishi of that name; according to another text" (i. 117, 21).

When compared with the preceding verse it seems not improbable that the following text may refer to the same tradition, and that instead of *Vāyave* we should read *Āyave:*

vii. 91, 1. *Kuvid anga namasā ye vṛidhāsah purā devā anavadyāsaḥ āsan* | *te Vāyave* (*Āyave*?) *Manave bādhitāye avāsayan Ushasam Sūryena* |

"Certainly those gods who were magnified by worship were of old faultless. They displayed the dawn with the sun to Vāyu (Āyu ?), to Manu when distressed.

There is also a reference to the sky being displayed to Manu in the following verse, unless the word (*manu*) is to be there taken as an epithet of Purūravas, which does not seem a probable supposition:

i. 31, 4. *Tvam Agne Manave dyām avāśayaḥ Purūravase sukṛite sukṛittaraḥ* |

"Thou, Agni, didst display the sky to Manu, to the beneficent Purūravas, (thyself) more beneficent."

If Manu be taken for a proper name in vii. 91, 1, it may reasonably be understood in the same way in vi. 49, 13, where the person referred is similarly spoken of as distressed:

vi. 49, 13. *Yo rajāṁsi vimame pārthivāni triś chid Vishṇur Manave bādhitāya* |

"Vishṇu who thrice measured the terrestrial regions for Manu when distressed."

And in that case the word Manu may perhaps also be taken to denote a person in vii. 100, 4, *Vichakrame pṛithivīm esha etām kshetrāya Vishṇur Manave daśasyan* | "This Vishṇu strode over this earth, bestowing it on Manu for an abode." Although here the general sense of "man" would make an equally good sense.

I may introduce here another text in which, from its conjunction with other proper names, it must be held that the word Manu denotes a person.

i. 139, 9. *Dadhyaṅ ha me janusham pūrvo Angirāḥ Priyamedhaḥ Kaṇvo Atrir Manur vidus te me pūrve Manur viduḥ* |

"Dadhyanch, the ancient Angiras, Priyamedha, Kaṇva, Atri, Manu, know my (Paruchhepa's?) birth; they, my predecessors, Manu, know it.'

There are, as we have seen, some passages in the hymns in which it is doubtful whether the words *manu* and *manush* denote an

individual, or stand for man in general; and there are also texts in which the latter sense is clearly the only one that can be assigned. Such are the following:

(1.) *Manu* in the singular:

i. 130, 5. . . . . *Dhenur iva manave viśvadohaso janāya viśvadohasaḥ* |

"All-productive as a cow to *man*, all-productive to a person."

v. 2, 12. *Barhishmate manave śarma yaṁsad havishmate manave śarma yaṁsat* |

"That he may bestow protection on the *man* who sacrifices, on the *man* who offers oblations."

viii. 47, 4. *Manor viśvasya gha id ime Ādityāḥ rāya īśate* . . . . |

"These Âdityas are lords of every *man's* riches" . . . .

(2.) *Manu* in the plural:

viii. 18, 22. *Ye chid hi mṛityubandhavaḥ Ādityāḥ manavaḥ smasi* | *pra su naḥ āyur jīvase tiretana* |

"O ye Âdityas, prolong the days of us who are *men* who are of kin to death, that we may live."

x. 91, 9. *Yad devayanto dadhati prayāṁsi te havishmanto manavo vṛikta-barhishaḥ* |

"When these pious *men* sacrificing, and spreading the sacrificial grass, offer thee oblations."

(3.) *Manush* in the singular:

i. 167, 7. *Guhā charantī manusho na yoshā* |

"Like the wife of a *man* moving secretly."

vii. 70, 2. . . . *atāpi gharmo manusho duroṇe* |

"Fire has been kindled in the *man's* abode."

The same phrase *manusho duroṇe* occurs also in viii. 76, 2; x. 40, 13; x. 104, 4; x. 110, 1. In x. 99, 7, we find the words *druhvaṇe manushe*, "against the injurious man."

(4.) *Manush* in the plural:

iv. 6, 11. *Hotāram Agnim manusho nishedur namasyanta uśijaḥ śaṁsam āyoḥ* |

"*Men* offering worship, and eager, attend upon Agni the invoker, the object of man's (or Âyu's) praises."

In the following passages, if the word *Manu* is not to be understood as denoting a person, the progenitor of men, it seems, at all events, to designate his descendants, the favoured race to which the authors of

the hymns believed themselves to belong, and appears to be in some cases at least nearly synonymous with Ârya, the name by which they called men of their own stock and religion, in contradistinction to the Dasyus, a term by which we are either to understand hostile demons, or the rude aboriginal tribes:

i. 130, 8. *Indraḥ samatsu yajamânam âryam prâvad viśveshu śatamûtir âjishu* . . . . | *manave śâsad avratân tvacham krishṇâm arandhayat* |[16]

"Indra who bestows a hundred succours in all conflicts . . . . has preserved the Ârya in the fights. Chastising the lawless, he has subjected the black skin to the man (*manave*)."

Compare i. 117, 21, where instead of *manu*, or *manush*, the word *manusha* is employed:

Yavaṁ vrikeṇa Aśvinâ vapantâ isham duhantâ manushâya dasrâ | *abhi dasyum bakureṇa dhamantâ uru jyotiś chakrathur âryâya* |

"Sowing barley with the wolf, ye, o potent Aśvins, milking out food for *man* (*manusha*), blowing away the Dasyu with the thunderbolt(?), have made a broad light for the Ârya."[17]

i. 175, 3. *Tvam hi śûraḥ sanitâ chodayo manusho ratham* | *sahâvân dasyum avratam oshaḥ pâtram na śochishâ* |

"Thou, a hero, a benefactor, hast impelled the chariot of *man*: victorious, thou hast burnt up the rite-less Dasyu, as a vessel is consumed by a blaze."

ii. 20, 6. *Sa ha śruta Indro nâma deva ûrddhvo bhuvad manushe dasmatamaḥ* | *ava priyam arśasânasya sahvân śiro bharad dâsasya svadhâvân* | 7. *Sa vrittrahâ Indraḥ krishṇayonîḥ purandaro dâsîr airayad vi* | *ajanayad manave kshâm apaścha satrâ śaṁsam yajamânasya tûtot* |

"The god renowned as Indra hath arisen most mighty for the sake of *man*. Violent, self-reliant, he has smitten down the dear head of the destructive Dâsa. 7. Indra, the slayer of Vrittra, the destroyer of cities, has scattered the Dasyu (hosts) sprung from a black womb. He

16 A similar opposition between the word *âyu*, "man," and *dasyu* is to be noted in the following passage, vi. 14, 3: *nânâ hi Agne avase spardhante râyo aryaḥ* | *turvanto dasyum âyavo vrataiḥ sîkshanto avratam* | "In various ways, o Agni, the riches of the enemy emulously hasten to the help (of thy worshippers). The men destroy the Dasyu, and seek by rites to overcome the riteless."

17 See Prof. Roth's explanation of this passage as given in a note to the article on Manu the progenitor of the Aryan Indians, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xx. p. 418.

has produced for *man* the earth[18] and the waters; he has perfectly fulfilled the aspiration of his worshipper."

vi. 21, 11. *Nu me ā vācham upa yāhi vidvān viśvebhiḥ sūno sahaso yajatraiḥ | ye agnijihvāḥ ṛitasāpaḥ āsur ye manum chakrur uparam dasāya |*

"Do thou, o wise god, son of strength, approach my hymn with all the adorable (deities), who were fire-tongued, rite-frequenting, and made *man* superior to the Dāsa."

viii. 87, 5. *Abhi hi satya somapāḥ ubhe babhūtha rodasī | Indrāsi sunvato vṛidhaḥ patir divaḥ | 6. Tvam hi śaśvatīnām Indra dartā purām asi | hantā dasyor manor vṛidhaḥ patir divaḥ |*

"5. For thou, o true soma-drinker, hast overcome both worlds. Indra, thou art the prosperer of him who makes libations, the lord of the sky. 6. Thou, Indra, art the destroyer of all the cities, the slayer of the Dasyu, the prosperer of *man*, the lord of the sky."

ix. 92, 5. *Tan nu satyam pavamānasya astu yatra viśve kāravaḥ samnasanta | jyotir yad ahne akṛiṇod u lokam prāvad manum dasyave kar abhīkam |*

"Let this be the true (abode) of the pure god (Soma) where all the sages have assembled; since he has made light and space for the day, has protected man, and repelled the Dasyu."

x. 49, 7. *Yad mā sāvo manushaḥ āha nirṇije ṛidhak kṛishe dāsaṁ kṛitvyam hathaiḥ |*

"When the libation of *man* calls me to splendour, I tear in pieces (?) with blows the vigorous Dāsa."

x. 73, 7. *Tvam jaghantha Namuchim makhasyum dāsam kṛiṇvānaḥ ṛishaye vimāyam | tvam chakartha manave syonān patho devatrā anjasā iva yānān |*

"Thou hast slain the lusty Namuchi, making the Dāsa bereft of magic against the rishi: thou made for man beautiful paths leading as it were straightway to the gods."

It is to be observed that in none of these passages is the Brahmanical, or any other, caste singled out as having been the special object of divine protection. Men, or Āryas, are the favourites of the gods. And

[18] In iv. 26, 7, Indra says: "*Aham bhūmim adadām āryāya aham vṛishṭim dāśushe martyāya |* "I gave the earth to the Ārya; I gave rain to the sacrificing mortal."

even in such hymns as R.V. i. 112; i. 116; i. 117; i. 119, etc., where the Aśvins are celebrated as having interposed for the deliverance of many of their worshippers, whose names are there specified, we are nowhere informed that any of these were Brāhmans, although reference is often made to their being rishis.[19]

There is one other text of considerable interest and importance, R.V. iii. 34, 9, which, although it is unconnected with Manu, may be here cited, as it connects the word *ārya* with the term *varṇa*, "colour," which in later times came to signify "caste," as applied to the Brāhmans and other classes. It is this:

Sasānātyān uta sūryaṁ sasāna Indraḥ sasāna purubhojasaṁ gām |
hiraṇyayam uta bhogaṁ sasāna hatvī dasyūn pra āryaṁ varṇam āvat |

"Indra bestowed horses, he bestowed the sun, he bestowed the many-nourishing cow, he bestowed golden wealth: having slain the Dasyu, he protected the Āryan colour."

It is to be observed that here the word *varṇa* is used in the singular. Thus all the persons coming under the designation of Ārya, are included under one class or colour, not several.[20]

We shall see in the next chapter that, irrespective of the verse of the Purusha Sūkta, there are in the Rig-veda Sanhitā a few texts in which the Brāhmans are mentioned alone of all the four castes, without any distinct reference being found anywhere to the second class as Rājanyas, or Kshattriyas, or to the third and fourth as Vaiśyas and Śūdras.

In the mean time I shall advert to some other phrases which are employed in the hymns, either to denote mankind in general, or to signify certain national or tribal divisions. The most important of these is that of the "five tribes," who are frequently referred to under the appellations of *pancha-krishṭayaḥ*, *pancha-kshitayaḥ*, *pancha-kshitayo mānushyyaḥ* (vii. 97, 1), *pancha-charshaṇayaḥ*, *pancha-janāḥ*, *pānchajanyā viś* (viii. 52, 7), *pancha bhūma* (vii. 69, 2), *pancha jātā* (vi. 61, 12).[21]

[19] See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, pp. 7 ff.

[20] Sāyaṇa, indeed, interprets the word *āryam varṇam* by *uttamam varṇaṁ traivarṇikam* | "the most excellent class consisting of the three upper castes;" but he of course explains according to the ideas of his own age. In the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇva S'ākhā (Adhvara Kāṇḍa, i. 6) it is stated that the upper three castes only were Āryas and fit to offer sacrifice (*ārya eva brāhmaṇo vā kshattriyo vā vaiśyo vā te hi yajniyāḥ*) see Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, p. 281.

[21] In iii. 49, 1, mention is made not of the five tribes, but of *all* the tribes: *S'aṁsa*

Some of these terms are occasionally used of the gods, as in x. 53, 4: *ūrjāda uta yajniyāsaḥ panchajanā mama hotram jushadhvam* | "Ye five tribes who eat (sacrificial) food, and are worthy of adoration, receive my oblation with favour."[22]

On this verse Yāska remarks, Nirukta, iii. 8: "*Gandharvāḥ pitaro devā asurā rakshāṁsi*" *ity eke* | "*chatvāro varṇā nishādaḥ panchamaḥ*" *ity Aupamanyavaḥ* | "Some say the word denotes the Gandharvas, fathers, gods, asuras, and rakshases. Aupamanyava says it denotes the four castes and the Nishādas."[23]

If Aupamayava was right, the Nishādas also were admissible to the worship of the gods in the Vedic age, as the "five classes" are represented in various texts as votaries of Agni. Such are the following:

vi. 11, 4. *Āyuṁ na yaṁ namasā rātahavyāḥ anjanti suprayasam pancha janāḥ* |

"Agni, whom, abounding in oblations, the five tribes, bringing offerings, honour with prostrations, as if he were a man."

Sāyaṇa here defines the five tribes as "priests and offerers of sacrifices" (*ṛitvig-yajamāna-lakshanāḥ*).

ix. 65, 22. *Ye somāsaḥ* . . *sunvire* . . | 23. *Ye vā janeshu panchasu* |

mahām Indraṁ yasmin viśvā ā kṛishṭayaḥ somapāḥ kāmam avyan | "Praise the great Indra, in whom all the tribes drinking soma have obtained their desire."

[22] Compare x. 60, 4. "In whose worship Ikshvāku prospers, wealthy and foe-destroying, like the five tribes in the sky (*divīva pancha kṛishṭayaḥ*). Sāyaṇa, however, renders "His five tribes (the four castes and the Nishūdas) are as (happy as) if in heaven." Prof. Müller, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, p. 462, renders, "as the five tribes in heaven."

[23] In his note on this passage in his "Illustrations of the Nirukta," p. 28, Prof. Roth remarks: "The conception of the five races which originally comprehended all mankind . . . is here transferred to the totality of the divine beings. Hence also arises the diversity of understanding, when the number has to be indicated." Prof. Roth then quotes part of Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 31, which I give a little more fully from Dr. Haug's edition: *Pānchajanyaṁ vai etad ukthaṁ yad vaiśvadevam* | *sarveshāṁ vai etat panchajanānām uktham deva-manushyāṇāṁ gandharvāpsarasāṁ sarpāṇāṁ cha pitṛiṇāṁ cha* | *eteshāṁ vai etat panchajanānām uktham* | *sarve enam panchajanā viduḥ* | *ā enam panchinyai janatāyai havino gachhanti ya evaṁ veda* | "This Vaiśvadeva uktha belongs to the five classes of beings. It belongs to all the five classes of gods, men, gandharvas and apsarases, serpents, and fathers. To these five classes belongs this uktha. All these five classes know him (who uses it). Those of this five-fold set of beings who are skilled in invocation come to the man who knows this." See Dr. Haug's Ait. Br. ii. 214, where it is said that Gandharvas and Apsarases are counted as one class.

"Or those soma-libations which have been poured out . . (23) among the five tribes."

x. 45, 6. *Vīluṁ chid adrim abhinat parāyan janāḥ yad agnim ayajanta pancha* |

"He (Agni), travelling afar, clove even the strong mountain, when the five tribes worshipped Agni."

vii. 15, 2. *Yaḥ pancha charshaṇīr abhi nishasāda dame dame* | *kavir gṛihapatir yuvā* |

"The wise and youthful master of the house (Agni) who has taken up his abode among the five tribes in every house."

In vi. 61, 12, Sarasvatī is spoken of as "augmenting or prospering the five tribes" (*pancha jātā vardhayantī*).

In viii. 52, 7, it is said: *Yat pānchajanyayā viśā Indre ghoshāḥ asṛikshata* | "When shouts were uttered to Indra by the people of the five tribes," etc.

In R.V. i. 117, 3, Atri is styled *ṛishim pāñchajanyam*, "a rishi belonging to the five tribes." In v. 32, 11, the epithet *satpatiḥ pāñchajanyaḥ*, "the good lord of the five tribes," is applied to Indra. And in ix. 66, 20, Agni is called the purified rishi, the priest of the five tribes (*pāñchajayaḥ purohitaḥ*).[34]

In other passages, however, it is far from clear that the "five races" are intended to be identified with the Aryas, or people of honourable race, to whom the authors of the hymns belonged. Such, perhaps, is the case in the following verse: ii. 2, 10. *Asmākaṁ dyumnam adhi pancha kṛishṭishu uchchā svar na śuśuchīta dushṭaram* | "May our glory shine aloft among the five tribes, like the heaven unsurpassable." See also vi. 46, 7, to be quoted below.

On the same subject, Professor Roth remarks as follows in his Lexicon under the word *kṛishṭi*: "The phrase *five races* is a designation of all nations, not merely of the Aryyan tribes. It is an ancient enumeration, of the origin of which we find no express explanation in the Vedic texts. We may compare the fact that the cosmical spaces or points of the compass are frequently enumerated as *five*, especially in

[34] See Mahābhārata, iii. 14160, as referred to by Roth under *jana*, where the birth of a being of five colours, apparently a form of Agni, is described, who was generated by five rishis, and who was known as the god of the five tribes (*pānchajanya*) and the producer of five races.

the following text of the A.V. iii. 24, 2: *imā yāḥ pancha pradiśo mānavīḥ pancha kṛishṭayaḥ* | 'these five regions; the five tribes sprung from Manu'; among which (regions) we should have here to reckon as the fifth the one lying in the middle (*dhruvā dik*, A.V. iv. 14, 8; xviii. 3, 34), that is, to regard the Aryyas as the central point, and round about them the nations of the four regions of the world. . . . . According to the Vedic usage, five cannot be considered as designating an indefinite number."

We cannot therefore regard the use of the term "five races" as affording any evidence of the existence of a rigidly defined caste-system at the period when it was in frequent use. The frequent reference to such a division, which fell into disuse in later times, rather proves the contrary. The caste-system was always a quadruple, not a quintuple, one; and although the Nishādas are added by Aupamanyava as a fifth division of the population, this class was esteemed too degraded to allow us to suppose that they could ever have formed part of a universally recognized five-fold division, of which all the parts appear to be regarded as standing on an equal, or nearly equal, footing.

It is supposed by Dr. Kuhn[25] that the "five tribes" are to be identified with the clans whose names are mentioned in the following verse:

i. 108, 8. *Yad Indrāgnī Yadushu Turvaśeshu yad Druhyushv Anushu Pūrushu sthaḥ* | *ataḥ pari vṛishaṇāv ā hi yātam athā somasya pibatam sutasya* |

"If, o Indra and Agni, ye are abiding among the Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, Anus, Pūrus,—come hither, vigorous heroes, from all quarters, and drink the Soma which has been poured out."

Although, however, these tribes are often mentioned separately in the Rig-veda, this is either the only, or almost the only, text in which they are all connected with one another. Their identity with the "five classes" is therefore doubtful.

There is another word employed in the Rig-veda to designate a race well known to the authors of the hymns, viz., *nahush*. We have already met with this term in a verse (x. 80, 6) I have quoted above, where it appears clearly to denote a tribe distinct from the descendants of Manush; and the adjective derived from it occurs in vi. 46, 7 (=

[25] See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 202, where Dr. Kuhn's paper in the Hall. Allg. Lit. Z. for 1846, p. 1086, is referred to.

S.V. i. 262), where also the tribes of Nahush appear to be discriminated from the five tribes, whoever these may be supposed to be. The words are these: *Yad Indra nāhushīshv ā ojo nṛimṇaṁ cha kṛishṭishu | yad vā pancha kshitīnāṁ dyumnam ā bhara satrā viśvāni pauṁsyā |* "Indra, whatever force or vigour exists in the tribes of Nahush, or whatever glory belongs to the five races, bring it (for us); yea all manly energies together."

Professor Roth (see his Lexicon, s. v.) regards the people designated by the word *nahush* as denoting men generally, but with the special sense of stranger, or neighbour, in opposition to members of the speaker's own community; and he explains the words of x. 80, 6, twice referred to above, as signifying "the sons of our own people, and of those who surround us."

These descendants of Nahush, whoever they may have been, are, however, distinctly spoken of in x. 80, 6 (the passage just adverted to), as worshippers of Agni, and can scarcely, therefore, have been regarded by the Aryas as altogether aliens from their race and worship.

Setting aside, as before, the Purusha Sūkta, there are few distinct references in the hymns of the Rig-veda to the creation of men, and none at all to the separate creation of castes. The following text ascribes the generation of mankind to Agni, R.V. i. 96, 2: *Sa pūrvayā nividā kavyatā āyor imāḥ prajāḥ ajanayad manūnām | vivasvatā chakshasā dyām apaś cha devā Agniṁ dhārayan draviṇodām |* "By the first nivid, by the wisdom of Āyu, he (Agni) created these children of men; by his gleaming light the earth and the waters: the gods sustained Agni the giver of riches."[36]

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa introduces this verse by the following passage: *Prajāpatir vai idam eka eva agre āsa | so 'kāmayata "prajāyeya bhūyān syām" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | sa vācham ayachhat | sa saṁvatsarasya parastād vyāharad dvādaśa kṛitvaḥ | dvādaśapadā vai eshā nivit | etām vāva tām nividaṁ vyāharat | tāṁ sarvāṇi bhūtāny anvasṛijyanta | tad etad ṛishiḥ paśyann abhyanūvacha "sa pūrvayā" ityādinā |* "Prajāpati alone was formerly this universe. He desired 'may I be propagated, and multiplied.' He practised austere fervour. He suppressed his voice. After a year he spoke twelve times. This nivid

[36] See Dr. Haug's translation in his Ait. Br. ii. 143; and Benfey's German version in his Orient und Occident, ii. 512.

consists of twelve words. This nivid he uttered. After it all beings were created. Beholding this the rishi uttered this verse, 'by the first nivid,'" etc.

The generation of "creatures" (*prajāḥ*) is ascribed in various texts to different gods, in iii. 55, 19[27] to Tvashṭṛi Savitṛi; in ix. 86, 28 to Soma; in viii. 85, 6 (*ya imā jajāna viśvā jātāni*) to Indra. In x. 54, 3 Indra is said to have "generated the father and mother (heaven and earth) from his own body" (*yan mātaraṁ cha pitaraṁ cha sākam ajanayathās tanvaḥ svāyāḥ*); while Viśvakarman, who in x. 81, 2, 3 is said to have generated heaven and earth, is also in x. 82, 3 called "our father and generator" (*yo naḥ pitā janitā*). All these passages are, however, too vague to afford us any insight into the ideas of their authors regarding the creation of the human race.

SECT. II.—*Legends and Notices regarding Manu from the Satapatha, Aitareya, and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas, the Taittirīya Sanhitā, and the Chhāndogya Upanishad.*

The first passage which I adduce contains the very important legend of the deluge, which has already been quoted in the 2nd vol. of this work, pp. 324 ff., and which has also been rendered into English by Professor Max Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 425 ff.) and by Professor M. Williams (Ind. Epic Poetry, p. 34), as well as into German by its earliest translator, Professor Weber, in the year 1849 (Ind. Studien, i. 163 f.).

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 8, 1, 1. *Manave ha vai prātar avanegyam udakam ājahrur yathā idam pāṇibhyām avanejanāya āharanti | evaṁ tasya avanenijānasya matsyaḥ pāṇī āpede* | 2. *Sa ha asmai vācham uvāda "bibhṛihi mā pārayishyāmi tvā" iti | "kasmād mā pārayishyasi" iti | "aughaḥ imāḥ sarvāḥ prajāh nirvoḍhā tatas tvā pārayitāsmi" iti | "Katham te bhṛitir" iti* | 3. *Sa ha uvācha "yāvad vai kshullakāḥ bhavāmo bahvī vai nas tāvad nāshṭrā bhavaty uta matsya eva matsyam gilati | kumbhyāṁ mā agre bibharāsi | sa yadā tām ativardhā atha karshūm khātvā tasyāṁ mā bibharāsi | sa yadā tām ativardhā atha mā samudram abhyavaharāsi | tarhi vai atināshṭro bhavitāsmi" iti* | 4. *S'aśvad*[28] *ha*

[27] Perhaps, however, we are to understand Tvashṭṛi's function of aiding in procreation to be here referred to.

[28] *S'aśvat-śabdo 'tra sāmarthyāt kshipra-vachanaḥ.*—Comm.

jhasha[29] *âsa sa hi jyeshṭham*[30] *vardhate* | "*atha itithîm samâm tad aughaḥ âgantâ tad mâ nâvam upakalpya upâsâsai* | *sa aughe utthite nâvam âpadyâsai tatas tvâ pârayitâsmi*" *iti* | 5. *Tam evam bhṛitvâ samudram abhyavajahâra* | *sa yatithîm tat samâm paridideśa tatithîṁ samâm nâvam upakalpya upâsâñchakre* | *sa aughe utthite nâvam âpede* | *tam sa matsyaḥ upanyâpupluve* | *tasya śṛiṅge nâvaḥ pâśaṁ pratimumocha* | *tena etam uttaram girim*[31] *atidudrâva*[32] | 6. *Sa ha uvâcha* "*apîparam vai tvâ vṛikshe nâvam pratibadhnîshva* | *taṁ tu tvâ mâ girau santam udakam antaśchhait-sîd yâvad yâvad udakaṁ samavâyât tâvat tâvad anvavasarpâsi*" *iti* | *Sa ha tâvat tâvad eva anvavasasarpa* | *tad api etad uttarasya girer* "*Manor avasarpaṇam*" *iti* | *augho ha tâḥ sarvâḥ prajâḥ niruvâha atha iha Manur eva ekaḥ pariśiśishe* | 7. *Saḥ archan śrâmyaṁś chachâra prajâkâmaḥ* | *tatra api pâka-yajnena îje* | *sa ghṛitam dadhi mastv âmikshâm ity apsu juhuvâñchakâra* | *tataḥ saṁvatsare yoshit sambabhûva* | *sâ ha pibdamânâ*[33] *iva udeyâya* | *tasyai ha sma ghṛitaṁ pade santishṭhate* | *tayâ Mitrâ-Varuṇau sanjagmâte* | 8. *Tâṁ ha ûchatuḥ* "*kâ asi*" *iti* | "*Manor duhitâ*" *iti* | "*âvayor brûshva*" *iti* | "*na*" *iti ha uvâcha* "*yaḥ eva mâm ajîjanata tasya eva aham asmi*" *iti* | *tasyâm apitvam*[34] *îshâte* | *tad vâ jajnau tad vâ na jajnâv*[35] *ati tu eva iyâya* | *sâ Manum âjagâma* | 9. *Tâm ha Manur uvâcha* "*kâ asi*" *iti* | "*tava duhitâ*" *iti* | "*katham bhagavati mama duhitâ*" *iti* | "*yâḥ amûr apsu âhutîr ahaushîr ghṛitaṁ dadhi mastv âmikshâṁ tato mâm ajîjanathâḥ* | *sâ âśîr asmi tâm mâ yajne avakalpaya* | *yajne ched vai mâ avakalpayishyasi bahuḥ prajayâ paśubhir bhavishyasi yâm u mayâ kâñcha âśisham âśâsishyase sâ te sarvâ samardhishyate*" *iti* | *tâm etad madhye yajnasya avâkalpayat* | *madhyaṁ hi etad yajnasya yad antarâ prayâjânuyâjân* | 10. *Tayâ archan śrâmyaṁś chachâra prajâkâmaḥ* | *tayâ imâm prajâtim prajajne yâ iyam Manoḥ prajâtiḥ* | *yâm u enayâ kâñcha âśisham âśâsta sâ asmai sarvâ samârdhyata* | *sâ eshâ nidânena yad Iḍâ* | *sa yo ha evam vidvân Iḍayâ charati etâm ha eva prajâtim prajâyate yâm Manuḥ prâjâyata* | *yâm u enayâ kâñcha âśisham âśâste sâ asmai sarvâ samṛidhyate* |

"1. In the morning they brought to Manu water for washing, as

[29] *Jhasho mahâ-matsyaḥ.*—Comm.

[30] *Jyeshṭham vṛiddhatamam.*—Comm.

[31] *Uttaram girim Himavantam.*—Comm.

[32] Some MSS. read *adhidudrâva.*

[33] *Pibdamânâ . . . ghṛita-prabhavatvât ghṛitam sravantî susnigdhâ udakâd utthitâ.*—Comm.

[34] *Apitvam bhâgaḥ* | *tam prârthitavantau.*—Comm.

[35] *Pratijnâtavatî cha na cha pratijnâtavatî.*—Comm.

men are in the habit of bringing it to wash with the hands. As he was thus washing, a fish[36] came into his hands, (2) (which spake to him) 'preserve me; I shall save thee.' (Manu enquired) 'From what wilt thou save me?' (The fish replied) 'A flood shall sweep away all these creatures;[37] from it I will rescue thee.' (Manu asked) 'How (shall) thy preservation (be effected)?' 3. The fish said: 'So long as we are small, we are in great peril, for fish devours fish; thou shalt preserve me first in a jar. When I grow too large for the jar, then thou shalt dig a trench, and preserve me in that. When I grow too large for the trench, then thou shalt carry me away to the ocean. I shall then be beyond the reach of danger.' 4. Straightway he became a large fish; for he waxes to the utmost. (He said) 'Now in such and such a year, then the flood will come; thou shalt, therefore, construct a ship, and resort to me; thou shalt embark in the ship when the flood rises, and I shall deliver thee from it.' 5. Having thus preserved the fish, Manu carried him away to the sea. Then in the same year which the fish had enjoined, he constructed a ship and resorted to him. When the flood rose, Manu embarked in the ship. The fish swam towards him. He fastened the cable of the ship to the fish's horn. By this means he passed over[38] this northern mountain.[39] 6. The fish said, 'I have delivered thee; fasten the ship to a tree. But lest the water should cut thee off whilst thou art on the mountain, as much as the water subsides, so much shalt thou descend after it.' He accordingly descended after it as much (as it subsided). Wherefore also this, viz., 'Manu's descent' is (the name) of the northern mountain. Now the flood had swept away all these creatures; so Manu alone was left here. 7. Desirous of offspring, he lived worshipping and toiling in arduous religious rites. Among these he also sacrificed with the *pāka* offering. He cast clarified butter, thickened milk, whey and curds, as an oblation into the waters. Thence in a year a woman was produced. She rose

[36] *Bhāvino'rthasya siddhyarthaṁ devatā eva matsya-rūpeṇa ājagāma* | "To accomplish what was to follow, it was a deity which came in the form of a fish."—Comm.

[37] *Aughaḥ udaka-sanghātaḥ* | *sa imāḥ Bharatavarsha-nivāsinīḥ prajāḥ niḥśeshaṁ vodhā* | *deśāntaram prāpayitā* | "The flood will entirely carry these creatures abiding in Bharatavarsha;—will convey them to another country."—Comm.—I do not see why the verb *nirvoḍhā* should have the sense here assigned to it: at all events we are afterwards told that Manu alone was left after the flood.

[38] Or, if *adhidudrāva* be the true reading, "he hastened to."

[39] The Himavat or Himālaya, according to the Commentator.

up as it were unctuous.[40] Clarified butter adheres to her steps. Mitra and Varuṇa met her. They said to her, 'Who art thou?' 'Manu's daughter,' (she replied). 'Say (thou art) ours,' (they rejoined). 'No,' she said, 'I am his who begot me.' They desired a share in her. She promised that, or she did not promise that; but passed onward. She came to Manu. 9. Manu said to her, 'Who art thou?' 'Thy daughter,' she replied. 'How, glorious one,' asked Manu, '(art thou) my daughter?' 'Thou hast generated me,' she said, 'from those oblations, butter, thick milk, whey and curds, which thou didst cast into the waters. I am a benediction. Apply me in the sacrifice. If thou wilt employ me in the sacrifice, thou shalt abound in offspring and cattle. Whatever benediction thou wilt ask through me, shall accrue to thee.' He (accordingly) introduced her (as) that (which comes in) the middle of the sacrifice; for that is the middle of the sacrifice which (comes) between the introductory and concluding forms. 10. With her he lived worshipping and toiling in arduous religious rites, desirous of offspring. With her he begot[41] this offspring which is this offspring of Manu.[42] Whatever benediction he asked with her, was all vouchsafed to him. This is essentially that which is Iḍā. Whosoever, knowing this, lives with Iḍā, begets this offspring which Manu begot. Whatever benediction he asks with her, is all vouchsafed to him."

[40] Such is the rendering of *pibdamānā* given by the Commentator, who is followed by Professors Weber and Müller. Professor Roth in his Lexicon, *s.v.*, explains it by "firm," *i.e.* "the woman arose solid out of the fluid mass."

[41] I should observe that the same verb (*prajajne*) by which the generative act of Manu is here described, is in other passages of the same Brāhmaṇa (ii. 2, 4, 1; ii. 5, 1, 1; vi. 1, 1, 8; vi. 1, 3, 1; vii. 5, 2, 6; xi. 5, 8, 1) applied in another tense to the god Prajāpati, of whom it is said that he considered how he should *beget* progeny (*sa aikshata 'katham nu prajāyeya*). (Compare xi. 1, 6, 1.) In other parts of the same work, however, it is said that Prajāpati *created* (*asṛijata*) the waters (vi. 1, 1, 9), or creatures (*prajāḥ asṛijata*, vii. 4, 3, 5; x. 2, 2, 1); and the fact of the word "beget" being applied to Prajāpati, either in a figurative, or anthropomorphic sense, does not authorize us to suppose that the author of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, in the passage before us (the legend of the deluge), intended to represent Manu as the creator of the human race, and not as their progenitor in the natural sense. (In R.V. ii. 33, 1; vi. 70, 3, we find the phrase *prajāyemahi prajābhiḥ* | *pra prajābhir jāyate* | "let us beget children," "he begets children.")

[42] Compare Taitt. Sanhitā, v. 1, 5, 6. "*S'ivo bhava prajābhyām*" *ity āha prajābhya eva enam śamayati* | "*mānushībhyas tvām angiraḥ*" *ity āha mānavyo hi prajāḥ* | "He says, 'be auspicious to the twain offspring;' for he pacifies him from (injuring) the offspring. He says, '(We pacify) thee from (injuring) the human offspring, Angiras.' For creatures are descended from Manu."

From this interesting legend we learn that, according to its author's belief, Manu was not the creator of mankind, as some later accounts considered him to have been, but himself belonged to an earlier race of living beings, which was entirely destroyed by the deluge which is described. The legend regards him as a representative of his generation, who, for some reason, perhaps his superior wisdom, or sanctity, or position, was selected out of the crowd of ordinary mortals to be rescued from the impending destruction. That he was regarded as a mere man, and not as a being of a superior order, is shown by the fact of his requiring the aid of a higher power to preserve him. A supernatural fish, apparently some divine person, conceived as taking the form of a creature which would be perfectly secure and at home in the midst of the raging waters, undertook to deliver him, and guided the ship on which he was directed to embark, through all dangers to its destined haven. No one but Manu took refuge in the ship, for he alone, the story expressly records, was preserved, while all the other living beings were overwhelmed. Finding himself the sole surviver when the waters subsided, he became desirous of progeny; and with intense devotion performed certain religious rites in the hope of realizing his wish through their efficacy. As a result of his oblations, a woman arose from the waters into which they had been cast. A male and a female now existed, the destined parents of a new race of men who sprang from their union, — a union the fruitfulness of which was assured by their assiduous practice of sacred ceremonies. From Manu and Iḍā, we are expressly told, the race known as that of Manu, *i.e.* the race of men, was produced. The legend says nothing whatever of this race being originally characterized by any distinction of castes, or about four sons, the ancestors of Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras being born to Manu and Iḍā. We must therefore suppose that the author of the legend intends to represent the early race of mankind, or at least the first inhabitants of Bharatavarsha, as descended from one common progenitor without any original varieties of caste, however different the professions and social position of their descendants afterwards became. We are consequently entitled to regard this legend of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as at variance with the common fable regarding the separate origin of the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras.

The following are some other passages in which Manu and Iḍā are both referred to:

Taitt. S. ii. 6, 7, 1. *Manuḥ prithivyāḥ yajniyam aichhat | sa ghritaṁ nishiktam avindat | so 'bravīt "ko 'sya īśvaro yajne 'pi karttor" iti | tāv abrūtām Mitrā-Varuṇau "gor eva āvām īśvarau karttoḥ svaḥ" iti | tau tato gāṁ samairayatām | sā yatra yatra nyakrāmat tato ghritam apīḍyata | tasmād ghritapadī uchyate | tad asyai janma | . . . . 3. Iḍām upahvayate | paśavo vai Iḍā | paśūn eva upahvayate | chatur upahvayate | chatushpādo hi paśavaḥ | "Mānavī" ity āha | Manur hy etām agre 'paśyat | "ghritapadī" ity āha | yad eva asyai padād ghritam apīḍyata tasmād evam āha | "Maitrāvaruṇī" ity āha | Mitrāvaruṇau hy enām samairayatām |*

"Manu sought whatever upon earth was fit for sacrifice. He found butter poured out. He said, 'Who has power to employ this in sacrifice also?' Mitra and Varuṇa replied, 'We two have power to employ the cow.' They then sent forth the cow. Wherever she went forth, butter was pressed out. Hence she is called the 'butter-footed.' This is her birth . . . . 3. He calls upon Iḍā. Animals are Iḍā. He calls upon animals. He calls upon them four times. For animals are four-footed. He says 'Mānavī.' For Manu first saw her. He says 'Butter-footed.' He says so, because butter was pressed from her foot. He says 'Maitrāvaruṇī.' For Mitra and Varuṇa sent her forth." (Comp. Taitt. Br. iii. 7, 5, 6.)

Taitt. Br. i. 1, 4, 4. *Iḍā vai Mānavī yajnānukāśiny*[43] *āsīt | sā 'śriṇod "Asurā agnim adadhate" iti . . . . | 6. Sā 'bravīd Iḍā Manum "tathā vai aham tava agnim ādhāsyāmi yathā pra prajayā paśubhir mithunair janishyase praty asmin loke sthāsyasi abhi suvargaṁ lokaṁ jeshyasi" iti | gārhapatyam agre ādadhāt | . . . . gārhapatyena eva asmai prajām paśūn prājanayat |*

"Iḍā, the daughter of Manu, was a revealer of sacrifice. She heard, 'the Asuras are placing fire.' . . . . 6. Iḍā said to Manu, 'I shall so place thy fire that thou shalt increase in offspring, cattle, and twins; thou shalt be firmly established in this world, and shalt conquer the heavenly world.'[44] She first placed the gārhapatya fire. It was

[43] *Yajna-tattva-prakāśana-samarthā.*—Comm.

[44] Compare the Kāṭhaka Br. viii. 4, quoted in Weber's Indische Studien, iii. 463, where Iḍā is said to have promised to Manu: *tathā te Agnim ādhāsyāmi yathā ma-*

through the gārhapatya that she produced for him offspring and cattle."

Taitt. S. i. 7. 1, 3. *Sarveṇa vai yajnena devāḥ suvargaṁ lokam āyan | pākayajnena Manur aśrāmyat | sā Iḍā Manum upāvarttata | tām devāsurāḥ vyahvayanta pratīchīm devāḥ parāchīm Asurāḥ | sā devān upāvarttata |*

"The gods arrived at the heavenly world by the whole sacrifice. Manu worshipped with the *pākayajna*. That Iḍā came to Manu. The gods and asuras called her away in different directions, the gods in front, the asuras behind. She came to the gods."

The following texts refer to Manu alone, as a celebrator of religious ceremonies:

Taitt. S. ii. 5, 9, 1. "*Agne mahān asi*" *ity āha | mahān hy esha yad Agniḥ | "brāhmaṇa" ity āha | brāhmaṇo hy esha | "bhārata" ity āha | esha hi devebhyo havyam bharati | "deveddha" ity āha | devāḥ hy etam aindhata | "Manviddha" ity āha | Manur hy etam uttaro devebhyaḥ aindha |*

"He says, 'Agni, thou art great.' For this Agni is great. He says, 'o Brāhman.' For he is a Brāhmam. He says, 'o Bhārata.' For he bears the oblation to the gods. He says, 'kindled by the gods.' For the gods kindled him. He says, 'kindled by Manu.' For Manu kindled him after the gods.'

Taitt. S. vi. 2, 5, 2 f. *Trivrato vai Manur asīd dvivratā asurā ekavratā devāḥ | prātar madhyandine sāyaṁ tad Manor vratam āsīt pākayajnasya rūpam pushṭyai | prātaścha sāyāncha asurāṇāṁ nirmadhyam kshūdho rūpam | tatas te parābhavan | madhyandine madhyarātre devānām tatas te 'bhavan suvargaṁ lokam āyan |*

"Manu performed three rites; the asuras two; the gods one. Manu's rite was in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, the form of a pākayajna for nourishment. That of the asuras was in the morning and evening, without any midday rite, a form of hunger. Hence they perished. That of the gods was at midday and midnight. Hence they prospered, and arrived at the heavenly world."

Taitt. S. vii. 5, 15, 3. *Etayā* (i.e. *abhijityā*) *vai Indram devāḥ ayājayan | tasmād "Indrasavaḥ" | etayā Manum manushyāḥ | tasmād "Manu-savaḥ" |*

nushyā devān upaprajanishyante | "I will so place Agni for thee, than men shall be born among the gods."

yathā Indro devānām yathā Manur manushyāṇām eva bhavati yaḥ evaṁ vidvān etayā ishṭyā yajate |

"With this (*abhijiti*) the gods sacrificed for Indra. Hence it is called 'Indra-sava.' Men sacrificed with it for Manu. Hence it is called 'Manu-sava.' As Indra is among gods, and Manu among men, so he becomes who thus knowing sacrifices with this oblation."

In Taitt. S. ii. 2, 10, 2, we find nearly the words which Kullūka quotes on Manu's Institutes, i. 1: *Yad vai kincha Manur avadat tad bheshajam* | "Whatever Manu said was a remedy."

In Satapatha Br. vi. 6, 1, 19, Manu is called a Prajāpati: "*Prajāpataye Manave svāhā*" *iti* | *Prajāpatir vai Manuḥ* | *sa hi idam sarvam amanuta* | *Prajāpatir vai etad agre karma akarot* | "Svāhā to Manu the lord of creatures. Manu is a lord of creatures (*prajā-pati*) for he thought (*amanuta*) all this. The lord of creatures (*prajā-pati*) formerly did all this work."

The following story in its different versions also connects Manu with religious observances and represents him as very devout:

S. P. Br. i. 1, 4, 14 ff. *Manor ha vai ṛishabhah āsa* | *tasminn asura-ghnī sapatna-ghnī vāk pravishṭā āsa* | *tasya ha sma śvasathād ravathād asura-rākshasāni mṛidyamānāni yanti* | *te ha asurāh samūdire* "*pāpaṁ vata no 'yam ṛishabhaḥ sachate kathaṁ nv imaṁ dabhnuyāma*" *iti* | "*Kilātākulī*" *iti ha asura-brahmāv āsatuḥ* | *tau ha ūchatuḥ* "*śraddhā-devo vai Manuḥ* | *āvām nu vedāva*" *iti* | *tau ha āgatya ūchatur* "*Mano yājayāva tvā*" *iti* | "*kena*" *iti* | "*anena ṛishabheṇa*" *iti* | "*tathā*" *iti* | *tasya ālabdhasya sā vāg apachakrāma* | *sā Manor eva jāyām Mānāvīm praviveśa* | *tasyai ha sma yatra vadantyai śṛiṇvanti tato ha sma eva asura-rākshasāni mṛidyamānāni yanti* | *te ha asurāḥ samūdire* "*ito vai naḥ pāpīyaḥ sachate bhūyo hi mānushī vāg vadati*" *iti* | *Kilātākulī ha eva ūchatuḥ* "*śraddhā-devo vai Manur āvām nv eva vedāva*" *iti* | *tau ha āgatya ūchatur* "*Mano yājayāva tvā*" *iti* | "*kena*" *iti* | "*enayā eva jāyayā*" *iti* | "*tathā*" *iti* | *tasyai ālabdhāyai sā vāg apachakrāma sā yajnam eva yajna-pātrāṇi praviveśa* | *tato ha enāṁ na śekatur nirhantum* | *sā eshā asura-ghnī vāg udvadati* | *sa yasya ha evaṁ vidushaḥ etām atra vācham pratyudvādayanti pāpīyāṁso ha eva asya sapatnāḥ bhavanti* |

"Manu had a bull. Into it an Asura-slaying, enemy-slaying voice had entered. In consequence of this (bull's) snorting and bellowing, Asuras and Rakshasas were continually destroyed. Then the Asuras

said: 'This bull, alas, does us mischief; how shall we overcome him?' Now there were two priests of the Asuras called Kilāta and Akuli. They said: 'Manu is a devout believer: let us make trial of him.' They went and said to him, 'let us sacrifice for thee.' 'With what (victim)?' he asked. 'With this bull,' they replied. 'Be it so,' he answered. When it had been slaughtered, the voice departed out of it, and entered into Manu's wife Manāvī. Wherever they hear her speaking, the Asuras and Rākshasas continue to be destroyed in consequence of her voice. The Asuras said: 'She does us yet more mischief; for the human voice speaks more.' Kilāta and Akuli said, 'Manu is a devout believer: let us make trial of him.' They came and said to him, 'Manu, let us sacrifice for thee.' 'With what (victim)?" he asked. 'With this (thy) wife,' they replied. 'Be it so,' he answered. When she had been slaughtered the voice departed out of her and entered into the sacrifice and the sacrificial vessels. Thence they were unable to expel it. This is the Asura-slaying voice which speaks out (when the two stones are struck with the *śamyā*, as a part of the ceremonial). Wretched become the enemies of that man for whom, when he knows this, they cause this voice here to reverberate."

Taitt. Br. iii. 2, 5, 9. *Manoḥ śraddhā-devasya yajamānasya asura-ghnī vāg yajnāyudheshu pravishṭā āsīt | te 'surāḥ yāvanto yajnāyudhānām udvadatām upāśriṇvans te parābhavan |*

"An asura-slaying voice had entered into the sacrificial implements of the devout believer and sacrificer Manu. The Asuras, as many as heard the sacrificial implements sounding, were overcome."

Kāṭhaka Br. ii. 30, 1.[45] *Manor vai kapālāny āsan | tair yāvato yāvato 'surān abhyupādadhāt te parābhavan | atha tarhi Tṛishṭhā-varūtrī*[46] *āstām asura-brahmau | tā asurāḥ abruvann "imāni shaṭ kapālāni yāchethām" iti | tau pratarītvānā abhiprāpadyetām "Vāyave Agne Vāyave Indra" iti | "kimkāmau sthaḥ" ity abravīt | "imāni nau kapālāni dehi" iti | tāny ābhyām adadāt | tāny araṇyām parāhṛitya samapimshṭām | tad Manor gāvo 'bhivyatishṭhanta | tāni ṛishabhaḥ samaleṭ | tasya ruvato yāvanto 'surāḥ upāśṛinvams te parābhavan |*

[45] Extracted from Weber's Indische Studien, iii. 461 f. A translation of this, as well as of the next passage, is given by Prof. Weber in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xviii. 284 ff.

[46] Roth in his Lexicon *s. v.* reads *Tṛishṇāvarūtrī*.

tau prātaritvānā abhiprāpadyetām "Vāyave Agne Vāyave Indra" iti | "kiṁkāmau sthaḥ" ity abravīt | "anena tvā ṛishabheṇa yājayāva" iti | tat patnīm yajur vadantīm pratyapadyata | tasyāh dyām vāg atishṭhat | tasyāḥ vadantyāḥ yāvanto 'surāḥ upāśriṇvaṁs te parābhavan | tasmād naktaṁ strī chandrataraṁ vadati | tau prātaritvānā abhiprāpadyetām "Vāyave Agne Vāyave Indra" iti | "kiṁkāmau sthaḥ" ity abravīt | "anayā tvā patnyā yājayava" iti | sā paryagnikṛitā āsīt | atha Indro 'chāyad "Manvam śraddhādevam Trishṭhāvarūtrī asura-brahmau jāyayā vyardhayatam" iti | sa āgachhat | so 'bravīd "ābhyāṁ tvā yājayāni" iti | "na" ity abravīd "na vai aham anayor īśe" iti | atithipatir vāva atither īśe" ity abravīt | tā asmai prāyaśchhat | sa prativeśo vediṁ kurvann āsta | tā apṛiśchhatām "ko 'si" iti | "brāhmaṇah" iti | "katamo brāhmaṇaḥ" iti | "kim brāhmaṇasya pitaram kim u pṛichhasi mātaram | śrutaṁ ched asmin vedyam sa pitā sa pitāmahaḥ" iti | tā avittām "Indro vai" iti | tau prāpatatām | tayor yāḥ prokshaṇīr āpaḥ āsaṁs tābhir anuvisṛijya śīrshe aśchhinat | tau vṛishaś cha yavāshaś cha abhavatām | tasmāt tau varsheshu śushyataḥ | adbhir hi hatau | tām paryagnikṛitām udāsṛijat | tayā "rdhnot | tāḥ imāḥ Mānavyaḥ prajāḥ | yat paryagni-kṛitam pātnīvatam utsṛijati yām eva Manur ṛiddhim ārdhnot tām ṛidhnoti |

"Manu had platters. All the Asuras, against whom he laid out the sacrifice with these were destroyed. Now Tṛishṭha and Varūtri were at that time the priests of the Asuras. The Asuras said to them, 'ask for these six platters.' These two arrived as morning guests, repeating the formula, 'To Vāyu, o Agni, to Vāyu, o Indra.' 'What do you desire?' asked Manu. 'Give us these platters,' they replied. He gave them to them. Taking them they smashed them in the forest. Then Manu's cattle were standing round. The bull licked the platters. As many Asuras as heard him bellowing were destroyed. The two Asura priests came as morning guests, repeating the formula, 'To Vāyu, o Agni, to Vāyu, o Indra.' 'What do you desire?' enquired Manu. 'Let us sacrifice for thee with this bull,' they answered. He then came to his wife who was uttering a yajush. Her voice reached to the sky. As many Asuras as heard her speaking were destroyed. Hence a woman speaks more pleasantly by night. The two Asura priests arrived as morning guests, repeating the formula, 'To Vāyu, o Agni, to Vāyu, o Indra.' 'What do you desire?' asked Manu. 'Let us sacrifice for thee with

this thy wife (as the victim),' they replied. The fire was carried round her. Then Indra perceived, 'Ṭrishṭha and Varūtri, the two Asura priests are depriving thè devout believer Manu of his wife.' He came and said (to Manu), 'Let me sacrifice for thee with these two Asura priests (for victims).' 'No,' answered Manu, 'I am not their master.' 'The host is master of the guest,' rejoined Indra. Manu then gave them to him. (Standing) near them he was making an altar. They asked 'Who art thou?' 'A Brāhman,' he replied. 'What (class of) Brāhman,' they enquired. He rejoined (with a verse), 'Why askest thou the father or the mother of a Brāhman? If Vedic tradition is to be discovered in him, that is his father, that his grandfather.' They knew, 'this is Indra.' They fled. He threw after them the water which was there for consecration, and therewith cut off their heads. They became, (the one) a *vrisha,* (the other) a *yavāsha* plant. Hence these (two plants) wither in the rains, because they were killed with water. He released her (Manu's wife) after the fire had been carried round her. By her he prospered. These are the creatures sprung from Manu. Whenever a man releases the victim offered to Agni Pātnīvata, after fire has been carried round it, he prospers with the same prosperity with which Manu prospered."

Compare with this a passage of the Taitt. Sanh. vi. 6, 6, 1. *Indraḥ patniyā Manum ayājayat | tām paryagnikṛitām udasṛijat | tayā Manur ārdhnot | yat paryagnikṛitam pātnīvatam utsṛijati yām eva Manur ṛiddhim ārdhnot tām eva yajamāna ṛidhnoti |*

"Indra was sacrificing for Manu with his wife (as the victim). He released her after the fire had been carried round her. By her Manu prospered. Whenever the worshipper releases the victim offered to Agni Pātnīvata after fire has been carried round it, he prospers with the same prosperity with which Manu prospered."

I quote the following passages also from the interest which they possess as relating to a personage so ancient and venerable as Manu is reputed to be:

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, v. 14. *Nābhānedishṭhaṁ vai Mānavam brahmacharyyaṁ vasantam bhrātaro nirabhajan | so 'bravīd etya "kim mahyam abhākta" iti | "etam eva nishṭhāvam avavaditāram" ity abruvan | tasmād ha apy etarhi pitaram putrāḥ "nishṭhāvo 'vavaditā" ity eva āchakshate | sa pitaram etya abravīt "tvāṁ ha vāva mahyaṁ tata abhākshur"*

iti | tam pitā 'bravīd "mā putraka tad ādṛithāḥ | Angiraso vai ime svargāya lokāya satram āsate | te shashṭham shashṭham eva ahar āgatya muhyanti | tān ete sūkte shashṭhe 'hani śaṁsaya | teshāṁ yat sahasraṁ satra-pariveshaṇaṁ tat te svar yanto dāsyanti" iti | "tathā" iti | tān upait "pratigṛibhṇīta Mānavam sumedhasaḥ" iti | tam abruvan "kiṁ-kāmo vadasi" iti | "idam eva vaḥ shashṭham ahaḥ prajnāpayāni" ity abravīd "atha yad vai etat sahasraṁ satra-pariveshaṇam tad me svar yanto datta" iti | "tathā" iti | tān ete sūkte shashṭhe 'hany aśaṁsayat | tato vai te pra yajnam ajānan pra svargaṁ lokam | tad yad ete sūkte shashṭhe 'hani śaṁsati yajnasya prajnātyai svargasya lokasya anukhyātyai | taṁ svar yanto 'bruvann "etat te brāhmaṇa sahasram" iti | tad enaṁ samākurvāṇam purushaḥ kṛishṇaśa-vāsy uttarataḥ upotthāya abravīd "mama vai idam mama vai vāstuham" iti | so 'bravīd "mahyaṁ vai idam adur" iti | tam abravīt "tad vai nau tava eva pitari praśnaḥ" iti | sa pitaram ait | tam pitā 'bravīd "nanu te putraka adur" iti | "adur eva me" ity abravīt "tat tu me purushaḥ kṛishṇaśa-vāsy uttarataḥ upodatishṭhat 'mama vai idaṁ mama vai vāstuham' iti ādita" iti | tam pitā 'bravīt "tasya eva putraka | tat tubhyaṁ sa dāsyati" iti | sa punar etya abravīt "tava ha vāva kila bhagavaḥ idam iti me pitā āha" iti | so 'bravīt "tad aham tubhyam eva dadāmi yaḥ eva satyam avādīr" iti | tasmād evaṁ vidushā satyam eva vaditavyam | sa esha sahasra-sanir mantro yad nābhānedishṭham | upa enam sahasraṁ namati pra shashṭhena ahnā svargaṁ lokam jānāti yaḥ evaṁ veda |[47]

"The brothers of Nābhānedishṭha disinherited him whilst he was living in the state of a Brahmachārin. Coming (to them) he said: 'What share have you given to me?' They replied, '(we have given thee) this judge and divider (as thy share).' In consequence sons even now speak of their father as the 'judge and divider.' He came to his father and said, 'Father, they have given thee to me as my share.' His father answered, 'Do not, my son, care about that. These Angirases are performing a sacrifice in order to (secure) the heavenly world; but as often as they come to the sixth day (of the ceremony) they become perplexed. Make them recite these two hymns (R.V. x. 61 and 62) on the sixth day; and when they are going to heaven, they will give

[47] This passage has been already translated into German by Prof. R. Roth, Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 244, and into English by Prof. Max Müller in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 423 f., and by Dr. M. Haug in his Ait. Br. vol. ii. p. 341 f.

thee that provision of a thousand[48] which has been made for the sacrifice.' He said, 'So be it.' He approached them, saying, 'Receive me, the son of Manu, ye sages.' They replied, 'With what object dost thou speak?' He said, 'Let me make known to you this sixth day; and then you shall give me this sacrificial provision of a thousand, when ye are going to heaven.' 'Let it be so,' they answered. He made them repeat these two hymns on the sixth day. They then knew the sacrifice, and the heavenly world. Hence when any one repeats these two hymns on the sixth day, it is with a view to a knowledge of the sacrifice, and to the revelation of the heavenly world. When they were going to the heavenly world, they said to him, 'This thousand, o Brāhman,[49] is thine.' As he was collecting (the thousand) a man in dark clothing rose up before him from the north, and said, 'This is mine; what remains on the spot is mine.' Nābhānedishṭha replied: 'But they have given it to me.' (The man) rejoined: 'It belongs to (one of) us; let thy father be asked.' He went to his father, who enquired: 'Have they not given thee (the thousand), my son?' 'They did give it to me,' he replied, 'but a man in dark clothes rose up before me from the north, and took it from me, saying, 'This is mine; what remains on the spot is mine.'' His father said: 'It is his; but he will give it to thee.' He returned, and said (to the man): 'This is thine, reverend sir, so my father says.' (The man) replied: 'I will give it to thee, who hast spoken the truth.' Wherefore one who has this knowledge should speak only truth. That is a hymn which bestows a thousend, that Nābhānedishṭha hymn. A thousand falls to his lot, he knows the heavenly world on the sixth day—the man who knows this."

Taittirīya Sanhitā, iii. 1, 9, 4. *Manuḥ putrebhyo dāyam̃ vyabhajat | sa Nābhānedishṭham brahmacharryam̃ vasantam̃ nirabhajat | sa āgachhat | so 'bravīt "kathā mā nirabhāg" iti | "na tvā nirabhāksham" ity abravīd "Angirasaḥ ime satram āsate te suvargam lokam na prajānanti | tebhyaḥ idam brāhmaṇam brūhi | te suvargam lokam yanto ye eshām paśavas tām̃s te dāsyanti" iti | tad ebhyo 'bravīt | te suvargam*

[48] See R.V. x. 62, 7.

[49] The application of this title to Nābhānedishṭha is to be remarked, as his father Manu is recorded in the Puranic legends as ancestor of the solar race of kings. See the passage from the M. Bh. i. 3135 ff., quoted above, p. 126.

lokam yanto ye eshām paśavaḥ āsaṁs tān asmai adaduḥ | tam paśubhiś charantam yajna-vāstau Rudraḥ āgachhat | so 'bravīt "mama vai ime paśavaḥ" iti | "adur vai mahyam imān" ity abravīt | "na vai tasya te īśate" ity abravīt | "yad yajnavāstau hīyate mama vai tad" iti | tasmād yājnavāstu na abhyavetyam | so 'bravīt | "yajne mā bhaja atha te paśūn na abhimaṁsye" iti | tasmai etam manthinaḥ saṁsrāvam ajuhot | tato vai tasya Rudro paśūn na abhyamanyata | yatra etam eva vidvān manthinaḥ saṁsrāvam juhoti na tatra Rudraḥ paśūn abhimanyate |

"Manu divided his property among his sons. He disinherited his son Nābhānedishṭha who was living as a Brahmachārin. He came and said, 'How hast thou disinherited me?' 'I have not disinherited thee,' replied (his father); 'these Angirases are celebrating a sacrifice; they do not know the heavenly world; declare to them this Brāhmana; and when they are going to heaven, they will give thee the cattle they have.' He declared the Brāhmaṇa to them, and when they were going to heaven they gave him the cattle they had. Rudra came to him as he was on the place of sacrifice employed with the cattle and said: 'These are my cattle.' 'But,' replied Nābhānedishṭha, 'they have given them to me.' 'They have not power to do so; that which is left on the place of sacrifice is mine,' answered Rudra. Hence the place of sacrifice must not be approached. (Rudra further) said: 'Give me a share in the sacrifice, and I shall not injure thy cattle.' He offered him this libation of soma and flour. Then Rudra did not injure his cattle. Whenever any one knows this libation of soma and flour and offers it up, Rudra does not injure his cattle."[50]

A passage, quoted above, p. 26 f., from the Taittirīya Sanhitā, vi. 5,

[50] The reader who knows German, and wishes to see an able discussion of the question, whether the legend of Nābhānedishṭha, as given in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, has any real connection with the two hymns of the Rig-veda (x. 61 and 62) which are referred to in it, and whether it contains any reminiscence, or symbolical representation, of ancient historical events, may consult Prof. Roth's paper on the subject, in the 6th vol. of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, pp. 243 ff. The learned writer settles both questions in the negative, maintaining that the legend is manufactured out of certain misinterpreted allusions in the hymns, with the view of asserting the superiority of priestly knowledge to earthly power and worldly wealth, and that there never existed either a Nābhānedishṭha or a Manu. The object which I have in view in the collection of these texts does not require that I should express any opinion on these points. I only seek to ascertain what were the traditions received by the most ancient Indian writers themselves regarding the origin of their race, and not what was the historical value of those traditions.

6, 1 ff., may perhaps also be considered as affirming the descent of men from Manu when it declares them to be the offspring of Vivasvat; since the latter is regarded as the father of Manu.

In the Chhāndogya Upanishad, iii. 11, 4 (p. 178 of Bibliotheca Indica, vol. iii.) the following reference to Manu occurs:

Tad ha etad Brahmā Prajāpataye Prajāpatir Manave Manuḥ prajābhyaḥ | tad ha etad Uddālakāya Āruṇaye putrāya jyeshṭhāya pitā brahma provācha |

"This (doctrine) Brahmā declared to Prajāpati, Prajāpati to Manu, Manu to (his) offspring. This sacred truth was declared to his eldest son Uddālaka Aruṇi by his father."

The first half of this passage is repeated in viii. 15, 1, of the same work (p. 625).

In his commentary on the former of the two passages, Sankara Āchāryya gives this explanation:

Brahmā Hiraṇyagarbho Virāje Prajāpataye uvācha | so 'pi Manave | Manur Ikshvāku-ādibhyaḥ prajābhyaḥ provācha |

"Brahmā Hiraṇyagarbha declared it to the Prajāpati Virāj; he to Manu; and Manu declared it to his descendants Ikshvāku and the rest."

In his note on the second passage, viii. 15, 1, he varies somewhat in his explanation of the personages by whom the doctrine was transmitted:

Brahmā Hiraṇyagarbhaḥ Parameśvaro vā tad-dvāreṇa Prajāpataye Kaśyapāya uvācha | asāv api Manave sva-putrāya | Manuḥ prajābhyaḥ |

"Brahmā Hiraṇyagarbha, or the supreme Lord (Parameśvara) through his instrumentality, declared it to the Prajāpati Kaśyapa; he to his son Manu; Manu to his descendants."

In these two passages of the Chhāndogya Upanishad Brahmā is distinguished from Prajāpati, and Prajāpati from Manu, who again is said to have handed down the doctrine, not to any one person in particular, but "to the offspring," or "descendants" (*prajābhyaḥ*), apparently his own descendants. This Upanishad therefore seems to coincide in the doctrine of the hymns, and of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, that Manu was the progenitor of mankind. The Commentator, it will have been noticed, in one place delares that Prajāpati is identifiable with Virāj, and again that Kaśyapa is to be understood under that appellation. Virāj and Kaśyapa are not, however, generally regarded as the same.

Nor is Kaśyapa commonly considered to be Manu's father. In the passages from the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 110, and Mahābhārata, quoted above, pp. 115 and 126, Kaśyapa is said to be the father of Vivasvat, and he again of Manu.

However this may be, as Manu is said to have handed down the sacred tradition to his descendants, we must suppose that those descendants included the whole of the progenitors of the Aryan Indians who were worthy of being made the depositaries of such a tradition; and must therefore conclude that the Chhāndogya Upanishad agrees with the passage quoted above, p. 126, from the Mahābhārata, in recognizing Manu as the progenitor of the Brāhmans, as well as the other castes.

Sect. III.—*Extracts from the Mahābhārata regarding Manu.*

I have already adduced in the preceding chapter, page 126, an important passage of the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan verses 3128 ff., in which Manu Vaivasvata is expressly declared to have been the progenitor of mankind including the four castes. A legend of the deluge, corresponding to the one which has been adduced from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in the last section, is also to be found in the Vana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, and although it does not represent Manu as the parent from whom the human race was reproduced, but as the creator by whom the world was renewed, after the flood, I shall extract the entire text. Its style of narration is tedious, when compared with the quaint brevity of the Brāhmaṇa; but I shall condense it as much as possible in the translation. It begins thus, verse 12747:

Mārkaṇḍeya uvācha | *Vivasvataḥ suto rājan maharshiḥ suprātāpavān* | *babhūva nara-śārdūla Prajāpati-sama-dyutiḥ* | *ojasā tejasā lakshmyā tapasā cha viśeshataḥ* | *atichakrāma pitaram Manuḥ svaṁ cha pitāmaham* | *ūrddhwa-bāhur viśālāyām Badaryām sa narādhipaḥ* | *eka-pāda-sthitas tīvram chachāra sumahat tapaḥ* | 12750. *Avāk-śirās tathā chāpi netrair animishair dṛiḍham* | *so 'tapyata tapo ghoraṁ varshāṇām ayutaṁ tadā* | *taṁ kadāchit tapasyantam ārdrachīraṁ jaṭā-dharam* | *Chīriṇī-tīram āgamya matsyo vachanam abravīt* | "*bhagavan kshudra-matsyo 'smi balavadbhyo bhayam mama* | *matsyebhyo hi tato māṁ tvam trātum arhasi suvrata* | *durbalam balavanto hi matsyam matsyā viśeshataḥ* | *āsvadanti sadā vṛittir vihitā naḥ sanātanī* | *tasmād bhayaughād mahato majjantam māṁ viśeshataḥ* | *trātum arhasi karttāsmi kṛite pratikṛitaṁ tava*" | 12755.

Sa matsya-vachanaṁ śrutvā kṛipayā 'bhipariplutaḥ | *Manur Vaivasvato 'gṛihṇāt tam matsyaṁ pāṇinā svayam* | *udakāntam upānīya matsyaṁ Vaivasvato Manuḥ* | *alinjire prākshipat tam chandrāṁśu-sadṛiśa-prabhe* | *sa tatra vavṛidhe rājan matsyaḥ parama-satkṛitaḥ* | *putravat svīkarot tasmai Manur bhāvam viśeshataḥ* | *atha kālena mahatā sa matsyaḥ sumahān abhūt* | *alinjire yathā chaiva nāsau samabhavat kila* | *atha matsyo Manuṁ dṛishṭvā punar evābhyabhāshata* | "*bhagavan sādhu me 'dyānyat sthānaṁ sampratipādaya*" | 12760. *Uddhṛityālinjirāt tasmāt tataḥ sa bhagavān Manuḥ* | *tam matsyam anayad vāpīm mahatīṁ sa Manus tadā* | *tatra tam prākshipach chāpi Manuḥ para-puranjaya* | *athāvarddhata matsyaḥ sa punar varsha-gaṇān bahūn* | *dvi-yojanāyatā vāpī vistṛitā chāpi yojanam* | *tasyāṁ nāsau samabhavat matsyo rājīva-lochanaḥ* | *vicheshṭituṁ cha Kaunteya matsyo vāpyāṁ viśāmpate* | *Manuṁ matsyas tato dṛishṭvā punar evābhyabhāshata* | "*naya māṁ bhagavan sādho samudra-mahishīm priyām* | *Gangāṁ tatra nivatsyāmi yathā vā tāta mānyase* | 12765. *Nideśe hi mayā tubhyaṁ sthātavyam anasūyatā* | *vṛiddhir hi paramā prāptā tvat-kṛite hi mayā 'nagha*" | *evam ukto Manur matsyam anayad bhagavān vaśī* | *nadīṁ Gangāṁ tatra chainam svayam prākshipad achyutaḥ* | *sa tatra vavṛidhe matsyaḥ kanchit kālam arindama* | *tataḥ punar Manuṁ dṛishṭvā matsyo vachanam abravīt* | "*Gangāyāṁ na hi śaknomi bṛihatvāch cheshṭitum prabho* | *samudraṁ naya māṁ āśu prasīda bhagavann*" *iti* | *uddhṛitya Gangā-salilāt tato matsyam Manuḥ svayam* | *samudram anayat pārtha tatra chainam avāsṛijat* | 12770. *Sumahān api matsyas tu sa Manor nayatas tadā* | *āsīd yatheshṭa-hāryyaścha sparśa-gandha-sukhaścha vai* | *yadā samudre prakshiptaḥ sa matsyo Manunā tadā* | *tata enam idaṁ vākyaṁ smayamāna ivābravīt* | "*bhagavan hi kṛitā rakshā tvayā sarvā viśeshataḥ* | *prāpta-kālaṁ tu yat kāryyaṁ tvayā tach chhrūyatām mama* | *achirād bhagavan bhaumam idaṁ sthāvara-jangamam* | *sarvam eva mahābhāga pralayaṁ vai gamishyati* | *samprakshālana-kālo 'yaṁ lokānāṁ samupasthitaḥ* | *tasmāt tvāṁ bodhayāmy adya yat te hitam anuttamam* | *trasānāṁ sthāvarāṇāṁ cha yach chengaṁ yach cha nengati* | *tasya sarvasya samprāptaḥ kālaḥ parama-dāruṇaḥ* | *nauś cha kārayitavyā te dṛiḍhā yukta-vaṭārakā* | *tatra saptarshibhiḥ sārddham āruhethā mahāmune* | *vījāni chaiva sarvāṇi yathoktāni dvijaiḥ purā* | *tasyām ārohayer nāvi susanguptāni bhāgaśaḥ* | *nau-sthaś cha māṁ pratīkshethās tato muni-jana-priya* | *āgamishyāmy ahaṁ śṛingī vijne-*

yas tena tāpasa | evam etat tvayā kāryam āpṛishṭo 'si vrajāmy aham | tā na śakyā mahatyo vai āpas tartum mayā vinā | 12780. *Nābhiśankyam idaṁ chāpi vachanam me tvayā vibho" | "evaṁ karishye" iti taṁ sa matsyam pratyabhāshata | jagmatuś cha yathākāmam anujnāpya parasparam | tato Manur mahārāja yathoktam matsyakena ha | vījāny ādāya sarvāṇi sāgaram pupluve tadā | naukayā śubhayā vīra mahormiṇam arindama | chintayāmāsa cha Manus tam matsyam pṛithivīpate | sa cha tach-chintitaṁ jnātvā matsyaḥ parapuranjaya | śṛingī tatrājagāmāśu tadā Bharata-sattama | taṁ dṛishṭvā manuja-vyāghra Manur matsyaṁ jalārṇave |* 12785. *Sṛinginaṁ taṁ yathoktena rūpeṇādrim ivochhritam | vaṭārakamayam pāśam atha matsyasya mūrdhani | Manur manuja-śārdūla tasmin śṛinge nyaveśayat | saṁyatas tena pāśena matsyaḥ para-puranjaya | vegena mahatā nāvam prākarshal lavaṇāmbhasi | sa cha tāṁs tārayan nāvā samudram manujeśvara | nṛityamānam ivormībhir garjamānam ivāmbhasā | kshobhyamāṇā mahāvātaiḥ sā naus tasmin mahodadhau | ghūrṇate chapaleva strī mattā para-puranjaya | naiva bhūmir na cha diśaḥ pradiśo vā chakāśire |* 12790. *Sarvam āmbhasam evāsīt khaṁ dyauś cha narapungava | evambhūte tadā loke sankule Bharatarshabha | adṛiśyanta saptarshayaḥ Manur matsyas tathaiva cha | evam bahūn varsha-gaṇān tāṁ nāvam so 'tha matsyakaḥ | chakarshātandrito rājan tasmin salila-sanchaye | tato Himavataḥ śṛingaṁ yat param Bharatarshabha | tatrākarshat tato nāvaṁ sa matsyaḥ Kurunandana | athābravīt tadā matsyas tān ṛishīn prahasan śanaiḥ | "asmin Himavataḥ śṛinge nāvaṁ badhnīta māchiram" | sā baddhā tatra tais tūrṇam ṛishibhir Bharatarshabha |* 12795. *Naur matsyasya vachaḥ śrutvā śṛinge Himavatas tadā | tach cha Naubandhanaṁ nāma śṛingam Himavataḥ param | khyātam adyāpi Kaunteya tad viddhi Bharatarshabha | athābravīd animishas tān ṛishīn sa hitas tadā | "aham Prajāpatir Brahmā yat-paraṁ nādhigamyate | matsya-rūpeṇa yūyaṁ cha mayā 'smād mokshitā bhayāt | Manunā cha prajāḥ sarvāḥ sa-devāsura-mānushāḥ | srashṭavyāḥ sarva-lokāś cha yach chengaṁ yach cha nengati | tapasā chāpi tīvreṇa pratibhā 'sya bhavishyati | mat-prasādāt prajā-sarge na cha mohaṁ gamishyati" |* 12800. *Ity uktvā vachanam matsyaḥ kshaṇenādarśanaṁ gataḥ | srashṭu-kāmaḥ prajāś chāpi Manur Vaivasvataḥ svayam | pramūḍho 'bhūt prajā-sarge tapas tepe mahat tataḥ | tapasā mahatā yuktaḥ so 'tha srashṭum prachakrame | sarvāḥ prajā Manuḥ sākshād yathāvad Bharatarshabha | ity etad mātsyakam nāma purāṇam parikīrttitam |*

"12747. Mārkaṇḍeya said: There was a great rishi Manu, son of Vivasvat, majestic, in lustre equal to Prajāpati. In energy, fiery vigour, prosperity, and austere fervour he surpassed both his father and his grandfather. Standing with uplifted arm, on one foot, on the spacious Badari, he practised intense austere fervour. 12750. This direful exercise he performed, with his head downwards,[51] and with unwinking eyes, for 10,000 years. Once, when, clad in dripping rags, with matted hair, he was so engaged, a fish came to him on the banks of the Chīriṇī, and spake: 'Lord, I am a small fish; I dread the stronger ones, and from them you must save me. For the stronger fish devour the weaker; this has been immemorially ordained as our means of subsistence. Deliver me from this flood of apprehension in which I am sinking, and I will requite the deed.' 12755. Hearing this, Manu, filled with compassion, took the fish in his hand, and bringing him to the water threw him into a jar bright as a moon-beam. In it the fish, being excellently tended, grew; for Manu treated him like a son. After a long time he became very large, and could not be contained in the jar. Then, seeing Manu, he said again: 'In order that I may thrive, remove me elsewhere.' 12760. Manu then took him out of the jar, brought him to a large pond, and threw him in. There he continued to grow for very many years. Although the pond was two *yojanas* long, and one *yojana* broad, the lotus-eyed fish found in it no room to move; and again said to Manu: 'Take me to Gangā, the dear queen of the ocean-monarch; in her I shall dwell; or do as thou thinkest best, (12765) for I must contentedly submit to thy authority, as through thee I have exceedingly increased.' Manu accordingly took the fish and threw him into the river Gangā. There he waxed for some time, when he again said to Manu: 'From my great bulk I cannot move in the Gangā; be gracious and remove me quickly to the ocean.' Manu took him out of the Gangā; and cast him into the sea. 12770. Although so huge, the fish was easily borne, and pleasant to touch and smell, as Manu carried him. When he had been thrown into the ocean he said to Manu: 'Great lord, thou hast in every way preserved me: now hear from me what thou must do when the

[51] He could not have stood on one foot and with his head downwards (if this means standing on his head) at one and the same time. The text may mean that these attitudes were successively adopted.

time arrives. Soon shall all these terrestrial objects, both fixed and moving, be dissolved. The time for the purification of the worlds has now arrived. I therefore inform thee what is for thy greatest good. 12775. The period dreadful for the universe, moving and fixed, has come. Make for thyself a strong ship, with a cable attached; embark in it with the seven rishis, and stow in it, carefully preserved and assorted, all the seeds which have been described of old by Brāhmans.[53] When embarked in the ship, look out for me: I shall come recognizable by my horn. So shalt thou do; I greet thee and depart. These great waters cannot be crossed over without me. 12780. Distrust not my word.' Manu replied, 'I shall do as thou hast said.' After taking mutual leave they departed each on his own way. Manu then, as enjoined, taking with him the seeds, floated on the billowy ocean in the beautiful ship. He then thought on the fish, which, knowing his desire, arrived with all speed, distinguished by a horn. When Manu saw the horned leviathan, lofty as a mountain, he fastened the ship's cable to the horn. Being thus attached, the fish dragged the ship with great rapidity, transporting it across the briny ocean which seemed to dance with its waves and thunder with its waters. Tossed by the tempests, the ship whirled like a reeling and intoxicated woman. Neither the earth, nor the quarters of the world appeared; (12790) there was nothing but water, air, and sky. In the world thus confounded, the seven rishis, Manu, and the fish were beheld. So, for very many years, the fish, unwearied, drew the ship over the waters; and brought it at length to the highest peak of Himavat. He then, smiling gently, said to the rishis, 'Bind the ship without delay to this peak.' They did so accordingly. 12795. And that highest peak of Himavat is still known by the name of Naubandhana ('the Binding of the Ship'). The friendly fish (or god, *animisha*) then said to the rishis, 'I am the Prajāpati Brahmā, than whom nothing higher can be reached. In the form of a fish I have delivered you from this great danger. Manu shall create all living beings, gods, asuras, MEN, with all worlds, and all things moving and fixed. By my favour and through severe austere fervour, he shall attain perfect insight into his creative work, and shall not be-

[53] The S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa is silent as to these seeds, as well as to the seven rishis; but it is possible that the reference here made to them may have been borrowed from some other ancient source.

come bewildered.' 12800. Having thus spoken, the fish in an instant disappeared. Manu, desirous to call creatures into existence and bewildered in his work, performed a great act of austere fervour; and then began visibly to create all living beings. This which I have narrated is known as the Mātsyaka Purāṇa (or 'Legend of the Fish')."

It will be observed that towards the close of this narrative it is stated that Manu (not Brahmā himself) was the creator of Men, as well of gods and asuras; and that no reference is made to the formation of separate castes.

The commentators seem disinclined to take this legend in its literal sense. We shall see below what reason the scholiast on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa assigns for this procedure. The following are some of the remarks of the Commentator Nīlakanṭha on the above passage of the Mahābhārata:

"Manoḥ" manute ity abhimānātmako 'hankāro Manuḥ | viśeshena vaste āchhādayati chit-prakāśam iti viveka-jnānam tad-vān vivasvān māyāvī īśvaraḥ "māyinam tu maheśvaram" iti śruteḥ | tasya Vaivasvatasya charitam sancharaṇam | "avidyā-nāśe saty āvidyako 'hankāraḥ katham sancharati | nahi tantu-dāhe paṭas tishṭhati" ity ākshepaḥ | . . . . atra para-brahmaṇa eva rūpāntaram matsyākhyo jīvaḥ | so 'hankāreṇa Manunā uttarottara-śreshṭheshu alinjirādi-rūpeshu sthūla-deheshu tapo-balād nipātyate | sa cha samudrākhye vairāje dehe nipātitaś cha kalpānte avidyā-nāśa-rūpe saty api dādha- (*dagdha*?) *-paṭa-nyāyena anuvarttamānam ahankāram saptarshi-sanjnakaiḥ prāṇādibhiḥ vīja-sanjnaiḥ prārabdha-karmabhiś cha sahitam charama-deha-nāvy ārūḍham vāsanā-varatrayā jīva-matsyena pralaya-kāle 'py ūhyamānam meru-śṛinga same 'chale bhavato* (*Himavad-*?) *rūpe sadvāsanayā labdhāspadam vilīnam anulakshya jīva-matsyo 'darśanam prāptaḥ | ati-vilīne hy ahankāre jīvatvam naśyati | sa punar nirasta-jīva-bhāvo 'hankāro brahma-rūpatām āpanno yathā pūrvam vāsanayā jagat sṛijati | nashṭe 'py avidyākhye kāraṇe saṁsāra-bhāna-lakshaṇam kāryam chakra-bhramam iva kanchit kālam anuvarttate ity adhyāya-tātparyam | aksharārthas tv ityādi |*

"'Manu,' that which imagines, denotes the consciousness of self (*ahankāra*), consisting in the idea that objects refer to one's self (*abhimāna*).[53] 'Vivasvat' is he who possesses the discriminating knowledge that (such and such a thing) obscures the light of the mind, *i.e.*

[53] See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, vol. i. 242.

he is the Illuder, Īśvara, for the Veda[54] speaks of 'Maheśvara the Illuder.' It is the 'history,' the action, of this son of Vivasvat, that is related. It is objected, 'how can Ahankāra, which arises from ignorance, operate when ignorance is destroyed?' for when the threads are burnt the cloth no longer remains' . . . . Here the embodied soul, called in this passage a 'Fish,' is only another form of the supreme Brahma. This 'Fish' is thrown by 'Manu,' who is Ahankāra, through the power of austere fervour, into gross bodies, here represented by 'a jar,' 'a pond,' etc., which gradually rise in excellence. Being at last cast into the body of Virāj, called 'the ocean,' although 'the close of the Kalpa' means the destruction of ignorance, still the embodied soul denoted by the 'Fish,' contemplating Ahankāra still remaining like the ashes of burnt cloth, then entering, along with the breath and other vital airs named 'the seven rishis,' and the works of a former birth designated as 'seeds,' into the ship which signifies its last body, and then borne along even in the period of dissolution by the embodied soul itself symbolized as a 'Fish,' by means of the 'rope' of the remaining consciousness of past perceptions (*vāsanā*), obtaining at length through a consciousness of former perceptions, which were pure (*sad-vāsanā*), a resting-place on a mountain like the peak of Meru, represented by the Himavat (?), and finally dissolved;—the embodied soul under the figure of a 'Fish' having contemplated all this,—vanishes. For when Ahankāra has become entirely dissolved, the state of the embodied soul ceases. Then Ahankāra, after the state of the embodied soul has been dispelled, obtains the condition of Brahma; but by its consciousness of past perceptions creates the world as before. Even when the cause called ignorance has been destroyed, the effect in the shape of the semblance of the world continues for some time, like the revolution of a wheel. Such is signification of the section."

According to this allegorial interpretation "Vivasvat," father of Manu, represents Īśvara, the Illuder. "Manu" is Ahankāra, or self-consciousness. The "Fish" is the embodied soul, which fancies itself to be, but is not, distinct from the Supreme spirit. Ahankāra, denoted by 'Manu,' places the embodied soul, symbolized by the "Fish," in a variety of bodies gradually increasing in excellence, which are signified

[54] The words are taken from one of the Upanishads, to which, at the time of correcting this sheet, I am unable to give the necessary reference.

by the "jar," "pond," "Gangā," and "ocean." Although the end of the Kalpa means the removal of ignorance, still Ahankāra continues for a time; and along with the "seven rishis," who stand for the vital airs, and the "seeds," which are former works, embarks on the "ship," which is its last body, and is drawn over the ocean by the embodied soul by means of a "rope," which signifies the consciousness of former perceptions. Ahankāra at length finds a resting-place, denoted by Mount Himavat; and when it has been destroyed, the embodied soul vanishes. Ahankāra, however, passes into the form of Brahma, and, through the operation of the cause explained by the Commentator, creates the world anew.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the narrator of the legend himself appears to have had no idea of making it the vehicle of any Vedantic allegory such as is here propounded.

The following is another version of the same legend from the Matsya Purāṇa:

i. 12.[55] *Purā rājā Manur nāma chīrṇavān vipulaṁ tapaḥ* | *putre rājyaṁ samāropya kshamāvān Ravi-nandanaḥ* | 13. *Malayasyaika-deśe tu sarvātmāguṇa-saṁyutaḥ* | *sama-duḥkha-sukho vīraḥ prāptavān yogam uttamam* | 14. *Vachanaṁ*[56] *varadaś chāsya varshāyuta-śate gate* | "*varaṁ vṛiṇīshva*" *provācha prītātmā Kamalāsanaḥ* | 15. *Evam ukto 'bravīd rājā praṇamya sa Pitāmaham* | "*ekam evāham ichhāmi tvatto varam anuttamam* | 16. *Bhūta-grāmasya sarvasya sthāvarasya charasya cha* | *bhaveyaṁ rakshaṇāyālam pralaye samupasthite*" | 17. "*Evam astv*" *iti viśvātmā tatraivāntaradhīyata* | *pushpa-vṛishṭiś cha mahatī khāt papāta surārpitā* | 18. *Kadāchid āśrame tasya kurvataḥ pitṛi-tarpaṇam* | *papāta pāṇyor upari śapharī jala-saṁyutā* | 19. *Dṛishṭvā tach-chhapharīrūpaṁ sa dayālur mahīpatiḥ* | *rakshaṇāyākarod yatnaṁ sa tasmin karakodare* | 20. *Ahorātreṇa chaikena shoḍaśāngula-vistṛitaḥ* | *so 'bhavad matsya-rūpeṇa* "*pāhi pāhīti*" *chābravīt* | 21. *Sa tam ādāya maṇike prākshipaj jala-chāriṇam* | *tatrāpi chaikarātreṇa hasta-trayam avarddhata* | 22. *Punaḥ prāhārttanādena Sahasrakiraṇātmajam* | *sa matsyaḥ* "*pāhi pāhīti*" "*tvām ahaṁ śaraṇaṁ gataḥ*" | 23. *Tataḥ sa kūpe tam matsyam prāhiṇod Ravi-nandanaḥ* | *yadā na māti tatrapi kūpe matsyaḥ*

[55] This passage is extracted in Professor Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Bodleian Sanskrit MSS. p. 347.

[56] The Taylor MS. reads *babhūva*, instead of *vachanam*.

sarovare | 24. *Kshiptaḥ sa prithutām āgāt punar yojana-sammitām* | *tatrāpy āha punar dīnaḥ "pāhi pāhi nripottama"* | 25. *Tataḥ sa Manunā kshipto Gangāyām apy avarddhata* | *yadā tadā samudre tam prākshipad medinīpatiḥ* | 26. *Yadā samudram akhilaṁ vyāpyāsau samavasthitaḥ* | *tadā prāha Manur bhītaḥ "ko 'pi tvam asuretaraḥ* | 27. *Athavā Vāsudevas tvam anya īdrik katham bhavet* | *yojanāyuta-viṁśatyā kasya tulyam bhaved vapuḥ* | 28. *Jnātas tvam matsya-rūpeṇa māṁ khedayasi Keśava* | *Hrishīkeśa jagannātha jagad-dhāma namo 'stu te"* | 29. *Evam uktaḥ sa bhagavān matsya-rūpī Janārdanaḥ* | *"sādhu sādhv" iti chovācha "samyag jnātaṁ tvayā 'nagha* | 30. *Achireṇaiva kālena medinī medinīpate* | *bhavishyati jale magnā sā-śaila-vana-kānanā* | 31. *Naur iyaṁ sarva-devānāṁ nikāyena vinirmitā* | *mahā-jīva-nikāyasya rakshaṇārtham mahīpate* | 32. *Svedāṇḍajodbhijā jīvā ye cha jīvā jarāyujāḥ* | *asyaṁ nidhāya sarvāṁs tān anarthāt*[57] *pāhi suvrata* | 33. *Yugānta-vātābhihatā yadā chalati naur nripa* | *śringe 'smin mama rājendra tademāṁ saṁyamishyasi* | 34. *Tato layānte sarvasya sthāvarasya charasya cha* | *prajāpatis tvam bhavitā jagataḥ prithivī-pate* | 35. *Evaṁ krite mahārāja*[58] *sarvajno dhritimān rishiḥ* | *manvantarādhipaś chāpi deva-pūjyo bhavishyasi* | 36. Adhyāya ii. *Sūta uvācha* | 1. *Evam ukto Manus tena paprachhāsura-sūdanam* | *varshair kiyadbhir bhagavan bhavishyaty antara-kshayaḥ* | 2. *Sattvāni cha kathaṁ nātha rakshishye Madhu-sūdana* | *tvayā saha punar yogaḥ kathaṁ vā bhavitā mama* | 3. *Śrī-matsya uvācha* | *adya-prabhrity anāvrishṭir bhavishyati mahītale* | *yāvad varsha-śataṁ sāgraṁ durbhikshaṁ narakāvaham* | 4. *Tato 'lpa-sattva-kshayadā raśmayaḥ sapta dāruṇāḥ* | *sapta-sapter bhavishyanti prataptāngāra-varshiṇaḥ* | 5. *Aurvānalo 'pi vikritiṁ gamishyati yuga-kshaye* | *vishāgniś chāpi pātālāt sankarshaṇa-mukha-chyutaḥ* | 6. *Bhavasyāpi lalāṭotthas tritīya-nayanānalaḥ* | *jagad dagdhaṁ tathā kshobhaṁ gamishyati mahā-mate* | 7. *Evaṁ dagdhā mahī sarvā yadā syād bhasma-sannibhā*[59] | *ākāśam ushmaṇā taptam bhavishyati parantapa* | 8. *Tataḥ sa-deva-nakshatraṁ jagad yāsyati sankshayam* | *saṁvartto bhīmanādaś cha droṇaś chaṇḍo*[60] *balāhakaḥ* | 9. *Vidyutpatākaḥ śoṇāmbuḥ saptaite laya-vāridāḥ* | *agni-prasveda-sambhūtāḥ plāvayishyanti medinīm* | 10. *Samudrāḥ kshobham āgatya*

[57] Instead of *anarthāt* the Taylor MS. reads *anāthān*.

[58] The Taylor MS. reads here *evaṁ krita-yugasyādau*.

[59] *Kūrma-sannibhā* | Taylor MS.

[60] The Taylor and Gaikowar MSS. have *chandre*.

chaikatvena vyavasthitāḥ | *etad ekārṇavaṁ sarvam karishyanti jagat-trayam* | 11. *Divyāṁ nāvam*[61] *imāṁ gṛihya sarva-vījāni sarvaśaḥ* | *āropya rajjvā yogena mat-prayuktena suvrata* | 12. *Saṁyamya nāvam mach-chhṛinge mat-prabhāvābhirakshitaḥ* | *ekaḥ sthāsyasi deveshu dagdheshv api parantapa* | 13. *Soma-sūryāv aham Brahmā chatur-loka-samanvitaḥ* | *Narmadā cha nadī puṇyā Mārkaṇḍeyo mahān ṛishiḥ* | 14. *Bhavo vedāḥ purāṇaṁ cha vidyābhiḥ sarvato vṛitam* | *tvayā sārddham idaṁ sarvaṁ sthāsyaty antara-sankshaye* | 15. *Evam ekārṇave jāte Chākshushāntara-sankshaye* | *vedān pravarttayishyāmi tvat-sargādau mahīpate* | 16. *Sūta uvācha* | *Evam uktvā sa bhagavāṁs tatraivāntaradhīyata* | *Manur apy āsthito yogaṁ Vāsudeva-prasādajam* | 17. *Athābhūch cha tathā-bhūtaḥ samplavaḥ pūrva-sūchitaḥ* | *kāle yathokte sanjāte Vāsudeva-mukhodyate* | 18. *Sṛingī prādurbabhūvātha matsya-rūpī Janārdanaḥ* | *Ananto rajju-rūpeṇa Manoḥ pārśvam upāgamat* | 19. *Bhūta-sangān samākṛishya yogenāropya dharmavit* | *bhujanga-rajjvā matsyasya śṛinge nāvam ayojayat* | 20. *Uparyy upasthitas tasyāḥ praṇipatya Janārdanam* | *ābhūta-samplave tasminn atīte yoga-śāyinā* | 21. *Pṛishṭena Manunā proktam purāṇam matsyarūpiṇā* | *tad idānīm pravakshyāmi śṛiṇudhvam ṛishi-sattamāḥ* |

"12. Formerly a heroic king called Manu, the patient son of the Sun, endowed with all good qualities, indifferent to pain and pleasure, after investing his son with the royal authority, practised intense austere fervour, (13) in a certain region of Malaya (Malabar), and attained to transcendent union with the Deity (*yoga*). 14. When a million years had elapsed, Brahmā became pleased and disposed to bestow a boon, which he desired Manu to choose. 15. Bowing before the father of the world the monarch said, 'I desire of thee this one incomparable boon, that when the dissolution of the universe arrives I may have power to preserve all existing things, whether moving or stationary.' 17. 'So be it,' said the Soul of all things, and vanished on the spot; when a great shower of flowers, thrown down by the gods, fell from the sky. 18. Once as, in his hermitage, Manu offered the oblation to the Manes, there fell, upon his hands, along with some water, a Sapharī fish (a carp), (19) which the kind-hearted king perceiving, strove to preserve in his water-jar. 20. In one day and night the fish grew to the size of sixteen fingers, and cried, 'preserve me, preserve me.' 21. Manu then took and threw him into a large pitcher, where in one night he

[61] The Taylor MS. reads *veda-nāvam*, "the ship of the Vedas."

increased three cubits, (22) and again cried, with the voice of one distressed, to the son of Vivasvat, 'preserve me, preserve me, I have sought refuge with thee.' 23. Manu next put him into a well, and when he could not be contained even in that, (24) he was thrown into a lake, where he attained to the size of a yojana; but still cried in humble tones, 'preserve me, preserve me.' 25. When, after being flung into the Gangā he increased there also, the king threw him into the ocean. 26. When he filled the entire ocean, Manu said, in terror, 'Thou art some god, (27) or thou art Vāsudeva; how can any one else be like this? Whose body could equal 200,000 yojanas? 28. Thou art recognised under this form of a fish, and thou tormentest me, Keśava; reverence be to thee, Hrishīkeśa, lord of the world, abode of the universe!' 29. Thus addressed, the divine Janārdana, in the form of a fish, replied: 'Thou hast well spoken, and hast rightly known me. 30. In a short time the earth with its mountains, groves, and forests, shall be submerged in the waters. 31. This ship has been constructed by the company of all the gods[62] for the preservation of the vast host of living creatures. 32. Embarking in it all living creatures, both those engendered from moisture and from eggs, as well as the viviparous, and plants, preserve them from calamity. 33. When driven by the blasts at the end of the yuga, the ship is swept along, thou shalt bind it to this horn of mine. 34. Then at the close of the dissolution thou shalt be the Prajāpati (lord of creatures) of this world, fixed and moving. 35. When this shall have been done,[63] thou, the omniscient, patient rishi, and lord of the Manvantara, shalt be an object of worship to the gods." 2nd Adhyāya: "1. Sūta said: Being thus addressed, Manu asked the slayer of the Asura, 'In how many years shall the (existing) Manvantara come to an end? 2. And how shall I preserve the living creatures? or how shall I meet again with thee?' The fish answered: 'From this day forward a drought shall visit the earth for a hundred years and more, with a tormenting famine. 4. Then the seven direful rays of the son, of little power, destructive, shall rain burning charcoal. 5. At the close of the yuga the submarine fire shall burst forth,

[62] The reading of the Taylor MS. here is partially erased; but it may have been *sarva-vedānām*, "of all the Vedas." Compare the various reading in verse 11 of the next *adhyāya*.

[63] According to the reading of the Taylor MS. we should have to substitute the words, "Thus at the beginning of the Kṛita age, thou" etc.

while the poisonous flame issuing from the mouth of Sankarshaṇa (shall blaze) from Pātāla, and the fire from Mahādeva's third eye shall issue from his forehead. Thus kindled the world shall become confounded. 7. When, consumed in this manner, the earth shall become like ashes, the æther too shall be scorched with heat. 8. Then the world, together with the gods and planets, shall be destroyed. The seven clouds of the period of dissolution, called Saṁvartta, Bhīmanāda, Droṇa, Chaṇḍa, Balāhaka, (9) Vidyutpatāka, and Śoṇāmbu, produced from the steam of the fire, shall inundate the earth. 10. The seas agitated, and joined together, shall reduce these entire three worlds to one ocean. 11. Taking this celestial ship, embarking on it all the seeds, and through contemplation fixed on me fastening it by a rope (12) to my horn, thou alone shalt remain, protected by my power, when even the gods are burnt up. 13. The sun and moon, I Brahmā with the four worlds, the holy river Narmadā,[64] the great rishi Mārkaṇḍeya, (14) Mahādeva, the Vedas, the Purāṇa with the sciences,—these shall remain with thee at the close of the Manvantara. 15. The world having thus become one ocean at the end of the Chākshusha manvantara, I shall give currency to the Vedas at the commencement of thy creation.' 16. Sūta continued: Having thus spoken, the divine Being vanished on the spot; while Manu fell into a state of contemplation (*yoga*) induced by the favour of Vāsudeva. 17. When the time announced by Vāsudeva had arrived, the predicted deluge took place in that very manner. Then Janārdana appeared in the form of a horned fish; (the serpent) Ananta came to Manu in the shape of a rope. 19. Then he who was skilled in duty (*i.e.* Manu) drew towards himself all creatures by contemplation (*yoga*) and stowed them in the ship, which he then attached to the fish's horn by the serpent-rope, (20) as he stood upon the ship, and after he had made obeisance to Janārdana. 21. I shall now declare the Purāṇa which, in answer to an enquiry from Manu, was uttered by the deity in the form of the fish, as he lay in a sleep of contemplation till the end of the universal inundation: Listen." The Matsya Purāṇa gives us no further information here about the progress and results of the deluge; and this narrative does not appear to be ever afterwards resumed.

[64] In the opinion of this writer, therefore, the Narmadā (Nerbudda) must have been a holier stream than the Gangā: otherwise we should have expected him to select the latter as the river to be preserved at the dissolution.

The Bhāgavata P. viii. 24, 7, gives the same story with variations as follows:

Āsīd atīta-kalpānte brāhmo naimittiko layaḥ | samudropaplutās tatra lokā bhūr-ādayo nṛipa | 8. *Kālenāgata-nidrasya Dhātuḥ śiśayishor balī | mukhato nissṛitān vedān Hayagrīvo 'ntike 'harat* | 9. *Jnātvā tad dānavendrasya Hayagrīvasya cheshṭitam | dadhāra śapharī-rūpam bhagavān Harir īśvaraḥ* | 10. *Tatra rāja-ṛishiḥ kaśchid nāmnā Satyavrato mahān | Nārāyaṇa-paro 'tapyat tapaḥ sa salilāśanaḥ* | 11. *Yo 'sāv asmin mahākalpe tanayaḥ sa Vivasvataḥ | Śrāddhadeva iti khyāto manutve Hariṇā 'rpitaḥ* | 12. *Ekadhā Kṛitamālāyām kurvato jala-tarpaṇam | tasyānjalyudake kāchich chhaphary ekā 'bhyapadyata* | 13. *Satyavrato 'njali-gatām saha toyena Bhārata | utsasarja nadī-toye śapharīm Draviḍeśvaraḥ | tam āha sātikaruṇam mahākāruṇikam nṛipam | yādobhyo jnāti-ghātibhyo dīnām mām dīnavatsala | katham visṛijase rājan bhītām asmin sarij-jale* | . . . . . 32. *Saptame 'dyatanād ūrddhvam ahany etad arindama | nimankshyaty apyayāmbhodhau trailokyam bhūr-bhuvādikam* | 33. *Trilokyām līyamānāyām saṁvarttāmbhasi vai tadā | upasthāsyati nauḥ kāchid viśālā tvām mayeritā* | 34. *Tvam tāvad oshadhīḥ sarvā vījāny uchchāvachāni cha | saptarshibhih parivṛitaḥ sarva-sattvopavṛiṁhitaḥ* | 45. *Āruhya vṛihatīm nāvam vicharishyasy aviklavaḥ | ekārṇave nirāloke ṛishīṇām eva varchasā* | 36. *Dodhūyamānām tām nāvam samīreṇa balīyasā | upasthitasya me śṛinge nibadhnīhi mahāhinā* | 37. *Aham tvām ṛishibhiḥ sākam sahanāvam udanvati | vikarshan vicharishyāmi yāvad Brāhmī niśā prabho* | . . . . 41. *Tataḥ samudraḥ udvelaḥ sarvataḥ plāvayan mahīm | vardhamāno mahāmeghair varshadbhiḥ samadṛiśyata* | 42. *Dhyāyan bhagavad-ādeśam dadṛiśe nāvam āgatām | tām āruroha viprendrair ādāyaushadhi-vīrudhaḥ* | 43. *Tam ūchur munayaḥ prītā rājan dhyāyasva Keśavam | sa vai naḥ sankaṭād asmād avitā śam vidhāsyati* | 44. *So 'nudhyātas tato rājnā prādurāsīd mahārṇave | eka-śṛinga-dharo matsyo haimo niyuta-yojanaḥ* | 45. *Nibadhya nāvam tach-chhṛinge yathokto Hariṇā purā | varatreṇāhinā tushṭas tushṭāva Madhusūdanam* | . . . . . 54. *Ity uktavantam nṛipatim bhagavān Ādipūrushaḥ | matsya-rūpī mahāmbhodhau viharaṁs tattvam abravīt* | 55. *Purāṇa-saṁhitām divyām Sānkhya-Yoga-kriyāvatīm | Satyavratasya rājarsher ātma-guhyam aśeshataḥ* | 56. *Aśraushīd ṛishibhiḥ sākam ātma-tattvam asaṁśayam | nāvy āsīno bhagavatā proktam brahma sanātanam* | 57. *Atīta-pralayāpāye utthitāya sa Vedhase | hatvāśuram Hayagrīvam vedān prat-*

yāharad Hariḥ | 58. *Sa tu Satyavrato rājā jnāna-vijnāna-saṁyutaḥ* | *Vishṇoḥ prasādāt kalpe 'smin āsīd Vaivasvato Manuḥ* |

"7. At the close of the past Kalpa there occurred an occasional[65] dissolution of the universe arising from Brahmā's nocturnal repose; in which the Bhūrloka and other worlds were submerged in the ocean. 8. When the creator, desirous of rest, had under the influence of time been overcome by sleep, the strong Hayagrīva coming near, carried off the Vedas which had issued from his mouth. 9. Discovering this deed of the prince of the Dānavas, the divine Hari, the Lord, took the form of a S'apharī fish. 10. At that time a certain great royal rishi, called Satyavrata, who was devoted to Nārāyaṇa, practised austere fervour, subsisting on water. 11. He was the same who in the present great Kalpa is the son of Visvasvat, called S'rāddhadeva,[66] and was appointed by Hari to the office of Manu. 12. Once, as in the river Kṛitamālā he was offering the oblation of water to the Pitris, a S'apharī fish came into the water in the hollow of his hands. 13. The lord of Draviḍa, Satyavrata, cast the fish in his hands with the water into the river. 14. The fish very piteously cried to the merciful king, 'Why dost thou abandon me poor and terrified to the monsters who destroy their kindred in this river?'" [Satyavrata then took the fish from the river, placed it in his waterpot, and as it grew larger and larger, threw it successively into a larger vessel, a pond, various lakes, and at length into the sea. The fish objects to be left there on the plea that it would be devoured; but Manu replies that it can be no real fish, but Vishṇu himself; and with various expressions of devotion enquires why he had assumed this disguise, verses 15–31.] The god replies: 32. "On the seventh day after this the three worlds Bhūrloka, etc., shall sink beneath the ocean of the dissolution. 33. When the universe is dissolved in that ocean, a large ship, sent by me, shall come to thee. 34. Taking with thee the plants and various seeds, surrounded by the seven rishis, and attended by all existences, (35) thou shalt embark on the great ship, and shalt without alarm move over the one dark ocean, by the sole light of the rishis. When the ship shall be vehemently shaken by

[65] *Naimittika.* See above p. 45.

[66] Manu is called S'rāddhadeva in the Mahābhārata also, S'āntip. 4507. In the Brāhmaṇas, however, he receives the appellation, or epithet, not of *S'rāddhādeva*, but of *Srăddhādeva.* See above, p. 188 ff.

the tempestuous wind, fasten it by the great serpent to my norn—for I shall come near. 37. So long as the night of Brahmā lasts, I shall draw thee with the rishis and the ship over the ocean." [The god then disappears after promising that Satyavrata shall practically know his greatness and experience his kindness, and Satyavrata awaits the predicted events, verses 38–40.] 41. "Then the sea, augmenting as the great clouds poured down their waters, was seen overflowing its shores and everywhere inundating the earth. 42. Meditating on the injunctions of the deity, Satyavrata beheld the arrival of the ship, on which he embarked with the Brāhmans, taking along with him the various kinds of plants. 43. Delighted, the Munis said to him, 'meditate on Keśava; he will deliver us from this danger, and grant us prosperity.' 44. Accordingly when the king had meditated on him, there appeared on the ocean a golden fish, with one horn, a million yojanas long. 45. Binding the ship to his horn with the serpent for a rope, as he had been before commanded by Hari, Satyavrata lauded Madhusūdana." [Verses 46–53 contain the hymn.] 54. When the king had thus spoken, the divine primeval Male, in the form of a fish, moving on the vast ocean declared to him the truth; (55) the celestial collection of Puranas, with the Sānkhya, Yoga, the ceremonial, and the mystery of the soul. 56. Seated on the ship with the rishis, Satyavrata heard the true doctrine of the soul, of the eternal Brahmă, declared by the god. 57. When Brahmā arose at the end of the past dissolution, Hari restored to him the Vedas, after slaying Hayagrīva. 58. And King Satyavrata, master of all knowledge, sacred and profane, became, by the favour of Vishṇu, the son of Vivasvat, the Manu in this Kalpa."

Before adducing the remarks of the commentator Srīdhara Svāmin on the passage last cited from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I shall quote one more version of the same legend from the Agni Purāṇa.[67] It is not of any great consequence, as, though more condensed, it coincides in purport with that in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa: which of the two has bor-

[67] This has been copied by Professor Aufrecht from a MS. of the Agni Purāṇa, belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of London. I am informed by Prof. Aufrecht that the East India Office Library has two MSS. of the Vahni Purāṇa, which (although Vahni is, in later Sanskrit, synonymous with Agni) differ entirely in their contents from the Agni Purāṇa.

rowed from the other, or whether both are derived from a common source, I am unable to say.

Vasishṭha uvācha | 1. *Matsyādi-rūpiṇaṁ Vishṇum brūhi sargādi-kāraṇam* | *purāṇam brahma chāgneyaṁ yathā Vishṇoḥ purā śrutam* | *Agnir uvācha* | 2. *Matsyāvatāraṁ vakshye 'haṁ Vasishṭha śriṇu vai Hareḥ* | *avatāra-kriyāṁ dushṭa-nashṭyai sat-pālanāya hi* | 3. *Āsīd atīta-kalpānte brāhmo naimittiko layaḥ* | *samudropaplutās tatra lokā bhūrādikā mune* | 4. *Manur Vaivasvatas tepe tapo vai bhukti-muktaye* | *ekadā Kṛitalmālāyāṁ kurvato jala-tarpaṇam* | 5. *Tasyāñjaly-udake matsyaḥ svalpa eko 'bhyapadyata* | *ksheptu-kāmaṁ jale prāha "na māṁ kshipa narottama* | 6. *Grahādibhyo bhayam me 'tra" tach chhrutvā kalaśe 'kshipat* | *Manuṁ vṛiddhaḥ punar matsyaḥ prāha taṁ "dehi me vṛihat"* | 7. *Tasya tad vachanaṁ śrutvā rājā 'tha vandane 'kshipat* | *tatra vṛiddho 'bravīd bhūpam "pṛithu dehi padam mama"* | 8. *Sarovare punaḥ kshipto vavṛidhe tat-pramāṇavān* | *ūche "dehi vṛihat sthānam" prākshipach chāmbudhau tataḥ* | 9. *Laksha-yojana-vistīrṇaḥ kshaṇa-mātreṇa so 'bhavat* | *matsyaṁ tam adbhutaṁ dṛishṭvā vismitaḥ prābravīd Manuḥ* | 10. "*Ko bhavān nanu vai Vishṇur Nārāyaṇa namo 'stu te* | *māyayā mohayasi māṁ kimarthaṁ cha Janārdana"* | 11. *Manur-ukto*[68] *'bravīd matsyo Manuṁ vai pālane ratam* | *avatīrṇo bhavāyāsya jagato dushṭa-nashṭaye* | 12. "*Saptame divase tv abdhiḥ plāvayishyati vai jagat* | *upasthitāyāṁ nāvi tvaṁ vījadīni vidhāya cha* | 13. *Saptarshibhiḥ parivṛito niśām brāhmīṁ charishyasi* | *upasthitasya me śṛinge nibadhnīhi mahāhina"* | 14. *Ity uktvā 'ntardadhe matsyo Manuḥ kāla-pratīkshakaḥ* | *stitaḥ samudra udvele nāvam āruruhe tadā* | 15. *Eka-śṛinga-dharo matsyo haimo niyuta-yojanaḥ* | *nāvam babandha tach-chhṛinge matsyākhyaṁ cha purāṇakam* | 16. *Suśrāva matsyāt pāpa-ghnaṁ sa-śrutam śrutibhiḥ śrutam* (?) | *brahma-veda-praharttāraṁ Hayagrīvaṁ cha dānavam* | 17. *Avadhīd veda-mantrādyān pālayāmāsa Keśavaḥ* |

"Vasishṭha said: 1. Declare to me Vishṇu, the cause of the creation, in the form of a Fish and his other incarnations; and the Puranic revelation of Agni, as it was originally heard from Vishṇu. Agni replied: 2. Hear, o Vasishṭha, I shall relate to thee the Fish-incarnation of Vishṇu, and his acts when so incarnate for the destruction of

[68] Professor Aufrecht's transcript has this reading *Manur-ukto;* which I have retained, although I was not aware that *Manus* was commonly used for *Manu*, except in the Vedic period.

the wicked, and protection of the good. 3. At the close of the past Kalpa there occurred an occasional dissolution of the universe caused by Brahmā's sleep, when the Bhūrloka and other worlds were inundated by the ocean. 4. Manu, the son of Vivasvat, practised austere fervour for the sake of worldly enjoyment as well as final liberation. Once, when he was offering the libation of water to the Pitṛis in the river Kṛitamālā, (5) a small fish came into the water in the hollow of his hands, and said to him when he sought to cast it into the stream, 'Do not throw me in, (6) for I am afraid of alligators and other monsters which are here.' On hearing this Manu threw it into a jar. Again, when grown, the Fish said to him, 'Provide me a large place.' 7. Manu then cast it into a larger vessel (?). When it increased there, it said to the king, 'Give me a wide space.' 8. When, after being thrown into a pond, it became as large as its receptacle, and cried out for greater room, he flung it into the sea. 9. In a moment it became a hundred thousand yojanas in bulk. Beholding the wonderful Fish, Manu said in astonishment: (10) 'Who art thou? Art thou Vishṇu? Adoration be paid to thee, o Nārāyaṇa. Why, o Janārdana, dost thou bewilder me by thy illusion?' 11. The Fish, which had become incarnate for the welfare of this world and the destruction of the wicked, when so addressed, replied to Manu, who had been intent upon its preservation: (12) 'Seven days after this the ocean shall inundate the world. A ship shall come to thee, in which thou shalt place the seeds, (13) and accompanied by the rishis shalt sail during the night of Brahmā. Bind it with the great serpent to my horn, when I arrive. 14. Having thus spoken the Fish vanished. Manu awaited the promised period, and embarked on the ship when the sea overflowed its shores. 15. (There appeared) a golden Fish, a million yojanas long, with one horn, to which Manu attached the ship, (16) and heard from the Fish the Matsya Purāṇa, which takes away sin, together with the Veda. Keśava then slew the Dānava Hayagrīva who had snatched away the Vedas, and preserved its mantras and other portions."

The following is Śrīdhara's comment, before referred to, on the legend of the deluge, as told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. These remarks have been well translated and explained in the preface to the 3rd volume of his edition of this Purāṇa (pp. xxxviii ff.) by M. Burnouf, whose elaborate discussion of the legend extends from p. xxiii to p. liv.

Atra idaṁ chintyaṁ "kim ayam mahāpralayo dainandino vā" iti | tatra tāvad "brāhmo layaḥ" (v. 7) *iti "yo 'sāv asmin mahā-kalpe"* (v. 11) *iti cha ukter "mahāpralayaḥ" iti prāptaṁ "na" iti brūmaḥ | mahāpralaye prithivy-ādīnām avaśeshāsambhavād "yāvad brāhmī niśā"* (v. 37) *ity-ādy-ukti- virodhāch cha | ato "dainandana" iti yuktam | na cha etad api sangachhate | saṁvarttakair anāvṛishṭy-ādibhir vinā akasmād eva "saptame 'hani trailokyaṁ nimankshyati"* (v. 32) *iti matsyokter anupapatteḥ | yathoktam prathama-skandhe "rūpam"* (i. 3, 15) *ity ādi tad api tadā durghaṭam | na hi pralaya-dvaye 'pi "mahīmayyāṁ nāvy" ārohaḥ sambhavati na cha Chākshusha-manvantare pralayo 'sti | tathā cha sati saptamo Manur Vaivasvataḥ ity api durghaṭaṁ syāt | "tvaṁ tāvad oshadhīḥ sarvāḥ"* (viii. 24, 34) *ity-ādi-nirdeśo 'pi na sangachhate | na hi tadā oshadhy-ādīnāṁ sattvānāṁ cha avaśeshaḥ sambhavati | tasmād anyathā varṇyate | naivāyaṁ vāstavaḥ ko 'pi pralayaḥ | kintu Satyavratasya jnānopadeśaya āvirbhūto bhagavān vairāgyārtham akasmāt pralayam iva darśayāmāsa yathā 'sminn eva Vaivasvata-manvantare Mārkaṇḍeyāya darśitavān | tad-apekshayā eva cha "mahā-kalpe 'sminn" iti viśeshaṇaṁ sangachhate | tathā cha "tataḥ samudraḥ udvelaḥ sarvataḥ samadṛiśyata"* (v. 41) *iti tasyaiva yathā darśanam uktam ity eshā dik |*

"Here we have to consider whether this was a great dissolution of the universe, or one of those which occur at the close of each day of Brahmā. If it be supposed from the expressions 'a dissolution proceeding from Brahmā' (v. 7), and 'he is the same who in this Mahākalpa' (v. 11), that it was a great dissolution, we reply,—no; because in a great dissolution the earth and other worlds cannot possibly remain in existence, and because this would be opposed to the words 'so long as the night of Brahmā lasts' (v. 37). Hence it might appear that it must be one of the dissolutions which occur at the end of a day of Brahmā. But this also is impossible, because it would be at variance with the Fish's words that 'the three worlds should be submerged on the seventh day,' (v. 32) suddenly, without the drought and other calamities which precede a dissolution. What is stated in the first book (iii. 15), 'at the deluge, in the Chākshusha Manvantara, he took the form of a Fish, and preserved Manu Vaivasvata, whom he placed in a ship formed of the earth,' [69] would also in that case be inconceivable; for

[69] Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3. 15. *Rupaṁ sa jagṛihe mātsyaṁ Chākshushodadhi-samplave | nāvy āropya mahīmayyām apād Vaivasvatam Manum |* On this passage also

(1.) in neither of the two dissolutions could any one be placed 'in a ship in the form of the earth' (as the earth is submerged in the one case and altogether destroyed in the other); (2.) there is no dissolution of the world in the Chākshusha Manvantara; (3.) in the case supposed the existence of a seventh Manu, the son of Vivasvat would be impossible (for the fourteen Manus succeed each other in one Kalpa without the intervention of any dissolution). And in that case' the command to take 'all the plants into the ship' (viii. 24, 34), would be inconceivable, since no plants or other such substances are left at such a period. Such being the fact, the narrative must be otherwise explained. It was in fact no real dissolution which is here related. But the deity, who appeared to teach Satyavrata knowledge, shewed him suddenly the semblance of a dissolution to instil into him dispassion, just as in the Vaivasvata Manvantara he shewed to Mārkandeya. And if referred to this, the words 'in this Māhakalpa' will be conceivable. And consequently the words 'Then the sea was beheld overflowing its shores on every side' are spoken with reference to what Satyavrata saw (in the vision). Such is an indication of the purport of the Section."

S'rīdhara Svāmin here reasons only upon the data supplied by the particular version of the story which he found before him in the Bhāgavata, and does not seem to have extended his researches so far as to ascertain whether the legend might not exhibit some variations as narrated in other Puranas. If he had turned to the Matsya Purāṇa he would have found that one of his objections, viz., that drawn from the absence of any reference to the calamities supposed to precede a dissolution, did not apply to the account there given; since that narrative expressly asserts that these premonitory signs were manifested. Others of his objections apply no doubt to the other narratives as well as to that in the Bhāgavata. According to the ordinary Puranic theory (see above, pp. 43 ff.) fourteen Manus exist in each Kalpa, and one succeeds another without the intervention of any *pralaya* or dissolution. It is obviously inconsistent with this theory to represent such a dissolution

S'rīdhara remarks: *Yadyapi manvantarāvasāne pralayo nāsti tathāpi kenachit kautukena Satyavratāya māyā pradarśitā | yathā "akāṇḍe Mārkaṇḍeyāya" iti drashṭavyam* | "Although there is no dissolution at the end of a Manvantara, yet, through a certain sport an illusion was shown to Satyavrata, as in the other passage where it is said 'Suddenly to Mārkaṇḍeya,' etc."

as taking place either during the life of any of the Manus, or after his disappearance. It is even doubtful, or more than doubtful (Wilson's Vish. P. i. p. 50 f. and p. 44, above) whether one Manu can exist contemporaneously with another, and yet, according to the Matsya and Agni Purāṇas (see above, pp. 205 ff., 211 f.) Manu Vaivasvata is said to have lived during his predecessor's period, although the Bhāgavata avoids this difficulty by making Satyavrata the hero of the story and by representing him as being born again as Manu Vaivasvata at the beginning of the next Manvantara. (M. Burnouf's Preface above referred to may be consulted for further remarks on this subject.) The authors of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas do not, however, appear to have been so sensitively alive to inconsistencies of this description as S'rīdhara. Perhaps the system of Kalpas and Manvantaras may not have been so clearly defined, or so generally current, when the older parts, at least of the Mahābhārata, were composed, as at a later period.[70] And even the Puranic writers may not have cared very much to preserve a strict congruity in all that they wrote. In fact they may have had no great faith in the authority of speculations so arbitrary and artificial as those relating to the great mundane periods to which I refer,—speculations which were derived from no higher source than previous writers of their own class. The case, however, was different with the Commentators, who lived at a later period, and who seem to have regarded the established doctrine regarding Kalpas and Manvantaras as an article of faith.

There is, however, no doubt that, for the reasons above assigned, this legend of a Flood, such as is described in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, does not fit into the system of Kalpas and Manvantaras. But what is the inference which we ought to draw from this circumstance? M. Burnouf believes (1.) that the theory of great mundane periods and periodical dissolutions of the universe was received in India from very early times (Bhāg. P. iii. Pref. p. xliii.) and (2) that it was older than the legend of a deluge, as, although the latter may have been derived from ancient tradition, the style in which it is related in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas has nothing of the archaic colouring of the Itihāsas contained in the Brāhmaṇas, and it had not, so far as he knew,

[70] The Svāyambhuva Manvantara is mentioned in the S'āntip. verse 12658, but no details are given (*kṛite yuge mahārāja pura Svāyambhuve 'ntare*).

been found in any work of the class last named(p. xxvii.), and was not, he anticipated, likely to be discovered there (lii.). The conclusion which he deduces from these premises, and from the absence of any tradition of any great local inundation (pp. xlviii. and li.), is that, although, as related in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, the legend of the deluge has received in some respects an Indian character (xxxi. ff.; xlv. ff.), it is not in its origin Indian, (li.), but was most probably imported into Hindustan from a Semitic source, whether Hebrew or Assyrian (lii.–liv.). The first of M. Burnouf's premises, regarding the great antiquity of the system of Kalpas, Manvantaras, and mundane dissolutions, is not borne out by the Vedic hymns, or anything that has yet been found in the Brāhmaṇas (see above, pp. 45 ff.). And his anticipation that no reference to a deluge would be discovered in any of the older Indian records has proved incorrect, as is shewn by the legend of Manu quoted above (p. 181 ff.) from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Professor Weber, by whom attention was first drawn (in his Indische Studien, i. 160 ff.) to this passage, shows how materially it interferes with Burnouf's results. If there is no proof of the great antiquity of the cosmical theory which that great scholar supposes to be inconsistent with the early existence in India of any tradition of a deluge, whilst on the other hand there is distinct evidence that that tradition was actually current there at a much earlier period than he imagined, it is clear that his supposition of its having been introduced into that country from an exclusively Semitic source loses much of its probability.

The explanation by which S'rīdhara endeavours to maintain the consistency of the Puranic narratives and theories seems to be altogether unfounded. There is no appearance of the authors either of the Bhāgavata, or Matsya, or Agni Purāṇas having intended to represent the deluge as a mere vision. They evidently meant this narrative to be taken literally, just as much as anything else that they describe.

I shall now compare the versions of the legend given in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas with each other, and with that quoted above from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa.

I. The following are the peculiarities of the narrative in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa:

(1.) It makes no reference to any great mundane periods, such as Kalpas or Manvantaras.

(2.) It does not speak of a dissolution of the world (*pralaya*), but of a flood (*augha*) which swept away all living creatures except Manu.

(3.) It does not fix the number of days or years after which the flood should come.

(4.) It speaks of Manu simply, without assigning to him any patronymic, such as Vaivasvata.[71]

(5.) It contains no allusion to the locality in which he was when the fish came to him.

(6.) It makes no mention of the fish being thrown into any river.

(7.) It is silent as to Manu being accompanied by any rishis when he embarked on the ship, and as to his taking any seeds along with him.

(8.) It speaks of the ship as having rested on the "Northern mountain," and of a place called "Manu's Descent."

(9.) It does not say anything of any deity being incarnate in the fish.

(10.) It represents Iḍā as produced from Manu's oblation, and as the mother of his offspring, begotten apparently in the natural way.

It is manifest from this abstract, when compared with what follows, that the flood described in the Brāhmaṇa is distinguishable in various respects from the dissolution, or *pralaya*, of the later works.

II. The legend as told in the Mahābhārata agrees with that of the S'. P. Br. in some, and differs from it in other particulars:

(1.) It does not specify any Kalpa or Manvantara.

(2.) It speaks of a dissolution of the universe (*pralaya*), and of the time of its purification by water (*samprakshālana-kālaḥ*) having arrived.

(3.) It makes the fish declare that this event should take place speedily (*achirāt*), and alludes to no antecedent calamities.

[71] Manu Vaivasvata is however mentioned in S'. P. Br. xiii. 4, 3, 3. "*Manur Vaivasvato rājā" ity āha | tasya manushyā viśaḥ* | "He says 'Manu Vaivasvata king.' Men are his subjects." Further on, xiii. 4, 3, 6, Yama Vaivasvata is spoken of as King of the Pitṛis. Compare R.V. x. 14, 1; 17, 1. In the Vālakhilya hymns attached to the R.V. iv. 1, Indra is mentioned as drinking Soma in the house of Manu Vivasvat (not Vaivasvata). In the Atharva-veda, viii. 10, 24, Manu Vaivasvata is spoken of as the calf of the cow Virāj (*tasyā Manur Vaivasvato vatsaḥ*). Yama is similarly spoken of in the preceding verse. In Vālakhilya, iii. 1, Indra is said to have drunk Soma in Manu Sāmvaraṇi's house. The connection of the words *Sāvarṇya* and *Sāvarṇi* with the word *manu*, "man," in R.V. x. 68, 8 f. and 11, no doubt gave rise to the idea of a Manu Sāvarṇi. See Wilson's Vishṇu P. 4to. ed. pp. 266 ff., and Roth's remark in Journal Germ. Or. Soc. vi. 245 f., and R.V. x. 17, 2.

(4.) It assigns to Manu the patronymic of Vaivasvata, but mentions no other Manu.

(5.) It represents the fish as coming to him when on the banks of the Chiriṇī river.

(6.) It describes the fish as thrown into the Ganges before it was taken to the sea.

(7.) It speaks of Manu as embarking on the ship with the seven rishis, and as taking with him all the seeds described by the Brāhmans.

(8.) It declares that the ship rested on the highest peak of the Himālaya, which was thence called Naubandhana.

(9.) It makes the fish reveal himself as Brahmā Prajāpati.

(10.) It describes Manu not as begetting offspring but as creating all sorts of living beings including MEN.

III. The Matsya Purāṇa agrees in some points, and differs in others from the above details.

(1.) It states that Manu, whom it styles the son of the Sun (*Sahasrakiraṇātmaja*, and *Ravi-nandana*), *i.e.* Manu Vaivasvata, practised austerity after making over his kingdom to his son (v. 12). One might have supposed that he could only have done this in his own Manvantara; but it is said further on (v. 34 f.) that he was informed by the fish that when the dissolution should come to an end, he should become a Prajāpati and lord of the Manvantara; and he receives a promise that he should be preserved during the dissolution (ii. 12), which, as appears from v. 15, was to take place at the end of the Chākshusha Manvantara. After this he was to create the world anew. We must therefore suppose the writer to have regarded Manu Vaivasvata as existing during the period of his predecessor, but as then occupying the inferior position of a king. This difficulty is, as I have already remarked, avoided in the Bhāgavata, which makes King Satyavrata the hero of the story.

(2.) This Purāṇa speaks of a dissolution (*pralaya*) and yet (i. 15 ff.) represents Manu as asking and receiving from Brahmā as a boon that when that dissolution should arrive, he should be the preserver of all things stationary and moving.

(3.) It states that a hundred years and more would elapse before the dissolution, which was to be preceded by famine and various terrific phenomena.

(4.) It represents Manu as the son of the Sun. See under head (1.).

(5.) It mentions Malaya (Malabar) as the scene of Manu's austerity, and of the apparition of the fish.

(6.) It agrees with the Mahâbhârata in describing the fish as thrown into the Ganges, though at so great a distance from Malabar.

(7.) It is silent as to the seven rishis embarking on the ship, but speaks of Manu taking with him all sorts of creatures (living apparently) as well as seeds (chap. ii. v. 11).

(8.) It does not bring the narrative to a conclusion (see above, p. 207), and thus has no opportunity of saying anything of the place where the ship rested.

(9.) It speaks of Janârdana (Vishṇu) as the god who was manifested in the Fish.

(10.) It refers to Manu as about to effect a creation (ii. 15), but also as preserving the existing animals and plants (ch. i. 15 ff., 31 f.; ii. 2, 19).

IV. According to the Bhâgavata Purâṇa:

(1.) The event described was an "occasional dissolution" (*naimittiko layaḥ*, see above, p. 45) at the end of a Kalpa (viii. 24, 7); and yet in contradiction with this it had previously been alluded to (i. 3, 15) as occurring at the close of the Châkshusha Manvantara.

(2.) See head (1.).

(3.) The dissolution was to take place after seven days (viii. 24, 32); and no premonitory calamities are referred to.

(4.) The hero of the story is Satyavrata, king of Draviḍa, who was born again in the present *mahâkalpa* as the son of Vivasvat (vv. 10, 11, 58).

(5.) The scene of the incidents, with which the narrative begins, was the river Kṛitamâlâ, in the country of Draviḍa.

(6.) The fish is not thrown into any river after it had been once taken out of the Kṛitamâlâ, and had grown large.

(7.) Satyavrata is commanded to take with him into the ship the seven rishis, as well as plants, seeds, and all beings (*sarva-sattvopavṛiṁhitaḥ*).

(8.) Nothing is said of the place where the ship rested.

(9.) Vishṇu is the deity who took the form of a fish with the view of recovering the Vedas carried away by the Dânava Hayagrîva (vv. 9, 57).

(10.) No mention is made in this chapter of any creation effected by Manu; but in ix. i. an account is given of his descendants.

V. The narrative in the Agni Purāṇa agrees with that in the Bhāgavata, except in its much greater conciseness, and in making Manu Vaivasvata, and not Satyavrata, the hero of the story.

SECT. IV.—*Legendary Accounts of the Origin of Castes among the Descendants of Manu and Atri, according to the Purāṇas.*

We have already seen that it is distinctly affirmed in a passage quoted above (p. 126) from the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 3138 ff., that men of all classes, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras were descended from Manu, a statement which is clearly at variance with the notion of their having been separately created from different members of Brahmā. This tallies with the account of the origin of castes which is found in those parts of the Purāṇas which profess to record the history of the two royal races, the solar and the lunar, which are said to have sprung from Manu Vaivasvata and Atri.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa (which is here written in prose) makes the following statement regarding Manu's descendants:

iv. 1. 4. *Sakala-jagatām anādir ādibhūtaḥ ṛig-yajuḥ-sāmādimaya-bhagavad-Vishṇumayasya Brahmaṇo mūrttirūpam Hiraṇyagarbho brahmāṇḍato bhagavān Brahmā prāg babhūva | Brahmaṇaś cha dakshiṇāngushṭhajanmā Dakshaḥ prajāpatiḥ | Dakshasyāpy Aditiḥ | Aditer Vivasvān | Vivasvato Manuḥ | Manor Ikshvāku-Nṛiga-Dhṛishṭa-S'aryāti-Narishyanta-Prāṁśu-Nābhāganedishṭa-Kārūsha-Pṛishadhrākhyāḥ putrāḥ babhūvuḥ* | 6. *Ishṭiṁ cha Mitrā-Varuṇayor Manuḥ putra-kāmaś chakāra* | 7. *Tatrāpahute hotur apachārād Ilā nāma kanyā babhūva* | 8. *Saiva Mitra-Varuṇa-prasādāt Sudyumno nāma Manoḥ putro Maitreyāsīt | punaś cha Īsvara-kopāt strī satī Soma-sūnor Budhasya āśrama-samīpe babhrāma* | 9. *Sānurāgaś cha tasyām Budhaḥ Purūravasam ātmajam utpādayāmāsa* | 10. *Jāte cha tasminn amita-tejobhiḥ paramarshibhir ishṭimayaḥ riṅmayo yajurmayaḥ sāmamayo 'tharvamayaḥ sarvamayo manomayo jnānamayo 'kinchinmayo bhagavān yajna-purusha-svarūpī Sudyumnasya puṁstvam abhilashadbhir yathāvad ishṭaḥ | tatprasādād Ilā punar api Sudyumno 'bhavat* |

"Before the mundane egg existed the divine Brahmā Hiraṇyagarbha, the eternal originator of all worlds, who was the form and essence of Brahmă, who consists of the divine Vishṇu, who again is identical with

the Ṛik, Yajush, Sāman and Atharva-Vedas. From Brahmā's right thumb[72] was born the Prajāpati Daksha; Daksha had a daughter Aditi; from her was born Vivasvat; and from him sprang Manu. Manu had sons called Ikshvāku, Nṛiga, Dhṛishṭa, S'aryāti, Narishyanta, Prāṁśu, Nābhāganedishṭa, Karūsha, and Pṛishadhra.[73] Desirous of a son, Manu sacrificed to Mitra and Varuṇa; but in consequence of a wrong invocation through an irregularity of the hotṛi-priest, a daughter called Ilā was born. Then through the favour of Mitra and Varuṇa she became to Manu a son called Sudyumna. But being again changed into a female through the wrath of Īśvara (Mahādeva) she wandered near the hermitage of Budha the son of Soma (the Moon); who becoming enamoured of her had by her a son called Purūravas. After his birth, the god who is formed of sacrifice, of the Rik, Yajush, Sāman, and Atharva Vedas, of all things, of mind, of nothing,[74] he who is in the form of the sacrificial Male, was worshipped by the rishis of infinite splendour who desired that Sudyumna should recover his manhood. Through the favour of this god Ilā became again Sudyumna."

Regarding the different sons of Manu the Purāṇas supply the following particulars:

(1.) Prishadhra.—The Vishṇu Purāṇa says:

Pṛishadhras tu guru-go-badhāch chhūdratvam āgamat |

"Pṛishadhra became a S'ūdra in consequence of his having killed his religious preceptor's cow."

On the same subject the Harivaṁśa tells us, verse 659:

Pṛishadhro hiṁsayitvā tu guror gām Janamejaya | śāpāch chhūdratvam āpannaḥ |

"Pṛishadhra having killed his Guru's cow, became a S'ūdra in consequence of his curse."

This story is variously amplified in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, section cxii., and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa ix. 2, 3–14. See Professor Wilson's note, Vishṇu Purāṇa, 4to. edit. p. 351, where the author remarks that

[72] See above, p. 72 f.

[73] Compare with this the list of Manu's sons given in the passage from the M. Bh. Ādip. quoted above, p. 126. Nābhānedishṭa (not Nābhāganedishṭa) is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and Taittirīya Sanhitā (see above, p. 191), and S'aryāta in the S'. P. Br. iv. 1, 5, 1. See Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, p. 11 ff. The Mārk. P. cxi. 3 ff., and the Bhāg. P. ix. 1, 11 ff. treat also of Manu's sons and of the birth of Ilā. See Wilson's Vishṇu P. 4to. ed. pp. 348–58, and Burnouf's Bhāg. P. vol. iii. pref. lxx. ff.

[74] *Akinchinmayaḥ*, "not consisting of anything."

"the obvious purport of this legend, and of some that follow, is to account for the origin of the different castes from one common ancestor."

(2.) Karūsha.—The Vishṇu Purāṇa says, iv. 1, 13:

Karūshāt Kārūshā mahābalāḥ Kshattriyā babhūvuḥ |

"From Kārūsha the Kārūshas, Kshattriyas of great power, were descended."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 2, says:

Kārūshād Mānavād āsan Kārūshāḥ Kshattra-jātayaḥ | *uttarāpatha-goptāro brahmaṇyā dharma-vatsalāḥ* |

"From Karūsha, son of Manu, came the Kārūshas of the Kshattriya caste, protectors of the northern region, devout, and lovers of duty."

(3.) Nābhāga.—The Vishṇu Purāṇa says:

Nābhāgo Nedishṭa-putras tu vaiśyatām agamat |

"Nābhāga, the son of Nedishṭa, became a Vaiśya."

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa says he was the son of Dishṭa, and relates how he became a Vaiśya, by marrying the daughter of a man of that class (section cxiii. and Wilson, p. 352, note). The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 2, 23, says he became a Vaiśya in consequence of his works (*Nābhāgo Dishṭa-putro 'nyaḥ karmabhir vaiśyatām gataḥ*). And yet a long list of his descendants is given, and among them occurs Marutta who was a Chakravarttin, or universal monarch (Vishṇu P. iv. 1. 15–17; Bhāg. P. ix. 2, 23–28; Mārk. P. cxxviii.–cxxxii.). He had a grandson called Dama, of whom the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa relates that at a Svayamvara he was chosen by the daughter of the King of Daśārṇa for her husband (cxxxiv. 8), and that when the bride had been seized by three of his rejected rivals (verse 16) she was rescued by him after he had slain one of them and vanquished another (verse 53); that subsequently that same vanquished rival in revenge killed Dama's father, who had retired into the wilderness as an ascetic (cxxxv. 18). The Purāṇa in one of its recensions ends with the following curious particulars:

Tataś chakāra tātasya raktenaivodaka-kriyām | *ānṛiṇyam prāpya sa pituḥ punaḥ prāyāt sva-mandiram* | *Vapushmataś cha māṁsena piṇḍa-dānaṁ chakāra ha* | *brāhmaṇān bhojayāmāsa rakshaḥ-kula-samudbhavān* | *evaṁvidhā hi rājāno babhūvuḥ sūrya-vaṁśa-jāḥ* | *anye 'pi sudhiyaḥ śūrā yajvānaḥ śāstra-kovidāḥ* | *vedāntam paṭhamānāṁs tān na sankhyātum ihotsahe* |

"Dama then (after tearing out the heart of Vapushmat) performed

with blood the rites to the manes of his father; and having thus discharged his debt to his parent, he returned home. With the flesh of Vapushmat he formed the oblation which he offered, and fed the Brāhmans who were of Rākshasa descent. Of such character were the kings of the Solar race. There were also others who were wise, brave, priests, and skilled in the scriptures. I am unable here to enumerate those of them who studied the Vedānta." [75]

The Harivaṃśa (section xi. verse 658) tells us that "two sons of Nābhāgārishṭa, who were Vaiśyas, became Brāhmans" (*Nābhāgārishṭa-putrau dvau vaiśyau brāhmaṇatāṁ gatau*).

(4.) Dhṛishṭa.—Of him the Vishṇu Purāṇa relates, iv. 2, 2:

Dhṛishṭasyāpi Dhārshṭakam Kshattraṁ samabhavat |

"From Dhṛishṭa sprang the Dhārshṭaka Kshattriyas."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, ix. 2, 17:

Dhṛishṭād Dhārshṭam abhūt Kshattram brahma-bhūyam gatam kshitau |

"From Dṛishṭa were descended the Dhārshṭa Kshattriyas, who obtained Brāhmanhood [76] on earth."

(5.) The last-named Purāṇa enumerates in verses 19 ff. of the same section the descendants of Narishyanta, among whom was Agniveśya, verse 21:

Tato 'gniveśyo bhagavān Agniḥ svayam abhūt sutaḥ | *Kānīna iti vikhyāto Jātūkarṇyo mahān ṛishiḥ* | *tato brahma-kulaṁ jātam Āgniveśyāyanaṁ nṛipa* | *Narishyantānvayaḥ proktaḥ* |

"From him (Devadatta) sprang a son Agniveśya, who was the lord Agni himself, and who was also called Kānīna and Jātūkarṇya the great rishi. From him was descended the Agniveśyāyana race of

[75] This quotation, which will be partly found in Prof. Wilson's note 22, p. 353, is taken from the section given separately by Prof. Banerjea at the end of his edition of this Purāṇa from a Maithila MS. which differs from that followed in his text (see his Preface, p. 30). In verses 6 f. of section cxxxvi. however, of Prof. Banerjea's text, Dama threatens to do something of the same sort as in the other recension he is described to have actually done: 6. *Yad aham tasya raktena dehotthena Vapushmataḥ* | *na karomi guros tṛiptiṁ tat pravekshye hutāśanam* | 7. *Tachchhoṇitenodaka-karma tasya tātasya sankhye vinipātitasya* | *māṁsena samyag dvija-bhojanaṁ cha na chet pravekshyāmi hutāśanaṁ tat* | "6. If I do not satiate my father with the blood from Vapushmat's body, then I shall enter the fire. 7. If I do not celebrate with his blood the obsequial rites of my father prostrated in the fray, and feed the Brāhmans with (his) flesh, I shall enter the fire."

[76] The Commentator explains *brahma-bhūyam* by *brāhmaṇatvam*, "the state of Brāhmans."

Brāhmans. The offspring of Narishyanta has been declared." That of Dishṭa is next taken up.

Some of the names of Manu's sons are repeated in the subsequent narrative. Thus we find a second Prānśu named among the descendants of Nābhāga (Wilson, 352). And in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 2, 2, a second Nābhāga is mentioned as follows:

Nābhāgasyātmajo Nābhāgas tasya Ambarīshaḥ | Ambarīshasyāpi Virūpo 'bhavat Virūpāt Pṛishadaśvo jajne tataś cha Rathītaraḥ | tatrāyaṁ ślokaḥ | "ete kshattra-prasūtā vai punaś chāngirasaḥ smṛitāḥ | Rathītarāṇām pravarāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ" |

"The son of Nābhāga was Nābhāga; his son was Ambarīsha. From him sprang Virūpa; from him Pṛishadaśva; and from him Rathītara; regarding whom this verse is current: 'These persons sprung from a Kshattriya, and afterwards called Angirases, were the chief of the Rathītaras, twice-born men (Brāhmans) of Kshattriya race.'"[77]

The Bhāgavata thus explains the circumstance, ix. 6, 2:

Rathītarasyāprajasya bhāryāyāṁ tantave 'rthitaḥ | Angirā janayāmāsa brahmavarchasinaḥ sutān | ete kshetre prasūtā vai punas tv Āngirasāḥ smṛitāḥ | Rathītarāṇām pravarāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ |

"Angiras being solicited for progeny, begot sons possessing Brahmanical glory on the wife of Rathītara who was childless. These persons being born of a (Kshattriya's) wife, but afterwards called descendants of Angiras, were the chief of the Rathītaras, twice-born men (Brāhmans) of Kshattriya lineage."

It will be observed that in this last verse the Bhāgavata reads *kshettre prasūtāḥ* "born of the wife (of a Kshattriya)," instead of *kshattra-prasūtāḥ*, "sprung from a Kshattriya," and thus brings this verse into a closer conformity with the one preceding it. Professor Wilson (p. 359, note) considers that the form given to the legend in the Bhāgavata "is an afterthought, not warranted by the memorial verse cited in our text." It is difficult to determine whether or not this may be the case without knowing which of the two readings in that verse is the original one.

(6.) The Vishṇu Purāṇa next proceeds to enumerate the descendants of Ikshvāku son of Manu. The representative of his line in the twenty-first generation was Harita, of whom it is said, iv. 3, 5:

[77] See Prof. Wilson's note in p. 359 on this passage.

Ambarīshasya Māndhātus tanayasya Yuvanāśvaḥ putro 'bhūt | tasmād Harito yato 'ngiraso Hāritāḥ |

"The son of Ambarīsha[78] son of Māndhātṛi was Yuvanāśva. From him sprang Harita, from whom the Hārita Angirases were descended."

These words are thus paraphrased by the Commentator: "from him sprang the Hārita Angirases, Brāhmans, chief of the family of Harita" (*tasmād Hāritā Angiraso dvijāḥ Harita-gotra-pravarāḥ*).

The Linga Purana, quoted by Prof. Wilson, states the same thing:

Harito Yuvanāśvasya Hāritā yata ātmajāḥ | ete hy Angirasaḥ pakshe kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ |

"The son of Yuvanāśva was Harita, of whom the Hāritas were sons. They were on the side of Angiras, twice-born men (Brāhmans) of Kshattriya lineage."

And the Vāyu Purāṇa tells us with some variation:

Harito Yuvanāśvasya Hārītā bhūrayaḥ smṛitāḥ | ete hy Angirasaḥ putrāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ |

"Harita was the son of Yuvanāśva: (after whom) many persons were called Hārītas. These were the sons of Angiras, twice-born men (Brāhmans) of Kshattriya race."

This may mean that they were begotten by Angiras, as is said by the Bhāgavata (see above) to have been the case with Rathītara's sons. In that case, however, as Nābhāga and Ikshvāku were brothers and Rathītara was only the fifth in descent from Nābhāga, whilst Harita was the twenty-first after Ikshvāku,—Angiras (if we suppose one and the same person be meant in both cases) must have lived for sixteen generations!

Such are the remarkable notices given in the Purāṇas of the rise of different castes among the descendants of some of the sons of Manu Vaivasvata the legendary head of the solar line of kings. I shall now add some similar particulars connected with the lunar dynasty.

According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa (iv. 6, 2 ff.) Atri was the son of Brahmā, and the father of Soma (the moon), whom Brahmā installed as the sovereign of plants, Brāhmans and stars[79] (*aśeshaushadhi-dvija-nakshtrāṇām ādhipatye 'bhyasechayat*). After celebrating the rājasūya sacrifice, Soma became intoxicated with pride, and carried off Tārā

[78] We have already had a person of this name the son of Nābhāga. See above.

[79] See Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1865, p. 135 ff.

(Star), the wife of Bṛihaspati the preceptor of the gods, whom, although admonished and entreated by Brahmā, the gods, and rishis, he refused to restore. Soma's part was taken by Uśanas; and Rudra, who had studied under Angiras, aided Bṛihaspati (*Angirasaścha sakāśopalabdha-vidyo bhagavān Rudro Bṛihaspateḥ sāhāyyam akarot*).[80] A fierce conflict ensued between the two sides, supported respectively by the gods and the Daityas, etc. Brahmā interposed, and compelled Soma to restore Tāra to her husband. She had, however, in the mean time become pregnant, and bore a son Budha (the planet Mercury), of whom, when strongly urged, she acknowledged Soma to be the father. Purūravas, as has been already mentioned, was the son of this Budha by Ilā, the daughter of Manu. The loves of Purūravas and the Apsaras Urvaśī are related in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 1, 1;[81] in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 6, 19 ff.; in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 14;[82] and in the Harivaṁśa, section 26. The Mahābhārata, Ādip. sect. 75, alludes to Purūravas as having been engaged in a contest with the Brāhmans. This passage will be quoted hereafter. According to the Vishṇu Puraṇa, iv. 7, 1, Purūravas had six sons, of whom the eldest was Āyus. Āyus had five sons: Nahusha, Kshattravṛiddha, Rambha, Raji, and Anenas. The narrative proceeds (iv. 8, 1):

Kshattravṛiddhāt Sunahotraḥ[83] *putro 'bhavat | Kāśa-Leśa-Gṛitsamadās trayo 'syābhavan | Gṛitsamadasya Saunakaś chāturvarṇya-pravarttayitā 'bhūt | Kāśasya Kāśirājas tato Dīrghatamāḥ putro 'bhavat | Dhanvantaris Dīrghatamaso 'bhūt |*

"Kshattravṛiddha had a son Sunahotra, who had three sons, Kāśa, Leśa, and Gṛitsamada. From the last sprang Saunaka, who originated the system of four castes.[84] Kāśa had a son Kāśirāja, of whom again Dīrghatamas was the son, as Dhanvantari was of Dīrghatamas."

[80] This is the only mention I have ever happened to encounter of the great Mahādeva having been at school!

[81] This passage is translated by Professor Müller in the Oxford Essays for 1856, pp. 62 f.; and the legend has been formed on the basis of the obscure hymn in the R.V. x. 95, in which the two names of Purūravas and Urvaśī occur as those of the interlocutors in a dialogue.

[82] A short quotation has been already made from this narrative. See above, p. 158.

[83] Both my MSS. read *Sunahotra*. Professor Wilson has *Suhotra*.

[84] The Commentator explains the words *chāturvarṇya-pravarttayitā* by saying that the four castes were produced among his descendants (*tad-vaṁśe chatvāro varṇā abhavan*). This explanation agrees with the statement of the Vāyu Purāṇa given in the text.

The Vayu Purana, as quoted by Professor Wilson (V. P. 4to. ed. p. 406), expresses the matter differently, thus:

Putro Gritsamadasya cha Sunako yasya Saunakah | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāś chaiva vaiśyāḥ śūdrās tathaiva cha | etasya vaṁśe samudbhūtā vichitraiḥ karmabhir dvijāḥ |

"The son of Gritsamada was Sunaka, from whom sprang Saunaka. In his family were born Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, twice-born men with various functions."[86]

In like manner the Harivaṁśa states in section 29, verse 1520:

Putro Gritsamadasyāpi Sunako yasya Saunakāḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāś chaiva vaiśyāḥ śūdrās tathaiva cha |

"The son of Gritsamada was Sunaka, from whom sprang the Saunakas, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras."

Something similar is said of Gritsamati (who was the son of a Suhotra, although not the grandson of Kshattravriddha) in a following section, the 32nd of the same work, verse 1732:

Sa chāpi Vitathaḥ putrān janayāmāsa pancha vai | Suhotraṁ cha Suhotāram Gayaṁ Gargaṁ tathaiva cha | Kapilaṁ cha mahātmānam Suhotrasya suta-dvayam | Kāśakaś cha mahāsattvas tathā Gritsamatir nripaḥ | tathā Gritsamateḥ putrā brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ viśaḥ |

"Vitatha was the father of five sons, Suhotra, Suhotri, Gaya, Garga, and the great Kapila. Suhotra had two sons, the exalted Kāśaka, and King Gritsamati. The sons of the latter were Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas."

The Bhagavata Purana, ix. 17, 2 f., has the following notice of Kshattravriddha's descendants:

Kshattravriddha-sutasyāsan Suhotrasyātmajās trayaḥ | Kāśyaḥ Kuśo Gritsamadaḥ iti Gritsamadād abhūt | Sunako Saunako yasya bahvrichaḥ pravaro muniḥ |

"Suhotra, son of Kshattravriddha, had three sons, Kāśya, Kuśa, and Gritsamada. From the last sprang Sunaka, and from him Saunaka, the eminent Muni, versed in the Rig-veda."

[86] On this Professor Wilson remarks, note, p. 406: "The existence of but one caste in the age of purity, however incompatible with the legend which ascribes the origin of the four tribes to Brahmā, is everywhere admitted. Their separation is assigned to different individuals, whether accurately to any one may be doubted; but the notion indicates that the distinction was of a social or political character."

It is to be observed that this Gṛitsamada, who is here described as belonging to the regal lineage of Purūravas, is the reputed rishi of many hymns in the second Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda. Regarding him the Commentator Sāyaṇa has the following remarks in his introduction to that Maṇḍala:

Maṇḍala-drashṭā Gṛitsamadaḥ ṛishiḥ | sa cha pūrvam Āngirasa-kule Sunahotrasya putraḥ san yajna-kāle 'surair gṛihītaḥ Indreṇa mochitaḥ | paśchāt tad-vachanenaiva Bhṛigu-kule S'unaka-putro Gṛitsamada-nāmā 'bhūt | tathā chānukramaṇikā "Yaḥ Āngirasaḥ Saunahotro bhūtvā Bhārgavaḥ Saunako 'bhavat sa Gṛitsamado dvitīyam maṇḍalam apaśyad" iti | tathā tasyaiva S'aunakasya vachanam ṛishy-anukramaṇe "tvam Agne" iti | "Gṛitsamadaḥ S'aunako Bhṛigutāṁ gataḥ | S'aunohotro prakṛityā tu yaḥ Āngirasa uchyate" iti | tasmād maṇḍala-drashṭā S'aunako Gṛitsamadaḥ ṛishiḥ |

"The seer (*i.e.* he who received the revelation) of this Maṇḍala was the rishi Gṛitsamada. He, being formerly the son of S'unahotra in the family of the Āngirasas, was seized by the Asuras at the time of sacrifice and rescued by Indra. Afterwards, by the command of that god, he became the person named Gṛitsamada, son of S'unaka, in the family of Bhṛigu. Thus the Anukramaṇikā (Index to the Rig-veda) says of him: 'That Gṛitsamada, who, having been an Āngirasa, and son of S'unahotra, became a Bhārgava and son of S'unaka, saw the second Maṇḍala.' So, too, the same S'aunaka says in his Ṛishi-anukramaṇa regarding the Maṇḍala beginning with 'Thou, o Agni':—'Gṛitsamada son of S'unaka who is declared to have been naturally an Āngirasa, and the son of S'unahotra, became a Bhṛigu.' Hence the seer of the Maṇḍala is the rishi Gṛitsamada son of S'unaka."

It will be noticed that (unless we are to suppose a different Gṛitsamada to be intended in each case) there is a discrepancy between the Puraṇas on the one hand, and Sāyaṇa and the Anukramaṇikā on the other; as the Purāṇas make Gṛitsamada the son of S'unahotra or Suhotra, and the father of S'unaka; whilst the Anukramaṇikā, followed by Sāyaṇa, represents the same personage as having been, indeed, originally the son of S'unahotra of the race of Angiras, but as having afterwards become, by what process does not appear, the son of Sunaka of the race of Bhṛigu.

In his translation of the Rig-veda (ii. 207 f.) Professor Wilson refers

to a legend about King Vītahavya in the Anuśāsana-parvan of the Mahābhārata (verses 1944–2006) which gives a different account of Gṛitsamada's parentage. It begins: *Sṛiṇu rājan yathā rājā Vītahavyo mahāyaśāḥ | rājarshir durlabham prāpto brāhmaṇyam loka-satkṛitam* | "Hear, o king, how the renowned Vītahavya, the royal rishi, attained the condition of Brāhmanhood venerated by mankind, and so difficult to be acquired." It happened that Divodāsa, King of Kāśī (Benares) was attacked by the sons of Vītahavya, and all his family slain by them in battle. The afflicted monarch thereupon resorted to the sage Bhărădvāja, who performed for him a sacrifice in consequence of which a son named Pratardana was born to him. Pratardana, becoming an accomplished warrior, was sent by his father to take vengeance on the Vītahavyas. They rained upon him showers of arrows and other missiles, "as clouds pour down upon the Himālaya"[86] (*abhyavarshanta rājānam himavantam ivāmbudāḥ*); but he destroyed them all, and "they lay with their bodies besmeared with blood, like kinsuka-trees[87] cut down" (*apatan rudhirārdrāngā nikṛittā iva kiṁśukāḥ*). Vītahavya himself had now to fly to another sage, Bhṛigu, who promised him protection. The avenger Pratardana, however, followed and demanded that the refugee should be delivered up:

Asyedānīm badhād adya bhavishyāmy anriṇaḥ pituḥ | tam uvācha kṛipāvishṭo Bhṛigur dharma-bhṛitāṁ varaḥ | "nehāsti kshattriyaḥ kaśchit sarve hīme dvijātayaḥ" | etat tu vachanaṁ śrutvā Bhṛigos tathyam Pratardanaḥ | pādāv upaspṛiśya śanaiḥ prahṛishṭo vākyam abravīt | evam apy asmi bhagavan kṛitakṛityo na saṁśayaḥ | . . . . . tyājito hi mayā jātim esha rājā Bhṛigūdvaha | tatas tenābhyanujnāto yayau rājā Pratardanaḥ | yathā-gatam mahārāja muktvā visham ivoragaḥ | Bhṛigor vachana-mātreṇa sa cha brahmarshitāṁ gataḥ | Vītahavyo mahārāja brahmavāditvam eva cha | tasya Gṛitsamadaḥ putro rūpeṇendra ivāparaḥ | "Sakras tvam" iti yo daityair nigṛihītaḥ kilābhavat | ṛigvede varttate chāgryā śrutir yasya mahātmanaḥ | yatra Gṛitsamado "brahman" brāhmaṇaiḥ sa mahīyate | sa brahmachārī viprarshiḥ śrīmān Gṛitsamado 'bhavat |

"Pratardana says: 'By the slaughter of this (Vītahavya) I shall

[86] This simile seems to indicate a familiarity with the manner in which the clouds collect, and discharge their contents on the outer range of the Himālaya.

[87] The Kinśuka is a tree bearing a red blossom (*Butea frondosa*).

now, to-day, be acquitted of my debt to my father.' Bhṛigu, the most eminent of religious men, filled with compassion, answered: 'There is no Kshattriya here: all these are Brāhmans.' Hearing this true assertion of Bhṛigu, Pratardana was glad, and gently touching the sage's feet, rejoined: 'Even thus, o glorious saint, I have gained my object . . . . for I have compelled this King (*i.e.* Rājanya) to relinquish his caste.' King Pratardana then, after receiving the sage's salutations, departed, as he came, like a serpent which has discharged its poison: while Vītahavya by the mere word of Bhṛigu became a Brāhman-rishi, and an utterer of the Veda. Gṛitsamada, in form like a second Indra, was his son; he was seized by the Daityas, who said to him, 'Thou art Śakra' (Indra). In the Rig-veda the texts (*śruti*) of this great rishi stand first.[88] There Gṛitsamada is honoured by the Brāhmans (with the title of) 'Brăhmăṇ.' This illustrious personage was a Brahmachārin, and a Brāhman-rishi."

According to the enumeration of Gṛitsamada's family, which follows here, Śunaka was his descendant in the twelfth generation, and Śaunaka in the thirteenth. The story concludes with these words;

Evaṁ vipratvam agamad Vītahavyo narādhipaḥ | Bhṛigoḥ prasādād rājendra kshattriyaḥ kshattriyarshabha |

"Thus did King Vītahavya, a Kshattriya, enter into the condition of Brāhmanhood by the favour of Bhṛigu."

In the next chapter we shall again notice Vītahavya among the Kshattriyas who are declared by tradition to have been the authors of Vedic hymns.

King Divodāsa was the sixth in descent from Kāśa brother of Gṛitsamada. Of him the Harivaṁśa states, section 32, verse 789 f.:

Divodāsasya dāyādo brahmarshir Mitrāyur nṛipaḥ | Maitrāyaṇas tataḥ Somo Maitreyās tu tataḥ smṛitāḥ | ete vai saṁśritāḥ paksham kshattropetās tu Bhārgavāḥ |

"The son of Divodāsa was the King Mitrāyu a Brāhman-rishi. From him sprang Soma Maitrāyaṇa, from whom the Maitreyas received their name. They, being of Kshattriya lineage, adhered as Bhārgavas to the side (of the latter)."

[88] If I have correctly interpreted this verse, and if by "first" we are to understand first in order, it does not accurately represent the state of the case: as the hymns of Gṛitsamada only appear in the second Maṇḍala.

The twentieth in descent from the same Kāśa, brother of Gṛitsamada, was Bhārgabhūmi, of whom the Vishṇu Purāṇa says, iv. 8, 9:

Bhārgasya Bhārgabhūmiḥ | tataś chāturvarṇya-pravṛittiḥ | ity ete Kāśayo bhūpatayaḥ kathitāḥ |

"The son of Bhārga was Bhārgabhūmi, from whom the four castes originated. Thus have the kings called Kāśis been declared."

In two passages of the Harivaṁśa, names identical, or nearly so, are found, but with a different progenitor in each case, in reference to which a similar statement is made. The first is in section 29, verse 1596:

Veṇuhotra-sutaś chāpi Bhargo nāma prajeśvaraḥ | Vatsasya Vatsabhūmis tu Bhṛigubhūmis tu Bhārgavāt | ete hy Angirasaḥ putrā jātā vaṁśe 'tha Bhārgave | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyās trayaḥ putrāḥ[89] *sahasraśaḥ |*

"The son of Veṇuhotra was King Bharga. From Vatsa sprang Vatsabhūmi, and Bhṛigubhūmi from Bhārgava. These descendants of Angiras were then born in the family of Bhṛigu, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas three (classes of) descendants in thousands."

The second passage is in the 32nd section, verse 1752:

Sukumārasya putras tu Satyaketur mahārathaḥ | suto 'bhavad mahātejā rājā parama-dhārmikaḥ | Vatsasya Vatsabhūmis tu Bhārgabhūmis tu Bhārgavāt | ete hy Angirasaḥ putrā jātā vaṁśe 'tha Bhārgave | brāhmaṇāh kshattriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś cha Bharatarshabha |

"The warrior Satyaketu was the son of Sukumāra, and a prince of great lustre and virtue. From Vatsa sprang Vatsabhūmi, and Bhārgabhūmi from Bhārgava. These descendants of Angiras were then born in the family of Bhṛigu, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras."

The parallel passage in the Vāyu Purāṇa, as quoted by Professor Wilson, p. 409, has names which are mostly different:

Veṇuhotra-sutaś chāpi Gārgyo vai nāma viśrutaḥ | Gārgyasya Gārgabhūmis tu Vatso Vatsasya dhīmataḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāś chaiva tayoḥ putrāḥ sudhārmikāḥ |

"The son of Veṇuhotra was the renowned Gārgya. Gargabhūmi was the son of Gārgya; and Vatsa of the wise Vatsa. Brāhmans and Kshattriyas were the virtuous sons of these two."[90]

[89] Professor Wilson, p. 410, note, gives *tejoyuktāḥ*, "glorious," instead of *trayaḥ putrāḥ*, as the reading either of the Brāhma Purāṇa, or of the Harivaṁśa, or both.

[90] In regard to these passages the reader may consult the remarks of Professor

Another son of Āyus (son of Purūravas) was Rambha, of whom the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, ix. 17, 10:

Rambhasya Rabhasaḥ putro Gabhīraś chākriyas tataḥ | *tasya kshettre brahma jajne śriṇu vaṁśam Anenasaḥ* |

"The son of Rambha was Rabhasa, from whom sprang Gabhīra and Akriya. From his wife Brāhmans were born: here now the race of Anenas" (another son of Āyus).

Of the same Rambha the Vishṇu Purāṇa says (iv. 9, 8), *Rambhas tv anapatyo 'bhavat* | "Rambha was childless."

Another son of Āyus, as we have seen, Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 8, 1, was Nahusha. He had six sons (V. P. iv. 10, 1), of whom one was Yayāti. The sons of the latter were Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu, and Pūru (Ibid. iv. 10, 2).[91] One of these five, Anu, had, as we are told, in the twelfth generation a son called Bali, of whom the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 18, 1, relates:

Hemāt Sutapās tasmād Balir yasya kshettre Dīrghatamasā Anga-Banga-Kalinga-Suhma-Puṇḍrākhyaṁ Bāleyaṁ kshattram ajanyata |

"From Hema sprang Sutapas; and from him Bali, on whose wife[92] Bāleya Kshattriyas (*i.e.* Kshattriyas of the race of Bali), called Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Suhma, and Puṇḍra were begotten by Dīrghatamas."

Professor Wilson (p. 445, note 12) quotes from the Vāyu Purāṇa a statement regarding the same person that he had "sons who founded the four castes" (*putrān chāturvarṇya-karān*); and refers to a passage in the Matsya Purāṇa, in which Bali is said to have obtained from

Wilson, p. 409, note 16, where a commentator (on the Brāhma Purāṇa, or the Harivaṁśa) is quoted, who says that in the passage from these works "another son of Vatsa the father of Alarka is specified, viz., Vatsabhūmi; while Bhārgava is the brother of Vatsa; and that (the persons referred to were) Angirases because Gālava belonged to that family, and (were born in the family) of Bhṛigu, because Viśvāmitra belonged to it" (*Vatsasya Alarka-pituḥ putrāntaram āha "Vatsabhūmir" iti* | *"Bhārgavād" Vatsa-bhrātuḥ* | *"Angiraso" Gālavasya Angirasatvāt* | *"Bhārgave" Viśvāmitrasya Bhārgavatvāt*). The Vishṇu Purana, iv. 8, 6, says that Vatsa was one of the names of Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, a descendant of Kāśa, and a remote ancestor of Bhārgabhūmi. See however Professor Wilson's note 13, p. 408. It is possible that the resemblance of the word Bhārga to Bhārgava may have occasioned the descendants of the former to be connected with the family of Bhṛigu.

[91] These five names occur together in the plural in a verse of the Rig-veda, i. 108, quoted above, p. 179.

[92] *Kshettre bhāryāyāṁ jātatvād Bāleyāḥ* | "They were called descendants of Bali because they were born of his wife."

Brahmā the boon that he should "establish the four fixed castes" (*chaturo niyatān varṇāṁs tvaṁ sthāpayeti*).

The Harivaṁśa gives the following account of Bali, in the course of which the same thing is stated; section 31, verses 1682 ff.:

Phenāt tu Sutapā jajne sutaḥ Sutapaso Baliḥ | jāto mānusha-yonau tu sa rājā kānchaneshudhiḥ | mahāyogī sa tu Balir babhūva nṛipatiḥ purā | putrān utpādayāmāsa pancha vaṁśa-karān bhuvi | Angaḥ prathamato jajne Vangaḥ Suhmas tathaiva cha | Puṇḍraḥ Kalingaś cha tathā Bāleyaṁ kshattram uchyate | Bāleyā brāhmaṇāś chaiva tasya vaṁśakarā bhuvi | Bales tu Brahmaṇā datto varaḥ prītena Bhārata | mahāyogitvam āyuś cha kalpasya parimāṇataḥ | sangrāme chāpy ajeyatvaṁ dharme chaiva pradhānatā | trailokya-darśanaṁ chāpi prādhānyam prasave tathā | bale chāpratimatvaṁ vai dharma-tattvārtha-darśanam | chaturo niyatān varṇāṁs tvaṁ cha sthāpayiteti cha | ity ukto vibhunā rājā Baliḥ śāntim parāṁ yayau | tasyaite tanayāḥ sarve kshettrajā muni-pungavāt | sambhūtā Dīrghatapasaḥ Sudeshṇāyām mahaujasaḥ |

"From Phena sprang Sutapas; and the son of Sutapas was Bali. He was born of a human mother, this prince with the golden quiver; but King Bali was of old a great yogin. He begot five sons, who were the heads of races upon the earth. Anga was first born, then Vanga, Suhma, Puṇḍra and Kalinga; such are the names of the Kshattriyas descended from Bali (*Bāleyāḥ*). There were also Bāleya Brāhmans, founders of his race upon the earth. By Brahmā, who was pleased, the boon was granted to Bali that he should be a great yogin, should live the entire length of a Kalpa, should be invincible in battle, should have pre-eminence in virtue, should have the power of beholding the whole three worlds, should have a superiority in begetting progeny, should be unequalled in strength, and should comprehend the essential principles of duty. And being thus addressed by the Lord in these words, 'Thou shalt establish the four regulated castes,' King Bali attained supreme tranquillity. All these sons, the offspring of his wife, were begotten on Sudeshṇā by the glorious muni Dīrghatapas." [88]

[88] M. Langlois must have found in his MS. a different reading of the last line, as he renders it otherwise. Professor Wilson remarks (V.P. pp. 444, note 12): "The Matsya calls Bali the son of Virochana, and *āyu-kalpa-pramāṇikaḥ*, 'existing for a whole Kalpa;' identifying him, therefore, only in a different period and form, with the Bali of the Vāmana Avatāra" (Dwarf-incarnation). (See Wilson's Vishṇu P. p. 265, note, and the Bhāgavata P. ix. sects. 15–23, and other works quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 116 ff.

The Harivaṁśa, section 32, verse 1781, thus notices the same family:

Mudgalasya tu dāyādo Maudgalyaḥ sumahāyaśāḥ | ete sarve mahātmāno kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ | ete hy Angirasaḥ paksham saṁśritāḥ Kāṇva-Mudgalāḥ | Maudgalyasya suto jyeshṭho brahmarshiḥ sumahāyasāḥ |

"The renowned Maudgalya was the son of Mudgala. All these great personages were Brāhmans of Kshattriya descent. These Kāṇvas and Mudgalas adhered to the side of Angiras. Maudgalya's eldest son was a celebrated Brahman-rishi."

Regarding Kshemaka, a future descendant of Ajamīḍha in the 31st generation, the Vishṇu Purāṇa says, iv. 21, 4:

Tato Niramitras tasmāch cha Kshemakaḥ | tatrāyaṁ slokaḥ | "brahma-kshattrasya yo yonir[96] *vaṁśo rājarshi-satkṛitaḥ | Kshemakam prāpya rājānaṁ sa saṁsthām prāpsyate kalau |*

"From him (Khaṇḍapāṇi) shall spring Niramitra; and from him Kshemaka; regarding whom this verse (is current): 'The race, consecrated by royal rishis, which gave birth to Brāhmans and Kshattriyas, shall terminate in the Kali age, after reaching King Kshemaka.'"

The corresponding verse quoted by Professor Wilson (p. 462, note 24) from the Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas substitutes *devarshi*, "divine rishis," or "gods and rishis," for the *rājarshi*, "royal rishis," of the Vishṇu Purāṇa. The verse in question is there described as *anuvaṁśa-śloko 'yaṁ gīto vipraiḥ purātanaiḥ*, "a genealogical verse sung by ancient Brāhmans."

According to the details given from the Purāṇas in this section several persons, Gṛitsamada, Kaṇva, Medhātithi, and Priyamedha, to whom hymns of the Rig-veda are ascribed by Indian tradition as their rishis, were of Kshattriya descent.

In the line of the same Tansu, brother of Apratiratha, we find in the sixth generation a person named Garga, of whom the Vishṇu Purāṇa relates, iv. 19, 9:

Gargāt S'iniḥ | tato Gārgyāḥ S'ainyāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayo babhūvuḥ |

"From Garga sprang S'ini; from them were descended the Gārgyas and S'ainyas, Brāhmans of Kshattriya race."[97]

[96] On this words the Commentator has this note: *Brahmaṇaḥ brāhmaṇasya Kshattrasya kshattriyasya cha yoniḥ kāraṇam pūrvaṁ yathoktatvāt* | "'Brahma' and 'Kshattra' stand for Brāhman and Kshattriya. This race is the 'source,' cause (of these), as has been declared above."

[97] On this the Commentator only remarks: *Tatas tābhyāṁ Gārgyāḥ S'ainyāś cha*

Similarly the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 21, 19, says:

Gargāt S'inis tato Gārgyaḥ kshattrād brahma hy avarttata |

"From Garga sprang S'ini; from them Gārgya, who from a Kshattriya became a Brāhman."[98]

The Vishṇu Purāṇa records a similar circumstance regarding the family of Mahāvīryya, the brother of Garga (iv. 19, 10):

Mahāvīryyād Urukshayo nāma putro 'bhūt | tasya Trayyaruṇa-Pushkariṇau Kapiś cha putra-trayam abhūt | tach cha tritayam api paśchād vipratām upajagāma |

"Mahāvīryya had a son named Urukshaya; who again had three sons, Trayyaruṇa, Puskarin, and Kapi; and these three[99] afterwards entered into the state of Brāhmans (*i.e.* became such)."

The Bhāgavata states, ix. 21, 19 f.:

Duritakshayo Mahāvīryyāt tasya Trayyāruṇiḥ Kaviḥ | Pushkarāruṇir ity atra ye brāhmaṇa-gatiṁ gatāḥ |

"From Mahāvīryya sprang Duritakshaya. From him were descended Trayyaruṇi, Kavi, and Puskarāruṇi, who attained to the destination of Brāhmans."[100]

According to the Matsya Purāṇa also, as quoted by Professor Wilson (451, note 22), "all these sons of Uruksha (*sic*) attained the state of Brāhmans" (*Urukshataḥ sutā hy ete sarve brāhmaṇatāṁ gatāḥ*); and in another verse of the same Purāṇa, cited in the same note, it is added: *Kāvyānāṁ tu varā hy ete trayaḥ proktā maharshayaḥ | Gargāḥ Sankṛitayaḥ Kāvyā kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ* | "These three classes of great rishis, viz. the Gargas, Sankṛitis, and Kāvyas, Brāhmans of Kshattriya race, are declared to be the most eminent of the Kāvyas, or descendants of Kavi." The original Garga was, as we have seen, the brother of Mahavīryya, the father of Kavi, or Kapi; while, according to the

Garga-vaṁśyatvāt S'ini-vaṁśyatvāch cha samākhyātaḥ | kshattriyā eva kenachit kāraṇena brāhmaṇāś cha babhūvuḥ | "They were called Gārgyas and S'ainyas because they were of the race of Gārga and S'ini. Being indeed Kshattriyas they became Brāhmans from some cause or other."

[98] The Commentator does not say how this happened.

[99] Unless Professor Wilson's MSS. had a different reading from mine, it must have been by an oversight that he has translated here, "The last of whom became a Brāhman."

[100] On this the Commentator annotates: *Ye atra kshattra-vaṁśe brāhmaṇa-gatiṁ brāhmaṇa-rūpatāṁ gatās te* | "Who in this Kshattriya race attained the destination of Brāhmans,—the form of Brāhmans."

Vishṇu Purāṇa (iv. 19, 9), and Bhāgavata Purāṇa (ix. 21, 1), Sankṛiti was the son of Nara, another brother of Mahavīryya.

The series of passages just quoted is amply sufficient to prove that according to the traditions received by the compilers of the ancient legendary history of India (traditions so general and undisputed as to prevail over even their strong hierarchical prepossessions), Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and even Vaiśyas and Śūdras, were, at least in many cases, originally descended from one and the same stock. The European critic can have no difficulty in receiving these obscure accounts as true in their literal sense; though the absence of precise historical data may leave him without any other guide than speculation to assist him in determining the process by which a community originally composed for the most part of one uniform element, was broken up into different classes and professions, separated from each other by impassable barriers. On the other hand, the possibility of this common origin of the different castes, though firmly based on tradition, appeared in later times so incredible, or so unpalatable, to some of the compilers of the Purāṇas, that we find them occasionally attempting to explain away the facts which they record, by statements such as we have encountered in the case of the Kings Rathītara and Bāli, that their progeny was begotten upon their wives by the sages Angiras and Dīrghatamas, or Dīrghatapas; or by the introduction of a miraculous element into the story, as we have already seen in one of the legends regarding Gṛitsamada, and as we shall have occasion to notice in a future chapter in the account of Viśvāmitra.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF INDIAN SOCIETY ACCORDING TO THE HYMNS OF THE RIG- AND ATHARVA-VEDAS.

In the last chapter I have attempted to shew that in general the authors of the hymns of the Rig-veda regarded the whole of the Aryan people, embracing not only the priests and chiefs, but the middle classes also of the population, as descended from one common father, or ancestor, whom they designate by the name of Manu. This reference to a common progenitor excludes, of course, the supposition that the writers by whom it is made could have had any belief in the myth which became afterwards current among their countrymen, that their nation consisted of four castes, differing naturally in dignity, and separately created by Brahmā.

In that chapter I proposed to leave for further consideration any specific notices which the Rig-veda might contain regarding the different classes of which the society contemporary with its composition was made up. On this consideration I now enter. As that great collection of hymns embodies numerous references, both to the authors themselves and to the other agents in the celebration of divine worship, it may be expected to supply, incidentally or indirectly, at least, some information respecting the opinion which these ministers of religion entertained of themselves, and of the ecclesiastical and civil relations in which they stood to the other sections of the community. I shall now endeavour to shew how far this expectation is justified by an examination of the Rig-veda.

It will be understood, from what I have already (pp. 7 and 11 ff.) written on the subject of that one hymn of the Rig-veda in which the

four castes are distinctly specified, *i.e.* the Purusha Sūkta, that in the enquiry, which I am now about to undertake, I confine myself in the first instance to those hymns which for any reason (see p. 4, above) appear to be the most ancient, leaving out of account until afterwards, all those compositions which, like the one just mentioned, are presumably of a later age.

It will, I think, be found on investigation that not only the older hymns, but the great bulk of the hymns, supply no distinct evidence of the existence of a well defined and developed caste-system at the time when they were composed.

SECT. I.—*On the signification of the words brăhmăn, brăhmaṇa, etc., in the Rig-veda.*

As the Rig-veda Sanhitā is made up almost entirely of hymns in praise of the gods, it was not to be anticipated that it should furnish any systematic or detailed explanations on the points which form the object of our enquiry. But as was natural in compositions of the early and simple age to which these hymns belong, they do not always confine themselves to matters strictly connected with their principal subject, but indulge in occasional references to the names, families, personal merits, qualifications, relations, circumstances, and fortunes of the poets by whom they were produced, or of their patrons or other contemporaries, or of their predecessors.

I have, in another volume of this work,[1] enquired into the views which the authors of the hymns appear to have held on the subject of their own authorship. The conclusion at which I arrived was, that they did not in general look upon their compositions as divinely inspired, since they frequently speak of them as the productions of their own minds (vol. iii. pp. 128–140). But although this is most commonly the case (and especially, as we may conjecture, in regard to the older hymns), there is no doubt that they also attached a high value to these productions, which they describe as being acceptable to the gods (R.V. v. 45, 4; v. 85, 1; vii. 26, 1, 2; x. 23, 6; x. 54, 6; x. 105,

[1] Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. iii. pp. 116–164.

8), whose activity they stimulated (iii. 34, 1; vii. 19, 11), and whose blessing they drew down. In some of the hymns a supernatural character or insight is claimed for the rishis (i. 179, 2; vii. 76, 4; iii. 53, 9; vii. 33, 11 ff.; vii. 87, 4; vii. 88, 3 ff.; x. 14, 15; x. 62, 4, 5), and a mysterious efficacy is ascribed to their compositions (vol. iii. pp. 173 f.) The rishis called their hymns by various names, as *arka*, *uktha*, *ṛich*, *gir*, *dhī*, *nītha*, *nivid*, *mantra*, *mati*, *sūkta*, *stoma*, *vāch*, *vachas*, etc. etc.; and the also applied to them the appellation of *brahma* in numerous passages.[2] That in the passages in question *brahma* has generally the sense of hymn or prayer is clear from the context of some of them (as in i. 37, 4; viii. 32, 27, where the word is joined with the verb *gāyata*, "sing," and in vi. 69, 7, where the gods are supplicated to hear the *brahma*), as well as from the fact that the poets are said (in i. 62, 13; v. 73, 10; vii. 22, 9; vii. 31, 11; x. 80, 7) to have fashioned or generated the prayer, in the same way as they are said to have fashioned or generated hymns in other texts (as i. 109, 1; v. 2, 11; vii. 15, 4; viii. 77, 4; x. 23, 6; x. 39, 14), where the sense is indisputable; while in other places (iv. 16, 21; v. 29, 15; vi. 17, 13; vi. 50, 6; vii. 61, 6; x. 89, 3) new productions of the poets are spoken of under the appellation of *brahma*.

That *brahma* has the sense of hymn or prayer is also shown by the two following passages. In vii. 26, 1, it is said: *Na somaḥ Indram asuto mamāda na abrahmāṇo maghavānam sutāsaḥ | tasmai ukthaṁ janaye yaj jujoshad nṛivad navīyaḥ śṛiṇavad yathā naḥ | 2. Ukthe ukthe somaḥ Indram mamāda nīthe nīthe maghavānam sutāsaḥ | yad īm sabādhaḥ pitaraṁ na putrāḥ samāna-dakshāḥ avase havante |* "Soma unless poured out does not exhilarate Indra; nor do libations without hymns (*abrahmāṇaḥ*). I generate for him a hymn (*uktha*) which he will love, so that like a man he may hear our new (production). 2. At each hymn (*uktha*) the soma exhilarates Indra, at each psalm (*nītha*) the libations (exhilarate) Maghavat, when the worshippers united, with one effort, invoke him for help, as sons do a father."[3] Again in x. 105, 8, it is

[2] For a list of these texts and other details which are here omitted, I refer to my article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian Society in the Vedic age," in the Journal of the Roy. As. Soc. for 1866 (from which this section is mostly borrowed).

[3] It is clear from the context of this passage that *abrahmāṇaḥ* means "unattended by hymns," and not "without a priest." After saying that soma-libations without

said: *Ava no vṛijinā śiśihi ṛichā vanema anṛichaḥ | na abrahmā yajnaḥ ṛidhag joshati tve* | "Drive away our calamities. With a hymn (*ṛichā*) may we slay the men who are hymnless (*anṛichaḥ*). A sacrifice without prayer (*abrahmā*) does not please thee well."

I have said that great virtue is occasionally attributed by the poets to their hymns and prayers; and this is true of those sacred texts when called by the name of *brahma*, as well as when they receive other appellations, such as *mantra*. Thus it is said, iii. 53, 12, *Viśvāmitrasya rakshati brahma idam Bhārataṁ janam* | "This prayer (*brahma*) of Viśvāmitra protects the tribe of Bharata;" v. 40, 6, *Gūḷham sūryaṁ tamasā apavratena turīyeṇa brahmaṇā avindad Atriḥ* | "Atri with the fourth prayer (*brahmaṇā*) discovered the sun concealed by unholy darkness;" vi. 75, 19, *Brahma varma mama antaram* | "Prayer (*brahma*) is my protecting armour;" vii. 33, 3, *Eva id nu kam dāśarājne Sudāsam prāvad Indro brahmaṇā vo Vasishṭhāḥ* | "Indra preserved Sudās in the battle of the ten kings through your prayer, o Vasishṭhas." In ii. 23, 1, Brahmaṇaspati is said to be the "great king of prayers" (*jyeshṭharājam brahmaṇām*) (compare vii. 97, 3), and in verse 2, to be the "generator of prayers" (*janitā brahmaṇām*); whilst in x. 61, 7, prayer is declared to have been generated by the gods (*svādhyo ajanayan brahma devāḥ*). Compare vii. 35, 7.

Brăhmăn in the masculine is no doubt derived from the same root as *brăhmăn* neuter, and though differing from it in accent[4] as well as gender, must be presumed to be closely connected with it in signification, just as the English "prayer" in the sense of a petition would be with "prayer," a petitioner, if the word were used in the latter sense. As, then, *brăhmăn* in the neuter means a hymn or prayer, *brăhmăn* in the masculine must naturally be taken to denote the person who composes or repeats a hymn or prayer. We do not, however, find that the composers of the hymns are in general designated by the word

hymns are unacceptable to Indra, the poet does not add that he is himself a *priest*, or that he is attended by one, but that he generates a hymn; and the same sense is required by what follows in the second verse. Accordingly we find that Sāyaṇa explains *abrahmāṇaḥ* by *stotra-hīnāḥ*, "destitute of hymns." The same sense is equally appropriate in the next passage cited, x. 105, 8. On iv. 16, 9, where *abrahmā* is an epithet of *dasyu*, "demon," Sāyaṇa understands it to mean "without a priest," but it may mean equally well or better, "without devotion, or prayer."

[4] In *brăhmăn* neuter the accent is on the first syllable; in *brăhmăn* masculine on the last.

brāhmān, the name most commonly applied to them being *rishi*, though they are also called *vipra*, *vedhas*, *kavi*, etc. (see vol. iii. of this work, pp. 116 ff.). There are, however, a few texts, such as i. 80, 1; i. 164, 35; ii. 12, 6; ii. 39, 1; v. 31, 4; v. 40, 8; ix. 113, 6, etc., in which the *brāhmān* may or must be understood as referred to in the capacity of author of the hymn he utters. So, too, in ii. 20, 4, and vi. 21, 8, a new composer of hymns seems to be spoken of under the appellation of *nutānasya brāhmāṇyataḥ*; and in ii. 19, 8, the Gṛitsamadas are referred to both as the fabricators of a new hymn (*manma navīyaḥ*) and as (*brāhmāṇyāntaḥ*) performing devotion.[5] In three passages, vii. 28, 2; vii. 70, 5, and x. 89, 16, the *brāhmā* and *brāhmāṇi*, "prayer" and "prayers," or "hymn" and "hymns," of the rishis are spoken of; and in vii. 22, 9, it is said, "that both the ancient and the recent rishis have generated prayers" (*ye cha pūrve ṛishayo ye cha nūtnāḥ Indra brahmāṇi janayanta viprāḥ*). In i. 177, 5, we find *brahmāṇi kāroḥ*, "the prayers of the poet." The fact that in various hymns the authors speak of themselves as having received valuable gifts from the princes their patrons, and that they do not there allude to any class of officiating priests as separate from themselves, would also seem to indicate an identity of the poet and priest at that early period.

The term *brahman* must therefore, as we may conclude, have been originally applied (1) to the same persons who are spoken of elsewhere in the hymns as *rishi*, *kavi*, etc., and have denoted devout worshippers and contemplative sages who composed prayers and hymns which they themselves recited in praise of the gods. Afterwards when the ceremonial gradually became more complicated, and a division of sacred functions took place, the word was more ordinarily employed (2) for a minister of public worship, and at length came to signify (3) one particular kind of priest with special duties. I subjoin a translation of the different passages in which the word occurs in the Rig-veda, and I have attempted to classify them according as it seems to bear, in each case, the first, second, or third of the senses just indicated. This, however, is not always an easy task, as in many of these texts there is nothing to fix the meaning of the term with precision, and one signi-

[5] In another place (x. 96, 5) Indra is said to have been lauded by former worshippers, *pūrvebhir yăjvăbhiḥ*, a term usually confined (as *brāhmān* was frequently applied) in after times to the offerers of sacrifice.

fication easily runs into another, and the same person may be at once the author and the reciter of the hymn.

I. Passages in which *brăhmăn* may signify "contemplator, sage, or poet."

(In all these texts I shall leave the word untranslated.)

i. 80, 1. *Itthā hi some id made brahmā chakāra varddhanam* |

"Thus in his exhilaration from soma juice the *brăhmăn* has made (or uttered) a magnifying[6] (hymn)."

i. 164, 34. *Pṛichhāmi tvā param antam pṛithivyāḥ pṛichhāmi yatra bhuvanasya nābhiḥ* | *pṛichhāmi tvā vṛishṇo aśvasya retaḥ pṛichhāmi vāchaḥ pāramaṁ vyoma* | 35. *Iyaṁ vediḥ paro antaḥ pṛithivyāḥ ayaṁ yajno bhuvanasya nābhiḥ ayaṁ somo vṛishṇo aśvasya reto brahmā ayam vāchaḥ paramaṁ vyoma* |

"I ask thee (what is) the remotest end of the earth; I ask where is the central point of the world; I ask thee (what is) the seed of the vigorous horse; I ask (what is) the highest heaven[7] of speech. 35. This altar is the remotest end of the earth; this sacrifice is the central point of the world; this soma is the seed of the vigorous horse; this *brăhmăn* is the highest heaven of speech.[8]

ii. 12, 6. *Yo radhrasya choditā yaḥ kṛiśasya yo brahmaṇo nādhamānasya kīreḥ* |

"He (Indra) who is the quickener of the sluggish, of the emaciated, of the suppliant *brăhmăn* who praises him," etc.

vi. 45, 7. *Brahmāṇam brahma-vāhasaṁ gīrbhiḥ sakhāyam ṛigmiyam* | *gāṁ na dohase huve* |

"With hymns I call Indra, the *brăhmăn*,—the carrier of prayers (*brăhmă-vāhasam*), the friend who is worthy of praise,—as men do a cow which is to be milked."

vii. 33, 11. *Uta asi Maitrāvaruṇo Vasishṭha Urvaśyāḥ brahman manaso 'dhi jātaḥ* | *drapsaṁ skannam brahmaṇā daivyena viśve devāḥ pushkare tvā 'dadanta* |

"And thou, o Vasishṭha, art a son of Mitra and Varuṇa (or a Maitrāvaruṇa-priest), born, o *brăhmăn*, from the soul of Urvaśī. All the

[6] *Varddhanam* = *vṛiddhi-karaṁ stotram* (Sāyaṇa).

[7] Compare R.V. iii. 32, 10; x. 109, 4, below, and the words, the highest heaven of invention."

[8] Compare R.V. x. 71 and x. 125.

gods placed in the vessel thee, the drop which had fallen through divine contemplation."

viii. 16, 7. *Indro brahmā Indraḥ ṛishir Indraḥ puru puruhūtaḥ | mahān mahībhiḥ śachībhiḥ |*

"Indra is a *brāhmán*, Indra is a rishi,[9] Indra is much and often invoked, great through his mighty powers."

x. 71, 11. (See the translation of the entire hymn below. The sense of *brāhmán* in verse 11 will depend on the meaning assigned to *jātavidyā*.)

x. 77, 1. (In this passage, the sense of which is not very clear, the word *brāhmán* appears to be an epithet of the host of Maruts.)

x. 85, 3. *Somam manyate papivān yat sampiṁshanti oshadhim | somaṁ yam brahmāṇo vidur na tasya aśnāti kaśchana* | 16. *Dve te chakre Sūrye brahmāṇo ṛituthā viduḥ | atha ekaṁ chakraṁ yad guhā tad addhātayaḥ id viduḥ* | 34. . . . . *Sūryāṁ yo brahmā vidyāt sa id vādhūyam arhati* |

"A man thinks he has drunk soma when they crush the plant (so called). But no one tastes of that which the *brāhmáns* know to be soma (the moon). 16. The *brāhmáns* rightly know, Sūryā, that thou hast two wheels; but it is sages (*addhātayaḥ*) alone who know the one wheel which is hidden. 34. The *brāhmán* who knows Sūryā deserves the bride's garment."[10]

x. 107, 6. *Tam eva ṛishiṁ tam u brahmāṇam āhur yajnanyaṁ sāma-gām uktha-śāsam | sa śukrasya tanvo veda tisraḥ yaḥ prathamo dakshiṇayā rarādha* |

"They call him a rishi, him a *brāhmán*, reverend, a chanter of Sāma verses (*sāma-gām*), and reciter of *ukthas*,—he knows the three forms of the brilliant (Agni)—the man who first worshipped with a largess."

Even in later times a man belonging to the Kshattriya and Vaiśya castes may perform all the Vedic rites. Any such person, therefore, and consequently a person not a Brāhman might, according to this verse, have been called, though, no doubt, figuratively, a priest (*brahmā*).

[9] Different deities are called *ṛishi*, *kavi*, etc., in the following texts: v. 29, 1; vi. 14, 2; viii. 6, 41; ix. 96, 18; ix. 107, 7; x. 27, 22; x. 112, 9.

[10] See Dr. Haug's Ait. Br. vol. i. Introduction, p. 20.

x. 117, 7. . . . *Vadan brahmā avadato vanīyān priṇann āpir apriṇantam abhi syāt* |

"A *brāhmán*[11] who speaks is more acceptable than one who does not speak: a friend who is liberal excels one who is illiberal."[12]

x. 125, 5. *Yaṁ kāmaye taṁ tam ugraṁ kriṇomi tam brahmāṇaṁ tam rishiṁ taṁ sumedhām* |

"I (says Vāch) make him whom I love formidable, him a *brāhman*, him a rishi, him a sage."

This would seem to prove that sometimes, at least, the *brāhmán* was such not by birth or nature, but by special favour and inspiration of the goddess. In this passage, therefore, the word cannot denote the member of a caste, who would not be dependent on the good will of Vāch for his position.

II. In the passages which follow the word *brāhmán* does not seem to signify so much a "sage or poet," as a "worshipper or priest."

i. 10, 1. *Gāyanti tvā gāyatriṇo archanti arkam arkiṇaḥ* | *brahmāṇas tvā S'atakrato ud vaṁśam iva yemire* |

"The singers sing thee, the hymners recite a hymn, the *brāhmáns*, o Satakratu, have raised thee up like a pole."[13]

i. 33, 9. *Amanyamānān abhi manyamānair nir brahmabhir adhamo dasyum Indra* |

"Thou, Indra, with the believers, didst blow against the unbelievers, with the *brāhmáns* thou didst blow away the Dasyu."[14]

i. 101, 5. *Yo viśvasya jagataḥ prāṇatas patir yo brahmaṇe prathamo gāḥ avindat* | *Indro yo dasyūn adharān avātirat* . . .

"Indra, who is lord of all that moves and breathes, who first found the cows for the *brāhmán*, who hurled down the Dasyu."

i. 108, 7. *Yad Indrāgnī madathaḥ sve durone yad brahmaṇi rājani vā yajatrā* | *ataḥ pari vrishaṇāv ā hi yātam athā somasya pibataṁ sutasya* |

"When, o adorable Indra and Agni, ye are exhilarated in your own

[11] The word here seems clearly to indicate an order or profession, as the *silent* priest is still a priest.

[12] See Dr. Haug's remark on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20. The contexts of the two last passages are given in my article "Miscellaneous Hymns from the R. and A. Vedas," pp. 32 f.

[13] Compare i. 5, 8; i. 7, 1; viii. 16, 9. See Dr. Haug's remark on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20.

[14] See on this verse the remarks of M. Bréal, Hercule et Cacus, etc. p. 152.

abode, or with a *brāhmān* or a *rājan*,[15] come thence, ye vigorous (deities), and then drink of the poured out soma."[16]

i. 158, 6. *Dīrghatamāḥ Māmateyo jujurvān daśame yuge | apām arthaṁ yatīnām brahmā bhavati sārathiḥ |*

"Dīrghatamas, son of Mamatā, being decrepit in his tenth lustre, (though) a *brāhmān*, becomes the charioteer of (or is borne upon) the waters which are hastening to their goal."

(Professor Aufrecht understands this to mean that Dīrghatamas is verging towards his end, and thinks there is a play on the word "charioteer" as an employment not befitting a priest.)

ii. 39, 1. . . . *Gṛidhrā iva vṛiksham̐ nidhimantam acha | brahmāṇā iva vidathe ukthaśāsā . . . |*

"Ye (Aśvins) (cry) like two vultures on a tree which contains their nest; like two *brāhmāns* singing a hymn at a sacrifice."

iv. 50, 7. *Sa id rājā pratijanyāni viśvā śushmeṇa tasthāv abhi vīryeṇa | Bṛihaspatiṁ yaḥ subhṛitam bibhartti valgūyati vandate pūrva-bhājam |* 8. *Sa it ksheti sudhitaḥ okasi sve tasmai iḷā pinvate viśvadānīm | tasmai viśaḥ svayam eva namante yasmin brahmā rājani pūrvaḥ eti |* 9. *Apratīto jayati saṁ dhanāni pratijanyāni uta yā sajanyā | avasyave yo varivaḥ kṛiṇoti brahmaṇe rājā tam avanti devāḥ |*

"That king overcomes all hostile powers in force and valour who maintains Bṛihaspati in abundance, who praises and magnifies him as (a deity) enjoying the first distinction. 8. He dwells prosperous in his own palace, to him the earth always yields her increase,[17] to him the

[15] A distinction of orders or professions appears to be here recognised. But in v. 54, 7, a *rishi* and a *rājan* are distinguished much in the same way as a *brāhmān* and *rājan* are in i. 108, 7: *Sa na jīyate Maruto na hanyate na sredhati na vyathate na rishyati | na asya rāyaḥ upa dasyanti na ūtayaḥ ṛishim vā yaṁ rājānaṁ vā sushūdatha |* "That man, whether rishi or prince, whom ye, o Maruts, support, is neither conquered nor killed, he neither decays nor is distressed, nor is injured; his riches do not decline, nor his supports." Compare v. 14, where it is said: *Yūgaṁ rayim marutaḥ spārha-vīraṁ yūyam ṛishim avatha sāma-vipram | yūyam arvantam Bharatāya vājaṁ yūyaṁ dhattha rājanaṁ śrushṭimantam |* "Ye, o Maruts, give riches with desirable men, ye protect a rishi who is skilled in hymns; ye give a horse and food to Bharata, ye make a king prosperous." In iii. 43, 5, reference is found to Viśvāmitra, or the author, being made by Indra both a prince and a rishi (*kuvid mā gopāṁ karase janasya kuvid rājānam maghavann ṛjīshin | kuvid mā ṛishim papivāṁsaṁ sutasya*).

[16] See on this verse Prof. Benfey's note, Orient und Occident, 3, 142.

[17] Compare R.V. v. 37, 4 f.: *Na sa rājā vyathate yasminn Indras tīvram somam pivati go-sakhāyam |* "That king suffers no distress in whose house Indra drinks the pungent soma mixed with milk," etc.

people bow down of themselves,—that king in whose house a *brāhmān* walks first.[18] 9. Unrivalled, he conquers the riches both of his enemies and his kinsmen—the gods preserve the king who bestows wealth on the *brāhmān* who asks his assistance."[19]

iv. 58, 2. *Vayaṁ nāma pra bravāma ghṛitasya asmin yajne dhārayāma namobhiḥ | upa brahmā śṛinavat śasyamānaṁ chatuḥ-śṛingo avamīd gauraḥ etat |*

"Let us proclaim the name of butter; let us at this sacrifice hold it (in mind) with prostrations. May the *brāhmān* (Agni?) hear the praise which is chanted. The four-horned bright-coloured (god) has sent this forth."

v. 29, 3. *Uta brahmāṇo Maruto me asya Indraḥ somasya sushutasya peyāḥ |*

"And, ye Maruts, *brāhmāns*, may Indra drink of this my soma which has been poured out," etc.

v. 31, 4. *Anavas te ratham aśvāya takshan Tvashṭā vajram puruhūta dyumantam | brahmāṇaḥ Indram mahayanto arkair avarddhayann Ahaye hantavai u |*

"The men[20] have fashioned a car for thy (Indra's) horse, and Tvashṭṛi a gleaming thunderbolt, o god greatly invoked. The *brāhmāns*, magnifying Indra, have strengthened him for the slaughter of Ahi."

v. 32, 12. *Evā hi tvām ṛituthā yātayantam maghā viprebhyo dadataṁ śṛiṇomi | kiṁ te brahmāṇo gṛihate sakhāyo ye tvāyāḥ nidadhuḥ kāmam Indra |*

"I hear of thee thus rightly prospering, and bestowing wealth on, the sages (*viprebhyaḥ*). What, o Indra, do the *brāhmāns*, thy friends, who have reposed their wishes on thee, obtain?"

v. 40, 8. *Grāvṇo brahmā yuyujānaḥ saparyan kīriṇā devān namasā upaśikshan | Atriḥ sūryasya divi chakshur ā adhāt Svarbhānor apa māyāḥ aghukshat |*

"Applying the stones (for pressing soma), performing worship, honouring the gods with praise and obeisance, the *brāhmān* Atri placed

[18] Compare viii. 69, 4; x. 39, 11; x. 107, 5; and the word *purohita*, used of a ministering priest as one *placed in front*. Prof. Aufrecht, however, would translate the last words, "under whose rule the *priest* receives the first or principal portion."

[19] See on this passage Roth's article, "On Brahma and the Brāhmans," Journ. Germ. Or. Soc. i. 77 ff. See also Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii. 26.

[20] Are the Ṛibhus intended?

the eye of the sun in the sky, and swept away the magical arts of Svarbhānu."

vii. 7, 5. *Asādi vṛito vahnir ājaganvān Agnir brahmā nṛi-shadane vidharttā* |

"The chosen bearer (of oblations), Agni, the *brăhmăn*, having arrived, has sat down in a mortal's abode, the upholder."

vii. 42, 1. *Pra brahmāṇo Angiraso nakshanta* |

"The *brăhmăns*, the Angirases, have arrived," etc.

viii. 7, 20. *Kva nūnaṁ sudānavo madatha vṛikta-barhishaḥ* | *brahmā ko vaḥ saparyati* |

"Where now, bountiful (Maruts), are ye exhilarated, with the sacrificial grass spread beneath you? What *brăhmăn* is serving you?"

viii. 17, 2. *Ā tvā brahma-yujā harī vahatām Indra keśinā* | *upa brahmāṇi naḥ śṛiṇu* | 3. *Brahmāṇas tvā vayaṁ yujā somapām Indra sominaḥ* | *sutāvanto havāmahe* |

"Thy tawny steeds with flowing manes, yoked by prayer (*brahma-yujā*),[21] bring thee hither, Indra; listen to our prayers (*brăhmāṇi*). 3. We *brăhmăns*, offerers of soma, bringing oblations, continually invoke the drinker of soma."

viii. 31, 1. *Yo yajāti yajāte it sunavach cha pachāti cha* | *brahmā id Indrasya chākanat* |

"That *brăhmăn* is beloved of Indra who worships, sacrifices, pours out libations, and cooks offerings."

viii. 32, 16. *Na nūnam brahmaṇām ṛiṇam prāśūnām asti sunvatām* | *na somo apratā pape* |

"There is not now any debt due by the active *brăhmăns* who pour out libations. Soma has not been drunk without an equivalent."

viii. 33, 19. *Adhaḥ paśyasva mā upari santaram pādakau hara* | *mā te kaśa-plakau dṛiśan strī hi brahmā babhūvitha* |

"Look downward, not upward; keep thy feet close together; let them not see those parts which should be covered; thou, a *brăhmăn*, hast become a woman."

viii. 45, 39. *Ā te etā vacho-yujā harī gṛibhṇe sumadrathā* | *yad īm brahmabhyaḥ id dadaḥ* |

[21] Compare viii. 45, 39, below: *brahma-yuj* occurs also in i. 177, 2; iii. 35, 4; viii. 1, 24; viii. 2, 27.

"I seize these thy tawny steeds, yoked by our hymn (*vacho-yujā*)[22] to a splendid chariot, since thou didst give (wealth) to the *brāhmans*.

viii. 53, 7. *Kva sya vṛishabho yuvā tuvi-grīvo anānataḥ* | *brahmā kas taṁ saparyati* |

"Where is that vigorous, youthful, large-necked, unconquered (Indra)? What *brāhman* serves him?

viii. 66, 5. *Abhi Gandharvam atṛiṇad abudhneshu rajassu ā* | *Indro brahmabhyaḥ id vṛidhe* |

"Indra clove the Gandharva in the bottomless mists, for the prosperity of the *brāhmans*."

viii. 81, 30. *Mo su brahmā iva tandrayur bhuvo vājānām pate* | *matsva sutasya gomataḥ* |

"Be not, o lord of riches (Indra), sluggish like a *brāhman*.[23] Be exhilarated by the libation mixed with milk."

viii. 85, 5. *Ā yad vajram bāhvor Indra dhatse mada-chyutam Ahave hantavai u* | *pra parvatāḥ anavanta pra brahmāṇo abhinakshanta Indram* |

"When, Indra, thou seizest in thine arms the thunderbolt which brings down pride, in order to slay Ahi, the (aerial) hills and the cows utter their voice, and the *brāhmans* draw near to thee."

ix. 96, 6. *Brahmā devānām padavīḥ kavīnām ṛishir viprāṇām mahisho mṛigānām* | *śyeno gṛidhrāṇāṁ svadhitir vanānāṁ somaḥ pavitram ati eti rebhan* |

"Soma, resounding, overflows the filter, he who is a *brāhman* among the gods, a leader among poets, a rishi among the wise, a buffalo among wild beasts, a falcon among kites, an axe among the woods."

ix. 112, 1. *Nānānāṁ vai u no dhiyo vi vratāni janānām* | *takshā rishṭaṁ rutam bhishag brahmā sunvantam ichhati.*

"Various are the thoughts and endeavours of us different men. The carpenter seeks something broken, the doctor a patient, the *brāhman* some one to offer libations."[24]

[22] Compare viii. 87, 9, *yunjanti harī ishirasya gāthayā urau rathe uruyuge* | *Indra-vāhā vachoyujā*; i. 7, 2, *vachoyujā*; i. 14, 6, *manoyujā*; vi. 49, 5, *ratho . . . . manasā yujānaḥ*.

[23] Dr. Haug (Introd. to Ait. Br. p. 20) refers to Ait. Br. v. 34, as illustrating this reproach. See p. 376 of his translation. This verse clearly shows that the priests formed a professional body.

[24] This verse also distinctly proves that the priesthood already formed a profession. Verse 3 of the same hymn is as follows: "I am a poet, my father a physician, my

ix. 113, 6. *Yatra brahmā pavamāna chhandasyāṁ vāchaṁ vadan | grāvṇā some mahīyate somena ānandaṁ janayann Indrāya Indo pari srava |*

"O pure Soma, in the place where the *brāhmán*, uttering a metrical hymn, is exalted at the soma sacrifice through (the sound of) the crushing-stone, producing pleasure with soma, o Indu (Soma) flow for Indra."

x. 28, 11. *Tebhyo godhā ayathaṁ karshad etad ye brahmaṇaḥ pratipīyanti annaiḥ | sime ukshṇaḥ avasṛishṭān adanti svayam balāni tanvaḥ śriṇānāḥ |* (The word *brahmaṇaḥ* occurs in this verse, but I am unable to offer any translation, as the sense is not clear.)

x. 71, 11. (See translation of this verse below, where the entire hymn is given.)

x. 85, 29. *Parā dehi śāmulyam brahmabhyo vi bhaja vasu | . . .* 35. *Sūryāyāḥ paśya rūpāṇi tāni brahmā tu śundhati |*

"Put away that which requires expiation (?). Distribute money to the *brāhmáns*. . . . 35. Behold the forms of Sūryā. But the *brāhmán* purifies them."

x. 141, 3. *Somaṁ rājānam avase Agniṁ gīrbhir havāmahe | Ādityān Vishṇuṁ Sūryam brahmāṇaṁ cha Bṛihaspatim |*

"With hymns we invoke to our aid king Soma, Agni, the Adityas, Vishṇu, Sūrya, and Bṛihaspati, the *brāhmán*.

III. In the following passages the word *brāhmán* appears to designate the special class of priest so called, in contradistinction to *hotṛi*, *udgātṛi*, and *adhvaryu*.

ii. 1, 2 (= x. 91, 10). *Tava Agne hotraṁ tava potram ṛitviyaṁ tava neshṭraṁ tvam id agnid ṛitāyataḥ | tava praśāstraṁ tvam adhvarīyasi brahmā cha asi gṛihapatiś cha no dame |* 2. *Tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhaḥ satām asi tvaṁ Vishṇur urugāyo namasyaḥ | tvam brahmā rayivid Brahmaṇaspate tvaṁ vidharttaḥ sachase purandhyā |*

"Thine, Agni, is the office of *hotṛi*, thine the regulated function of *potṛi*, thine the office of *neshṭṛi*, thou art the *agnidh* of the pious man, thine is the function of *praśāstṛi*, thou actest as *adhvaryu*, thou art the *brāhmán*, and the lord of the house in our abode. 2. Thou, Agni, art Indra, the chief of the holy, thou art Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, the

mother a grinder of corn" (*kārur ahaṁ tato bhishag upala-prakshiṇī nānā*). Unfortunately there is nothing further said which could throw light on the relations in which the different professions and classes of society stood to each other.

adorable, thou, o Brahmaṇaspati, art the *brăhmăn*, the possessor of wealth, thou, o sustainer, art associated with the ceremonial."

iv. 9, 3. *Sa sadma pari nīyate hotā mandro divishṭishu* | *uta potā ni shīdati* | 4. *Uta gnā Agnir adhvare uta gṛihapatir dame* | *uta brahmā ni shīdati* |

"He (Agni) is led round the house, a joyous *hotṛi* at the ceremonies, and sits a *potṛi*. 4. And Agni is a wife (*i.e.* a mistress of the house) at the sacrifice, and the master of the house in our abode, and he sits a *brăhmăn*."

x. 52, 2. *Aham hotā ni asīdam yajīyān viśve devāḥ maruto mā junanti* | *ahar ahar Aśvinā ādhvaryavam vām brahmā samid bhavati sā ahutir vām* |

(Agni says) "I have sat down an adorable *hotṛi*; all the gods, the Maruts, stimulate me. Day by day, ye Aśvins, I have acted as your *adhvaryu*; the *brăhmăn* is he who kindles the fire: this is your invocation."

I shall now bring forward the whole of the texts in which the word *brāhmăṇa*, which, no doubt, originally meant a son, or descendant, of a *brăhmăn*, occurs in the Rig-veda.[25] They are the following:

i. 164, 45. *Chatvāri vāk parimitā padāni tāni vidur brāhmaṇāḥ ye manīshiṇaḥ* | *guhā trīṇi nihitā na ingayanti turīyam vācho manushyāḥ vadanti* |

"Speech consists of four defined grades. These are known by those *brāhmans* who are wise. They do not reveal the three which are esoteric. Men speak the fourth grade of speech."

This text is quoted and commented upon in Nirukta xiii. 9.

vi. 75, 10. *Brāhmaṇāsaḥ pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ śive no dyāvā-pṛithivī anehasā* | *Pūshā naḥ pātu duritād ṛitāvṛidhaḥ* . . . . |

"May the *brāhman* fathers, drinkers of soma, may the auspicious, the sinless, heaven and earth, may Pūshan, preserve us, who prosper by righteousness, from evil, etc."

[25] There are two more texts in which the word *brāhmaṇa* is found, viz. i. 15, 5, and ii. 36, 5, on which see the following note. The word *brahmaputra* (compare Aśv. S'. S. ii. 18, 13) "son of a brahman," is found in ii. 43, 2: *Udgātā iva śakune sāma gāyasi brăhmă-putraḥ iva savaneshu śamsasi* | "Thou, o bird, singest a sāma verse like an *udgātṛi*; thou singest praises like the son of a *brăhmăn* at the libations." (Ind. Stud. ix. 342 ff.) *Vipra*, used in later Sanskrit as synonymous with Brāhman, has in the R.V. the sense of "wise," "sage" assigned by Nigh. 3, 15 (=*medhāvi-nāma*), and in Nir. 10, 19,=*medhāvinaḥ*. It is often applied as an epithet to the gods.

vii. 103, 1 (= Nirukta 9, 6). *Saṁvatsaraṁ śaśayānāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ vrata-chāriṇaḥ* | *vācham Parjanya-jinvitām pra maṇḍūkāḥ avādishuḥ* . . . . | 7. *Brāhmaṇāso atirātre na some saro na pūrṇam abhito vadantaḥ* | *saṁvatsarasya tad ahaḥ pari shṭha yad maṇḍūkāḥ prāvṛishīṇam babhūva* | 8. *Brāhmaṇāsaḥ somino vācham akrata brahma kriṇvantaḥ parivatsarīṇam* | *adhvaryavo gharmiṇaḥ sishvidānāḥ āvir bhavanti guhyā na ke chit* |

"After lying quiet for a year, those rite-fulfilling *brāhmans*[26] the frogs have (now) uttered their voice, which has been inspired by Parjanya . . . . 7. Like *brāhmans* at the Atirātra soma rite, like (those *brāhmans*) speaking round about the full pond (or soma-bowl[27]), you, frogs, surround (the pond) on this day of the year, which is that of the autumnal rains. 8. These soma-offering *brāhmans* (the frogs) have uttered their voice, performing their annual devotion (*brahma*); these adhvaryu priests sweating with their boiled oblations (or in the hot season) come forth from their retreats like persons who have been concealed."

x. 16, 6. *Yat te krishṇaḥ śakunaḥ ātutoda pipīlaḥ sarpaḥ uta vā śvāpadaḥ* | *Agnis tad viśvād agadaṁ karotu Somaś cha yo brāhmaṇān āviveśa* |

"Whatever part of thee any black bird, or ant, or serpent, or wild beast has mutilated, may Agni cure thee of all that, and Soma who has entered into the *brāhmans*."[28]

[26] In the Nighantus, iii. 13, these words *brāhmaṇāḥ vrata-chāriṇaḥ* are referred to as conveying the sense of a simile, though they are unaccompanied by a particle of similitude. In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 126, Roth thus remarks on this passage: "This is the only place in the first nine mandalas of the R.V. in which the word Brāhmaṇa is found with its later sense, whilst the tenth mandala offers a number of instances. This is one of the proofs that many of the hymns in this book were composed considerably later (than the rest of the R.V.). The word *brāhmaṇa* has another signification in i. 15, 5; ii. 36, 5; and vi. 75, 10." (In the first of these texts, Roth assigns to the word the sense of the Brāhman's soma-vessel. See his Lexicon, *s.v.* It does not appear what meaning he would give to the word in vi. 75, 10. He has in this passage overlooked R.V. i. 164, 45, which, however, is duly adduced in his Lexicon). See Wilson's translation of the hymn; as also Müller's, in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 494 f.

[27] *Saras.* See R.V. viii. 66, 4, quoted in Nirukta, v. 11, where Yāska says, "The ritualists inform us that at the mid-day oblation there are thirty *uktha* platters destined for one deity, which are then drunk at one draught. These are here called *saras.*" (Compare Roth's Illustrations on the passage. See also R.V. vi. 17, 11, and viii. 7, 10, with Sāyaṇa's explanations of all three passages).

[28] Compare A.V. vii. 115, 1 f.; xii. 5, 6.

x. 71, 1.[29] *Bṛihaspate prathamam vācho agraṁ yat prairata nāmadheyaṁ dadhānāḥ | yad eshāṁ śreshṭhaṁ yad ariprам āsīt preṇā tad eshāṁ nihitaṁ guhā āviḥ* | 2. (= Nirukta iv. 10) *Saktum iva titaünā punanto yatra dhīrāḥ manasā vācham akrata | atra sakhāyaḥ sakhyāni jānate bhadrā eshāṁ lakshmīr nihitā adhi vāchi* | 3. *Yajnena vāchaḥ padavīyam āyan tām anv avindann ṛishishu pravishṭām | tām ābhṛitya vi adadhuḥ purutrā tāṁ sapta rebhāḥ abhi saṁ navante* | 4. (= Nir. i. 19) *Uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācham uta tvaḥ śṛiṇvan na śriṇoti enām | uto tvasmai tanvaṁ vi sasre jāyā iva patye uśatī suvāsāḥ* | 5. (= Nir. i. 20) *Uta tvaṁ sakhye sthirapītam āhur na enaṁ hinvanty api vājineshu | adhenvā charati māyayā esha vācham śuśruvān aphalām apushpām* | 6. *Yas tityāja sachi-vidaṁ sakhāyaṁ na tasya vāchi api bhāgo asti | yad īṁ śriṇoti alakaṁ śṛiṇoti na hi praveda sukṛitasya panthāṁ* | 7. *Akshaṇvantaḥ karṇavantaḥ sakhāyo manojaveshu asamāḥ babhūvuḥ | ādaghnāsaḥ upakakshāsaḥ u tve hradāḥ iva snātvāḥ u tve dadṛiśre* | 8. (= Nir. xiii. 13) *Hṛidā tashṭeshu manaso javeshu yad brāhmaṇāḥ saṁyajante sakhāyaḥ | atra aha tvaṁ vi jahur vedyābhir ohabrahmāṇo vi charanti u tve* | 9. *Ime ye na arvāñ na paraś charanti na brāhmaṇāso na sute-karāsaḥ | te ete vācham abhipadya pāpayā sirīs tantraṁ tanvate aprajajnayaḥ* | 10. *Sarve nandanti yaśasā āgatena sabhā-sahena sakhyā sakhāyaḥ | kilbisha-spṛit pitu-shaṇir hi eshām araṁ hito bhavati vājināya* | 11. (= Nir. i. 8) *Ṛichām tvaḥ posham āste pupushvān gāyatraṁ tvo gāyati śakvarīshu | brahmā tvo vadati jāta-vidyāṁ yajnasya mātrāṁ vi mimīte u tvaḥ* |

"When, o Bṛihaspati, men first sent forth the earliest utterance of speech, giving a name (to things), then all that was treasured within them, most excellent and pure, was disclosed through love. 2. Wherever the wise,—as if cleansing meal with a sieve,—have uttered speech with intelligence, there friends recognize acts of friendliness; good fortune dwells in their speech.[30] 3. Through sacrifice they came upon

[29] I cannot pretend that I am satisfied with some parts of the translation I have attempted of this very difficult hymn; but I give it such as it is, as the interpretation of the Vedic poems is still to a certain extent tentative. Verses 4 and 5 are explained in Sāyaṇa's Introduction to the Rig-veda, pp. 30 f. of Müller's edition. I am indebted here, as elsewhere, to Prof. Aufrecht for his suggestions.

[30] I quote here, as somewhat akin to this hymn, another from the A.V. vi. 108, being a prayer for wisdom or intelligence: 1. *Tvaṁ no medhe prathamā gobhir aśvebhir ā gahi | tvaṁ sūryasya raśmibhis tvaṁ no asi yajniyā* | 2. *Medhām aham prathamām*

the track of speech, and found her entered into the rishis. Taking, they divided her into many parts:[31] the seven poets celebrate her in concert. 4. And one man, seeing, sees not speech, and another, hearing, hears her not;[32] while to a third she discloses her form, as a loving well-dressed wife does to her husband. 5. They say that one man has a sure defence in (her[33]) friendship; he is not overcome even in the conflicts (of discussion). But that person consorts with a barren delusion who has listened to speech without fruit or flower. 6. He who abandons a friend who appreciates friendship, has no portion whatever in speech. All that he hears, he hears in vain, for he knows not the path of righteousness. 7. Friends gifted both with eyes and ears have proved unequal in mental efforts. Some have been (as waters) reaching to the face or armpit, while others have been seen like ponds in which one might bathe. 8. When *brāhmans* who are friends strive (?) together in efforts of the mind produced by the heart,[34] they leave one man behind through their acquirements, whilst others walk about boasting to be *brāhmans*. (This is the sense Professor Aufrecht suggests for the word *ohabrāhmāṇaḥ*. Professor Roth *s.v.* thinks it may mean "real priests." The author of Nirukta xiii. 13, explains it as meaning "reasoning priests," or "those of whom reasoning is the sacred science.") 9. The men who range neither near nor far, who are neither (reflecting) *brāhmans* nor yet pious worshippers at libations,—these, having acquired speech, frame their web imperfectly, (like) female

brahmaṇvatīm brahma-jūtām ṛishishṭutām | prapītām brahmachāribhir devānām avase huve | 3. *Yām medhām Ṛibhavo vidur yām medhām asurāḥ viduḥ | ṛishayo bhadrām medhāñ yāñ vidus tām mayy ā veśayāmasi* | 4. *Yām ṛishayo bhūta-kṛito medhām medhāvino viduḥ | tayā mām adya medhayā Agne medhāvinañ kṛiṇu* | 5. *Medhāñ sāyam medhām prātar medhām madhyandinam pari | medhāñ sūryasya raśmibhir vachasā" veśayāmahe* 1. "Come to us, wisdom, the first, with cows and horses; (come) thou with the rays of the sun; thou art to us an object of worship. 2. To (obtain) the succour of the gods, I invoke wisdom the first, full of prayer, inspired by prayer, praised by rishis, imbibed by Brahmachārins. 3. We introduce within me that wisdom which Ṛibhus know, that wisdom which divine beings (*asurāḥ*) know, that excellent wisdom which rishis know. 4. Make me, o Agni, wise to-day with that wisdom which the wise rishis—the makers of things existing—know. 5. We introduce wisdom in the evening, wisdom in the morning, wisdom at noon, wisdom with the rays of the sun, and with speech" (*vachasā*). Regarding the *ṛishayo bhūtakṛitaḥ* see above, p. 37, note.

[31] Compare x. 125, 3; i. 164, 45; (x. 90, 11); and A.V. xii. 1, 45.

[32] Compare Isaiah vi. 9, 10; and St. Matthew xiii. 14, 15.

[33] *Vāk-sakhye*, Yāska.

[34] Compare i. 171, 2; ii. 35, 2; vi. 16, 47.

weavers,[35] being destitute of skill. 10. All friends rejoice at the arrival of a renowned friend who rules the assembly; for such a one, repelling evil, and bestowing nourishment upon them, is thoroughly prepared for the conflict (of discussion). 11. One man possesses a store of verses (*richām*); a second sings a hymn (*gāyatra*) during (the chanting of) the *śakvarīs*; one who is a *brāhmān* declares the science of being (*jāta-vidyām*), whilst another prescribes the order of the ceremonial."[36]

R.V. x. 88, 19 (= Nir. vii. 31). *Yāvan-mātram ushaso na pratīkaṁ suparṇyo vasate Mātariśvaḥ | tāvad dadhāti upa yajnam āyan brāhmaṇo hotur avaro nishīdan |*

"As long as the fair-winged Dawns do not array themselves in light, o Mātariśvan, so long the *brāhman* coming to the sacrifice, keeps (the fire), sitting below the hotṛi-priest."

(See Professor Roth's translation of this verse in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 113).

x. 90, 11 (= A.V. xix. 5, 6; Vaj. S. xxxi.). See above, pp. 8–15.

x. 97, 22. *Oshadhayaḥ saṁvadante Somena saha rājnā | yasmai kṛiṇoti brāhmaṇas taṁ rājan parayāmasi |*

"The plants converse with king Soma,[37] (and say), for whomsoever a *brāhman* acts (*kṛiṇoti*, officiates), him, o king, we deliver."

x. 109, 1. *Te 'vadan prathamāḥ brahma-kilbishe akūpāraḥ salilo Mātariśvā | vīḷuharās tapa ugro mayobhūr āpo devīr prathamajāḥ ṛitena | Soma rājā prathamo brahma-jāyām punaḥ prāyachhad ahṛiṇīyamānaḥ | anvartitā Varuṇo Mitraḥ āsīd Agnir hotā hastagṛihya ināya |* 3. *Hastena eva grāhyaḥ ādhir asyāḥ "brahma-jāyā iyam" iti cha id avochan | na dūtāya prahye tasthe eshā tathā rāshṭraṁ gupitaṁ kshattriyasya |* 4. *Devāḥ etasyām avadanta pūrve sapta ṛishayas tapase ye nisheduḥ | bhīmā jāyā brāhmaṇasya upanītā durdhāṁ dadhāti parame vyoman |*

[35] Such is the sense which Prof. Aufrecht thinks may, with probability, be assigned to *sirīs*, a word which occurs only here.

[36] According to Yāska (Nir. i. 8), these four persons are respectively the *hotṛi*, *udgātṛi*, *brahman*, and *adhvaryu* priests. The brahman, he says, being possessed of all science, ought to know everything; and gives utterance to his knowledge as occasion arises for it (*jāte jāte*). See Dr. Haug's remarks on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20.

[37] Compare *oshadhīḥ Soma-rājnīḥ*, "the plants whose king is Soma," in verses 18 and 19 of this hymn.

5. *Brahmachārī charati vevishad vishaḥ sa devānām bhavati ekam angam* | *tena jāyām anv avindad Bṛihaspatiḥ Somena nītām juhvam na devāḥ* | 6. *Punar vai devāḥ adaduḥ punar manushyāḥ uta* | *rājānaḥ satyam kriṇvānāḥ brahma-jāyām punar daduḥ* | 7. *Punardāya brahma-jāyām kritvī devair nikilbisham* | *ūrjam pṛithivyāḥ bhaktvāya urugāyam upāsate* |

"These (deities), the boundless, liquid Mātariśvan (Air), the fiercely-flaming, ardently-burning, beneficent (Fire), and the divine primeval Waters, first through righteousness exclaimed against the outrage on a *brāhmān*. 2. King Soma,[38] unenvious, first gave back the *brāhmān's* wife; Varuṇa and Mitra were the inviters; Agni, the invoker, brought her, taking her hand. 3. When restored, she had to be received back by the hand, and they then proclaimed aloud, 'This is the *brāhmān's* wife;' she was not committed to a messenger to be sent:—in this way it is that the kingdom of a ruler (or Kshattriya) remains secured to him.[39] 4. Those ancient deities, the Rishis, who sat down to perform austerities, spoke thus of her, 'Terrible is the wife of the *brāhmān*; when approached, she plants confusion in the highest heaven.[40] 5. The Brahmachārin[41] (religious student) continues to perform observances. He becomes one member[42] of the gods. Through him Bṛihaspati obtained his wife, as the gods obtained the ladle which was brought by Soma. 6. The gods gave her back, and men gave her back; kings, performing righteousness, gave back the *brāhmān's* wife. 7. Giving back the *brāhmān's* wife, delivering themselves from sin against the gods, (these kings) enjoy the abundance of the earth, and possess a free range of movement."

[38] Compare R.V. x. 85, 39 ff. (=A.V. xiv. 2, 2 ff.) *Punaḥ patnīm Agnir adād āyushā saha varchasā* | *dīrghāyur asyāḥ yaḥ patir jīvāti śaradaḥ śatam* | 40. *Somāḥ prathamo vivide Gandharvo vivide uttaraḥ* (the A.V. reads: *Somasya jāyā prathamam Gandharvas te 'paraḥ patiḥ*) | *tritīyo Agnish ṭe patis turīyas te manushyajāḥ* | *Somo dadad Gandharvāya Gandharvo dadad Agnaye* | *rayim cha putrāmś chādād Agnir mahyam atho imām* | "Agni gave back the wife with life and splendour: may he who is her husband live to an old age of 100 years! Soma was thy first, the Gandharva was thy second, Agni thy third, husband; thy fourth is one of human birth. Soma gave her to the Gandharva, the Gandharva to Agni, Agni gave me wealth and sons, and then this woman." The idea contained in this passage may possibly be referred to in the verse before us (x. 109, 2).

[39] I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for this explanation of the verse.

[40] See R.V. i. 164, 34, 35, above.

[41] See my paper on the Progress of the Vedic Religion, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 374 ff.

[42] See A.V. x. 7, 1 ff.; 9, 26.

This hymn is repeated in the Atharva-veda with the addition of ten more verses which I shall quote in the next section.

I shall here state summarily the remarks suggested by a perusal of the texts which I have quoted, and the conclusions which they appear to authorize regarding the relation of the Vedic poets and priests to the other classes of the Indian community at the time when the earlier hymns of the Rig-veda were composed.

First: Except in the Purusha Sūkta (translated above in pp. 9 ff.) there is no distinct reference in the hymns to any recognised system of four castes.

Second: In one text (iii. 34, 9, see p. 176) where mention is made of the Āryan "colour," or "race," all the upper classes of the Indian community are comprehended under one designation, as the Kshattriyas and Vaiśyas as well as the Brāhmans were always in after-times regarded as Āryas (see above, p. 176.)

Third: The term *brāhmaṇa* occurs only in eight hymns of the Rig-veda, besides the Purusha Sūkta, whilst *brāhmán* occurs in forty-six. The former of these words could not therefore have been in common use at the time when the greater part of the hymns were composed. The term *rājanya* is found only in the Purusha Sūkta; and *kshattriya* in the sense of a person belonging to a royal family, a noble, occurs only in a few places, such as x. 109, 3.[48] The terms Vaiśya and Śūdra are only found in the Purusha Sūkta, although *viś*, from which the former is derived, is of frequent occurrence in the sense of "people" (see p. 14, above).

Fourth: The word *brāhmán*, as we have seen, appears to have had at first the sense of "sage," "poet;" next, that of "officiating priest;" and ultimately that of a "special description of priest."

Fifth: In some of the texts which have been quoted (particularly i. 108, 7; iv. 50, 8 f.; viii. 7, 20; viii. 45, 39; viii. 53, 7; viii. 81, 30; ix. 112, 1; x. 85, 29) *brāhmán* seems to designate a "priest by profession."

Sixth: In other places the word seems rather to imply something peculiar to the individual, and to denote a person distinguished for

[48] This text is quoted above. In viii. 104, 13, Kshattriya is perhaps a neuter substantive: *Na vai u Somo vṛijinam hinoti na kshattriyam mithuyā dhārayantam* | "Soma does not prosper the sinner, nor the man who wields royal power deceitfully."

genius or virtue (x. 107, 6), or elected by special divine favour to receive the gift of inspiration (x. 125, 5).

Seventh: *Brāhmāṇa* appears to be equivalent to *brāhmā-putra*, "the son of a *brāhmán*" (which, as we have seen, occurs in ii. 43, 2), and the employment of such a term seems necessarily to presuppose that, at the time when it began to become current, the function of a *brāhmán*, the priesthood, had already become a profession.

The Rig-veda Sanhitā contains a considerable number of texts in which the large gifts of different kinds bestowed by different princes on the authors of the hymns are specified, and these instances of bounty are eulogized.

Of these passages R.V. i. 125; i. 126; v. 27; v. 30, 12 ff.; v. 61, 10; vi. 27, 8; vi. 45, 31 ff.; vi. 47, 22 ff. may be consulted in Prof. Wilson's translation; and a version of R.V. x. 107, which contains a general encomium on liberality will be found in the article entitled "Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig- and Atharva-vedas," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, p. 32 f. The following further texts, which describe the presents given by different princes to the rishis, viz. vii. 18, 22 ff.; viii. 3, 21 ff.; viii. 4, 19 ff.; viii. 5, 37 ff.; viii. 6, 46 ff.; viii. 19, 36 f.; viii. 21, 17 f.; viii. 24, 29 f.; viii. 46, 21 ff.; viii. 54, 10 ff.; viii. 57, 14 ff.; x. 33, 4 ff.; x. 62, 6 ff.; x. 93, 14 f. are translated in the article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian Society in the Vedic age" in the same Journal for 1866, pp. 272 ff., to which I refer.

On the other hand the hymns of the Rig-veda contain numerous references to persons who, if not hostile, were at least indifferent and inattentive to the system of worship which the rishis professed and inculcated; and niggardly in their offerings to the gods and their gifts to the priests. The article to which I have just referred contains (pp. 286 ff.) a long list of such passages, from which I extract the following:

i. 84, 7. *Yaḥ ekaḥ id vidayate vasu marttāya dāśushe* | *īśāno apratishkutaḥ Indro anga* | 8. *Kadā martyam arādhasam padā kshumpam iva sphurat* | *kadā naḥ śuśruvad giraḥ Indro anga* |

"Indra, who alone distributes riches to the sacrificing mortal, is lord and irresistible. 8. When will Indra crush the illiberal man like a bush with his foot? when will he hear our hymns?"

i. 101, 4. . . . *vīḷoś chid Indro yo asunvato vadhaḥ* . . . |

"Indra, who is the slayer of him, however strong, who offers no libations."

i. 122, 9. *Jano yo Mitrā-varuṇāv abhidhrug apo na vāṁ sunoti akshṇa-yādhruk | svayaṁ sa yakshmaṁ hṛidaye ni dhatte āpa yad īṁ hotrābhir ṛitāvā* |

"The hostile man, the malicious enemy, who pours out no libations to you, o Mitra and Varuṇa, plants fever in his own heart, when the pious man has by his offerings obtained (your blessing)."

i. 125, 7. *Mā priṇanto duritam enaḥ ā aran mā jārishuḥ sūrayaḥ suvratāsaḥ | anyas teshām paridhir astu kaś chid apriṇantam abhi saṁ yantu śokāḥ* |

"Let not the liberal suffer evil or calamity; let not devout sages decay; let them have some further term; let griefs befall the illiberal (*apṛiṇantam*).

i. 182, 3. *Kiṁ atra dasrā kṛiṇuthaḥ kim āsāthe jano yaḥ kaśchid ahavir mahīyate | ati kramishṭam juratam paṇer asum jyotir viprāya kṛiṇutaṁ vachasyave* |

"What do ye here, o powerful (Aśvins)? why do ye sit (in the house of) a man who offers no oblation, and (yet) is honoured? Assail, wear away the breath of the niggard, and create light for the sage who desires to extol you."

ii. 23, 4. *Sunītibhir nayasi trāyase janaṁ yas tubhyaṁ dāśad na tam aṁho aśnavat | brahma-dvishas tapano manyumīr asi Bṛihaspate mahi tat te mahitvanam* |

"By thy wise leadings thou guidest and protectest the man who worships thee; no calamity can assail him. Thou art the vexer of him who hates devotion (*brahma-dvishaḥ*), and the queller of his wrath: this, o Bṛihaspati, is thy great glory."

iv. 25, 6. . . . *na asushver āpir na sakhā na jāmir dushprāvyo avahantā id avāchaḥ | 7. Na revatā paṇinā sakhyam Indro asunvatā sutapāḥ saṁ gṛiṇīte | ā asya vedaḥ khidati hanti nagnaṁ vi sushvaye paktaye kevalo 'bhūt* |

"Indra is not the relation or friend or kinsman of the man who offers no libations; he is the destroyer of the prostrate irreligious man. 7. Indra, the soma-drinker, accepts not friendship with the wealthy niggard who makes no soma-libations; but robs him of his riches, and

slays him when stripped bare, whilst he is the exclusive patron of the man who pours out soma and cooks oblations."

vi. 44, 11. . . . *jahi asushvīn pra vṛiha apriṇataḥ* |

"Slay (o Indra) those who offer no libations; root out the illiberal."

viii. 53, 1. *Ut tvā mandantu stomāḥ kṛiṇushva rādho adrivaḥ* | *ava brahma-dvisho jahi* | *pādā paṇīn arādhaso ni badhasva mahān asi* | *na hi tvā kaśchana prati* |

"Let our hymns gladden thee; give us wealth, o thunderer. Slay the haters of devotion. 2. Crush with thy foot the niggards who bestow nothing. Thou art great; no one is comparable to thee."

It seems evident, then, from these texts (and there are many more of the same tenor), that the irreligious man, the *parcus deorum cultor et infrequens*, was by no means a rare character among the Āryas of the Vedic age, and that the priests often found no little difficulty in drawing forth the liberality of their contemporaries towards themselves and in enforcing a due regard to the ceremonials of devotion. And if we consider, on the other hand, that the encomiums on the liberality of different princes to the poets and priests which are contained in the passages to which I before adverted, are the production of the class whose pretensions they represent, and whose dignity they exalt, we shall, no doubt, see reason to conclude that the value of the presents bestowed has been enormously exaggerated, and make some deduction from the impression which these texts are calculated to convey of the estimation in which the priests were held at the time when they were composed. But after every allowance has been made for such considerations, and for the state of feeling indicated by the complaints of irreligion and illiberality of which I have cited specimens, it will remain certain that the *brāhmān*, whether we look upon him as a sage and poet, or as an officiating priest, or in both capacities, was regarded with respect and reverence, and even that his presence had begun to be considered as an important condition of the efficacy of the ceremonial. Thus, as we have already seen, in i. 164, 35, the *brāhmān* is described as the highest heaven of "speech;" in x. 107, 6, a liberal patron is called a rishi and a *brāhmān*, as epithets expressive of the most distinguished eulogy; in x. 125, 5, the goddess Vāch is said to make the man who is the object of her special affection a *brāhmān* and a rishi; in vi. 45 7; vii. 7, 5; viii. 16, 7; and ix. 96, 6, the term *brāhmān* is applied

honorifically to the gods Indra, Agni, and Soma; in iv. 50, 8, 9, great prosperity is declared to attend the prince by whom a *brāhmán* is employed, honoured, and succoured; and in iii. 53, 9, 12; v. 2, 6; vii. 33, 2, 3, 5; and vii. 83, 4, the highest efficacy is ascribed to the intervention and intercession of this class of functionaries.

Again, whatever exaggeration we may suppose in the texts which eulogize the liberality of princely patrons, in regard to the value of the presents bestowed, there is no reason to doubt that the ministers of public worship, who possessed the gift of expression and of poetry, who were the depositaries of all sacred science, and who were regarded as the channels of access to the gods, would be largely rewarded and honoured.[44]

[44] It is to be observed that, in these eulogies of liberality, mention is nowhere made of *Brāhmans* as the recipients of the gifts. In two places, viii. 4, 20, and x. 33, 4, a rishi is mentioned as the receiver. In later works, such as the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, on the contrary, the presents are distinctly connected with Brāhmans. Thus it is said in that work, ii. 2, 2, 6: *Dvayāḥ vai devāḥ devāḥ aha eva devāḥ atha ye brāhmaṇāḥ śuśruvāṁso 'nūchānās te manushya-devāḥ* | *teshāṁ dvedhā vibhaktaḥ eva yajnaḥ āhutayaḥ eva devānāṁ dakshiṇāḥ manushya-devānām brāhmaṇānām śuśruvushām anūchānānām* | *āhutibhir eva devān prīṇāti dakshiṇābhir manushya-devān brāhmaṇān śuśruvusho 'nūchānān* | *te enam ubhaye devāḥ prītāḥ sudhāyāṁ dadhati* | "Two kinds of gods are gods, viz. the gods (proper), whilst those Brāhmans who have the Vedic tradition, and are learned. are the human gods. The worship (*yajna*) of these is divided into two kinds. Oblations constitute the worship offered to the gods, and presents (*dakshiṇā*) that offered to the human gods, the Brāhmans, who possess the Vedic tradition and are learned. It is with oblations that a man gratifies the gods, and with presents that he gratifies the human gods, the Brāhmans, who possess the Vedic tradition, and are learned. Both these two kinds of gods, when gratified, place him in a state of happiness" (*sudhāyām*); (or "convey him to the heavenly world," as the expression is varied in the parallel passage of the same work, iv. 3, 4, 4). It is similarly said in the Taitt. Sanh. i. 7, 3, 1: *Parokshaṁ vai anye devāḥ ijyante pratyaksham anye* | *yad yajate ye eva devāḥ paroksham ijyante tān eva tad yajati* | *yad anvāhāryam āharaty ete vai devāḥ pratyaksham yad brāhmaṇās tān eva tena prīṇāti* | *atho dakshiṇā eva asya eshā* | *atho yajnasya eva chhidram apidadhāti yad vai yajnasya krūram yad vilishṭam tad anvāhāryeṇa anvāharati* | *tad anvāhāryasya anvāhāryatvam* | *devadūtāḥ vai ete yad ṛitvijo yad anvāhāryam āharati devadūtān eva prīṇāti* | "Some gods are worshipped in their absence, and others in their presence. It is to those gods who are worshipped in their absence that the sacrificer offers the oblation which he presents. And it is these gods who are visible, *i.e.* the Brāhmans, whom he gratifies with the *anvāhārya* (present of cooked rice) which he afterwards brings. Now this *anvāhārya* is the present (*dakshiṇā*) connected with it (the sacrifice). Then he covers over the faults of the sacrifice. Whatever in it is excessive or defective, that he removes by means of the *anvāhārya*. In this consists the nature of that offering. These officiating priests are the messengers of the gods; and it is the messengers of the gods whom the sacrificer gratifies with this *anvāhārya* gift which he presents."

It is further clear, from some of the texts quoted above (ii. 1, 2; iv. 9, 3; x. 52, 2), as well as i. 162, 5, and from the contents of hymns ii. 36; ii. 37; ii. 43; and x. 124, 1,[45] that in the later part of the Vedic era, to which these productions are probably to be assigned, the ceremonial of worship had become highly developed and complicated, and that different classes of priests were required for its proper celebration.[46] It is manifest that considerable skill must have been required for the due performance of these several functions; and as such skill could only be acquired by early instruction and by practice, there can be little doubt that the priesthood must at that period have become a regular profession.[47] The distinction of king or noble and priest appears to be recognized in i. 108, 7, as well as in iv. 50, 8, 9; whilst in v. 47, 7, 14, a similar distinction is made between king and rishi; and it is noticeable that the verse, in other respects nearly identical, with which the 36th and 37th hymns of the eight maṇḍala respectively conclude, ends in the one hymn with the words, "Thou alone, Indra, didst deliver Trasadasyu in the conflict of men, magnifying prayers" (*brahmāṇi vardhayan*); whilst in the other the last words are, "magnifying (royal) powers" (*kshattrāṇi vardhayan*), as if the former contained a reference to the functions of the priest, and the latter to those of the prince. (Compare viii. 35, 16, 17.)

While, however, there thus appears to be every reason for supposing that towards the close of the Vedic period the priesthood had become a profession, the texts which have been quoted, with the exception of the verse in the Purusha Sūkta (x. 90, 12), do not contain anything which necessarily implies that the priests formed an exclusive caste, or, at least, a caste separated from all others by insurmountable barriers, as in later times. There is a wide difference between a profession, or even a hereditary order, and a caste in the fully developed Brahmanical sense.

[45] See also i. 94, 6, where it is said: "Thou (Agni) art an *adhvaryu*, and the earliest *hotṛi*, a *praśāstṛi*, a *potṛi*, and by nature a *purohita*. Knowing all the priestly functions (*ārtvijyā*) wise, thou nourishest us," etc. (*tvam adhvaryur uta hotā 'si pūrvyaḥ praśāstā potā janushā purohitaḥ | viśvā vidvān ārtvijyā dhīra pushyasy Agne ity ādi*).

[46] See Prof. Müller's remarks on this subject, Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 485 ff.; and Dr. Haug's somewhat different view of the same matter in his Introd. to Ait. Br. pp. 11 ff.

[47] In regard to the great importance and influence of the priests, see Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 485 ff.

Even in countries where the dignity and exclusive prerogatives of the priesthood are most fully recognized (as in Roman Catholic Europe), the clergy form only a profession, and their ranks may be recruited from all sections of the community. So, too, is it in most countries, even with a hereditary nobility. Plebeians may be ennobled at the will of the sovereign. There is, therefore, no difficulty in supposing that in the Vedic era the Indian priesthood—even if we suppose its members to have been for the most part sprung from priestly families—may have often admitted aspirants to the sacerdotal character from other classes of their countrymen. Even the employment of the word *brāhmaṇa* in the Rig-veda does not disprove this. This term, derived from *brahman*, "priest," need not, as already intimated, signify anything further than the son or descendant of a priest (the word *brahmaputra*, "son of a priest," is, as we have seen, actually used in one text),—just as the *rājanya* means nothing more than the descendant of a king or chief (*rājan*), a member of the royal family, or of the nobility.

The paucity of the texts (and those, too, probably of a date comparatively recent) in which the word *brāhmaṇa* occurs, when contrasted with the large number of those in which *brāhmán* is found, seems, as I have already observed, to prove conclusively that the former word was but little employed in the earlier part of the Vedic era, and only came into common use towards its close. In some of these passages (as in vii. 103, 1, 7, 8; x. 88, 19) there is nothing to shew that the Brāhman is alluded to as anything more than a professional priest, and in vii. 103, the comparison of frogs to Brāhmans may seem even to imply a want of respect for the latter and their office.[48] In other places (i. 164, 45, and x. 71, 8, 9) a distinction appears to be drawn between intelligent and unintelligent Brāhmans, between such as were thoughtful and others who were mere mechanical instruments in carrying on the ceremonial of worship,[49] which, certainly points to the existence of a sacerdotal class. In another passage (x. 97, 22) the importance of a Brāhman to the proper performance of religious rites appears to be clearly expressed. In x. 109, where the words *brāhmán* (*passim*) and *brāh-*

[48] See Müller's remarks on this hymn in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 494.

[49] In R.V. viii. 50, 9, it is said: "Whether an unwise or a wise man, o Indra, has offered to thee a hymn, he has gladdened (thee) through his devotion to thee (*avipro vā yad avidhad vipro vā Indra te vachaḥ | sa pra mamandat tvāyā ity ādi*)."

maṇa (in verse 4) seem to be used interchangeably—the inviolability of Brāhman's wives, the peril of interfering with them, and the blessing attendant on reparation for any outrage committed against them, are referred to in such a way as to shew at once the loftiness of the claim set up by the Brāhmans on their own behalf, and to prove that these pretensions were frequently disregarded by the nobles. In x. 16, 6, the Brāhmans are spoken of as inspired by Soma, and in vi. 75, 10, the manes of earlier Brāhmans are reckoned among those divine beings who have power to protect the suppliant. But in none of these texts is any clear reference made to the Brāhmans as constituting an exclusive caste or race, and nothing whatever is said about their being descended from an ancestor distinct from those of the other classes of their countrymen.

SECT. II.—*Quotations from the Rig-veda, the Nirukta, the Mahābhārata, and other works, to shew that according to ancient Indian tradition, persons not of priestly families were authors of Vedic hymns, and exercised priestly functions.*

But in addition to the negative evidence adduced in the preceding section, that during the age to which the greater part of the hymns of the Rig-veda are referable, the system of castes had, to say the least, not yet attained its full development, we find also a considerable amount of proof in the hymns themselves, or in later works, or from a comparison of both, that many of the hymns either were, or from a remote antiquity were believed to be, the productions of authors not of sacerdotal descent; and that some of these persons also acted as priests. The most signal instance of this kind is that of Viśvāmitra; but from the abundance of the materials which exist for its illustration I shall reserve it for the next chapter, where I shall treat of the contests between the Brāhmans and the Kshattriyas.

In later times, when none but Brāhman priests were known, it seemed to be an unaccountable, and—as contradicting the exclusive sacerdotal pretensions of the Brāhmans—an inconvenient circumstance, that priestly functions should have been recorded as exercised by persons whom tradition represented as Rājanyas; and it therefore became necessary to explain away the historical facts, by inventing miraculous legends to make it appear that these men of the royal order had been

in reality transformed into Brāhmans, as the reward of their superhuman merits and austerities—an idea of which we shall meet with various illustrations in the sequel. The very existence, however, of such a word as *rājarshi*, or "royal rishi," proves that Indian tradition recognized as rishis or authors of Vedic hymns persons who were considered to belong to Rājanya families. A number of such are named (though without the epithet of *rājarshi*) in the Anukramaṇikā or index to the Rig-veda; but Sāyaṇa, who quotes that old document, gives them this title. Thus, in the introduction to hymn i. 100, he says: *Atra anukramyate "sa yo vṛishā 'ekonā Vārshāgirāḥ Ṛijrāśvāmbarīsha-Sahadeva-Bhayamāna-Surādhasaḥ" iti | Vṛishāgiro mahārājasya putrabhūtāḥ Ṛijrāśvādayaḥ pancha rājarshayaḥ sadeham sūktam dadṛiśuḥ | atas te asya sūktasya ṛishayaḥ | uktam hy ārshānukramaṇyām "sūktam sa yo vṛishety etat pancha Vārshāgirāḥ viduḥ | niyuktāḥ nāmadheyaiḥ svair api 'chaitat tyad' iti ṛichi" iti |* "It is said in the Anukramaṇikā, 'Of this hymn (the rishis) are Ṛijrāśva, Ambarīsha, Sahadeva, Bhayamāna, and Surādhas, sons of Vṛishāgir.' Ṛijrāśva and others, sons of King Vṛishāgir, in all five rājarshis, saw this hymn in a bodily form. Hence they are its rishis (or seers). For it is declared in the Ārsha Anukramaṇī: 'The five sons of Vṛishāgir, who are mentioned by name in the verse beginning "this praise" (the 17th), know this hymn.'" The 17th verse is as follows: *Etat tyat te Indra vṛishṇe uktham Vārshagirāḥ abhi gṛiṇanti rādhaḥ | Ṛijrāśvaḥ prashṭibhir Ambarīshaḥ Sahadevo Bhayamānaḥ Surādhāḥ |* "This hymn the Vārshāgiras, Ṛijrāśva, with his attendants, and Ambarīsha, Sahadeva, Bhayamāna, and Surādhas, utter to thee, the vigorous, o Indra, as their homage;" on which Sāyaṇa repeats the remark that these persons were rājarshis (*etad uktham stotram rādhaḥ samrādhakam tvat-priti-hetum Vārshāgirāḥ Vṛishāgiro rājnaḥ putrāḥ Ṛijrāśvādayo 'bhi griṇanti ābhimukhyena vadanti | . . . . Ṛijrāśvaḥ etat-sanjno rājarshiḥ prashṭibhiḥ pārśva-sthair anyair ṛishibhiḥ saha Indram astaut | ke te pārśva-sthāḥ | Ambarīshādayaś chatvāro rājarshayaḥ*). Ambarīsha is also said to be the rishi of ix. 98. Again, "Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, a Rājarshi," is said by Sāyaṇa on R.V. iv. 42, to be the rishi of that hymn (*Purukutsasya putras Trasadasyuḥ rājarshiḥ | . . . . atrānukramaṇikā 'mama dvitā' daśa Trasadasyuḥ Paurukutsyaḥ*). In the 8th and 9th verses Trasadasyu is thus mentioned: *Asmākam atra pitaras te āsan sapta ṛishayo Daurgahe badhyamāne | te ā*

ayajanta Trasadasyum asyāḥ Indraṁ na vṛittraturam arddhadevam | 9. *Purukutsānī hi vām adāśad havyebhir Indrā-varuṇā namobhiḥ* | *atha rājānaṁ Trasadasyum asyāḥ vṛittrahaṇaṁ dadathur arddhadevam* | 8. "These seven rishis were our fathers. When the son of Durgaha was bound they gained by sacrifice for her (Purukutsānī) a son Trasadasyu, a slayer of foes, like Indra, a demigod. 9. Purukutsānī worshipped you, o Indra and Varuṇa, with salutations and obeisances; then ye gave her king Trasadasyu, a slayer of enemies, a demigod." I give Sāyaṇa's note on these verses: "*Purukutsasya mahishī Daurgahe bandhana-sthite* | *patyāv arājakaṁ dṛishṭvā rāshṭram putrasya lipsayā* | *yadṛichhayā samāyātān saptarshīn paryapūjayat* | *te cha prītāḥ punaḥ prochur 'yajendrā-varuṇau bhṛiśam'* | *sā chendra-varuṇāv ishṭvā Trasadasyum ajījanat* | *itihāsam imaṁ jānann ṛishir brūte ṛichāv iha*" | *atha asmākam atra asminn arājake deśe asyām pṛithivyāṁ vā pitaraḥ pālayitāraḥ utpādakās te āsann abhavan* | *ete saptarshayaḥ prasiddhāḥ Daurgahe Durgahasya putre Purukutse badhyamāne dṛiḍham pāśair yasmād asyāḥ asyai Purukutsānyai Trasadasyum āyajanta prādur Indrā-Varuṇayor anugrahāt* | "'The queen of Purukutsa, when her husband, the son of Durgaha, was imprisoned, seeing the kingdom to be destitute of a ruler, and desirous of a son, of her own accord paid honour to the seven rishis who had arrived. And they, again, being pleased told her to sacrifice to Indra and Varuṇa. Having done so she bore Trasadasyu. Knowing this story, the rishi utters these two verses;'" which Sāyaṇa then explains. Similarly Sāyaṇa says on v. 27: "Tryaruṇa son of Trivṛishṇa, Trasadasyu son of Purukutsa, and Aśvamedha son of Bharata, these three kings conjoined, are the rishis of this hymn; or Atri is the rishi" (*Atrānukramaṇikā* | "*Anasvantā shaṭ Traivṛishṇa-paurukutsyau dvau Tryaruṇa-Trasadasyū rājānau Bhārataś cha Aśvamedhaḥ* | . . . . '*na ātmā ātmane dadyād*' *iti sarvāsv Atriṁ kechit*" . . . *Trivṛishṇasya putras Tryaruṇah Purukutsasya putras Trasadasyur Bharatasya putro 'śvamedhaḥ ete trayo 'pi rājānaḥ sambhūya asya sūktasya ṛishayaḥ* | *yadvā Atrir eva ṛishiḥ*). The Anukramaṇikā, however, adds that according to some, as "no one would give gifts to himself, none of the princes mentioned as donors could be the author; but Atri must be the rishi." As the hymn is spoken by a fourth person, in praise of the liberality of these kings, it is clear they cannot well be its authors. And a similar remark applies to iv. 42, 8 f. However, the Hindu tradition, being such as it is, is good proof that kings could, in

conformity with ancient opinion, be rishis. Trasadasyu and Trayaruṇa are also mentioned as the rishis of ix. 110.[50] The rishis of iv. 43 and iv. 44 are declared by Sāyaṇa, and by the Anukramaṇikā, to be Purumīḷha, and Ajamīḷha, sons or descendants of Suhotra (iv. 43, *Atrānukramaṇikā 'kaḥ u śaśvat' sapta Purumīḷhājamīḷhau Sauhotrau tv Āśvinaṁ hi* | iv. 44, *Purumīḷhājamīḷhāv eva ṛishī*). Though these persons are not said by either of these authorities to be kings, yet in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas the latter is mentioned as being of royal race, and a tribe of Brāhmans is said to have been descended from him (see above p. 227). In the sixth verse of iv. 44, the descendants of Ajamīḷha are said to have come to the worship of the Aśvins (*naro yad vāṁ Aśvinā stomam āvan sadhastutim Ajamīḷhāso agman*). The following hymns, also, are said by tradition to have had the undermentioned kings for their rishis, viz.: vi. 15, Vītahavya (or Bharadvāja); x. 9, Sindhudvīpa, son of Ambarīsha (or Triśiras, son of Tvashṭṛi); x. 75, Sindhukshit, son of Priyamedha; x. 133, Sudās, son of Pijavana; x. 134, Māndhātṛi, son of Yuvanāśva (see above, p. 225); x. 179, S'ibi, son of Uśīnara, Pratardana, son of Divodāsa and king of Kāśī (see above, p. 229), and Vasumanas, son of Rohidaśva; and x. 148 is declared to have had Pṛithī Vainya[51] as its rishi. In the fifth verse of that hymn it is said: *S'rudhi havam Indra śūra Pṛithyāḥ uta stavase Venyasya arkaiḥ* | "Hear, o heroic Indra, the invocation of Pṛithī; and thou art praised by the hymn of Venya." In viii. 9, 10, also, Pṛithī Vainya is mentioned at the same time with three rishis: *Yad vāṁ Kakshīvān uta yad Vyaśvaḥ ṛishir yad vāṁ Dīrghatamāḥ juhāva* | *Pṛithī yad vāṁ Vainyaḥ sadaneshu eva id ato Aśvinā chetayethām* | "Whatever oblation (or invocation) Kakshīvat has made to you, or the rishi Vyaśva, or Dīrghatamas, or Pṛithī, son of Vena, in the places of

[50] In the Vishṇu Purāṇa, as we have seen above, p. 237, Trayyāruṇa, Pushkarin, and Kapi are said to have been sons of Urukshaya, and all of them to have become Brāhmans; and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Trayyaruṇi, Pushkarāruṇi, and Kapi are said to have all become Brāhmans.

[51] The S'. P. Br. v. 3, 5, 4, refers to Pṛithī as "first of men who was installed as a king" (*Pṛithī ha vai Vainyo manushyāṇām prathamo 'bhishishiche*). I extract from Dr. Hall's edition of Prof. Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. the following verse, adduced by the editor from the Vāyu Purāṇa about royal rishis: *Mānave Vainave* (?) *vaṁśe Aiḍe vaṁśe cha ye nṛipāḥ* | *Aiḍā Aikshvākā Nābhāgā jneyā rājarshayas tu te* | "Kings in the race of Manu, Vena (?), and Iḍa, the descendants of Iḍa, Ikshvāku, and Nabhāga are to be known as having been rājarshis."

sacrifice, take notice of that, o Aśvins." Here Sāyaṇa refers to Pṛithī as "the royal rishi of that name."

From the details I have supplied it is clear that in many cases the evidence is against the supposition that the princes to whom the hymns are ascribed were in reality their authors. The only instances in which the authorship seems to be established by the tenor of the hymns themselves are those of the Vārshagiras, or, at all events, that of Pṛithī. But, as has been already remarked, the fact that ancient Hindu tradition recognizes royal rishis as the authors of hymns is sufficient to prove that such cases were not unknown. Even if we were to suppose that flattery had any share in the creation of these traditions, it no doubt proceeded upon the belief of those who put them into circulation, that in earlier times the distinction between the priests and other classes was not so sharply defined as in their own day.

I proceed, however, to the case of Devāpi, in which the materials for forming a judgment are more adequate and satisfactory, and prove that he was not merely a rishi but an officiating priest.

In the Anukramaṇikā, R.V. x. 98 is ascribed to him as its author; and Yāska states as follows in the Nirukta, ii. 10:

Tatra itihāsam āchakshate | Devāpiś cha Ārshṭishenaḥ S'antanuś cha Kauravyau bhrātarau babhūvatuḥ | sa S'antanuḥ kanīyān abhishechayānchakre | Devāpis tapaḥ pratipede | tataḥ S'antanoḥ rājye dvādaśa varshāṇi devo na vavarsha | tam ūchur brāhmaṇāḥ "adharmas tvayā charito jyeshṭham bhrātaram antaritya abhishechitam | tasmāt te devo na varshati" iti | sa S'antanur Devāpiṁ śiśiksha rājyena | tam uvācha Devāpiḥ "purohitas te 'sāni yājayāni cha tvā" iti | tasya etad varsha-kāma-sūktam | tasya eshā bhavati |

"Here they relate a story. Devāpi son of Rishṭisheṇa, and Santanu, belonged to the race of Kuru and were brothers. Santanu, who was the younger, caused himself to be installed as king, whilst Devāpi betook himself to austere fervour. Then the god did not rain for twelve years of Santanu's reign. The Brāhmans said to him: 'Thou hast practised unrighteousness in that, passing by thy elder brother, thou hast caused thyself to be installed as king. It is for this reason that the god does not rain.' Santanu then sought to invest Devāpi with the sovereignty; but the latter said to him: 'Let me be thy

purohita and perform sacrifice for thee.' This hymn, expressing a desire of rain, is his. The following verse is part of it."

Yāska then quotes a verse of R.V. x. 98, the whole of which is as follows:

Bṛihaspate prati me devatām ihi Mitro vā yad Varuṇo vā asi Pūshā | Ādityair vā yad Vasubhir Marutvān sa Parjanyaṁ S'antanave vṛishāya | 2. Ā devo dūto ajiraś chikitvān tvad Devāpe abhi mām āgachhat | pratīchīnaḥ prati mām ā vavṛitsva dadhāmi te dyumatīṁ vācham āsan | 3. Asme dhehi dyumatīṁ vācham āsan Bṛihaspate anamīvām ishirām | yayā vrishṭiṁ S'antanave vanāva divo drapso madhumān ā viveśa | 4. Ā no drapsāḥ madhumanto viśantu Indra dehi adhirathaṁ sahasram | ni shīda hotram[33] *ṛituthā yajasva devān Devāpe havishā saparya | 5. Ārshṭisheṇo hotram ṛishir nishīdan Devāpir deva-sumatiṁ chikitvān | sa uttarasmād adharaṁ samudram apo divyaḥ asṛijad varshyāḥ abhi | 6. Asmin samudre adhi uttarasmin āpo devebhir nivṛitāḥ atishṭhan | tāḥ adravann Ārshṭisheṇena sṛishṭāḥ Devāpinā preshitāḥ mṛikshiṇīshu | 7. Yad Devāpiḥ S'antanave purohito hotrāya vṛitaḥ kṛipayann adīdhet | deva-śrutaṁ vṛishṭi-vaniṁ rarāṇo Bṛihaspatir vācham asmai ayachhat | 8. Yaṁ tvā Devāpiḥ śuśuchāno Agne Ārshṭisheṇo manushyaḥ samīdhe | viśvebhir devair anumadyamānaḥ pra Parjanyam īraya vṛishṭimantam | 9. Tvām pūrve ṛishayo gīrbhir āyan tvām adhvareshu puruhūta viśve | sahasrāṇi adhirathāni asme ā no yajnaṁ rohidaśva upa yāhi | 10. Etāni Agni navatir nava tve āhutāni adhirathā sahasrā | tebhir vardhasva tanvaḥ śūra pūrvīr divo no vṛishṭim ishito ririhi | 11. Etāni Agne navatiṁ sahasrā sam pra yachha vṛishṇe Indrāya bhāgam | vidvān pathaḥ ṛituśo devayānān apy aulānaṁ divi deveshu dhehi | 12. Agne bādhasva vi mṛidho vi durgahā apa amīvām apa rakshāṁsi sedha | asmāt samudrād bṛihato divo no apām bhūmānam upa naḥ sṛija iha |*

"Approach, Bṛihaspati,[34] to my worship of the gods, whether thou art Mitra, Varuṇa, Pūshan, or art attended by the Ādityas, Vasus, or Maruts: cause Parjanya to rain for Santanu. 2. The god, a rapid messenger, has become aware, and has come from thee, o Devāpi, to me, (saying) 'approach towards me; I will place a brilliant hymn

[33] Compare R.V. ii. 1, 2.

[34] It looks as if Agni were here to be understood by Bṛihaspati, see verses 9-12. In R.V. ii. 1, 4 ff. Agni is identified with Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Aṁśa, Tvashṭṛi, Rudra, Pūshan, Savitṛi, Bhaga.

in thy mouth.' 3. Place in our mouth, o Bṛihaspati, a brilliant hymn, powerful, and spirited, whereby we two may solicit rain for Śantanu. The drop full of sweetness has descended on us from the sky. 4. May the drops full of sweetness come down upon us: give us, o Indra, a thousand waggon-loads (of them?). Perform the function of a hotṛi, sacrifice in due form, worship the gods with an oblation, o Devāpi. 5. The rishi Devāpi, son of Ṛishṭisheṇa, performing the function of a hotṛi, knowing (how to gain) the goodwill of the gods, has discharged from the upper to the lower ocean those waters of the sky which fall in rain. 6. The waters remained shut up by the gods in this upper ocean: they rushed forth when released by the son of Ṛishṭisheṇa, when discharged by Devāpi into the torrents.[54] 7. When Devāpi, placed in front of Śantanu (as his purohita), chosen for the office of hotṛi, fulfilling his function, kindled (the fire),—then, granting the prayer for rain which was heard by the gods, Bṛihaspati gave him a hymn. 8. Do thou, o Agni, whom the man[55] Devāpi the son of Ṛishṭisheṇa has inflamed and kindled,—do thou, delighted, with all the the gods, send hither the rain-bearing Parjanya. 9. Former rishis have approached thee with their hymns; and all (approach) thee, o god, much-invoked, in their sacrifices: give us thousands of waggon-loads: come, thou who art borne by red horses,[56] to our sacrifice. 10. These ninety-nine thousands of waggon-loads (of wood and butter?) have been thrown into thee, o Agni, as oblations. Through them grow, hero, to (the bulk of) thy former bodies;[57] and stimulated, grant us rain from the sky. 11. (Of) these ninety thousands give, o Agni, a share to the vigorous Indra. Knowing the paths which rightly lead to the gods, convey the oblation (?) to the deities in the sky. 12. Overcome, o Agni, our enemies, our calamities; drive away sickness, and rakshases. From this great ocean of the sky discharge upon us an abundance of waters."

The fact of Devāpi being reputed as the author of this hymn, and as the purohita and hotṛi of his brother, seems to have led the legendary writers to invent the story of his becoming a Brāhman, which (as men-

[54] So the word *mṛikshiṇī* is explained in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon.
[55] Or, "descendant of Manush" (*manushya*).
[56] This is a common epithet of Agni.
[57] This means, I suppose, "burst forth into vast flames."

tioned by Professor Weber, Indische Studien, i. p. 203) is recorded in the Śalya-parvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 2281 ff. where he is there said to have attained this distinction at a certain place of pilgrimage called Pṛithūdaka; where Sindhudvīpa and Viśvāmitra also were received into the higher caste:

Tatrārshṭishenaḥ Kauravya brāhmaṇyaṁ saṁśita-vrataḥ | tapasā mahatā rājan prāptavān ṛishi-sattamaḥ | Sindhudvīpaś cha rājarshir Devāpiś cha mahātapāḥ | brāhmaṇyaṁ labdhavān yatra Viśvāmitras tathā muniḥ | mahātapasvī bhagavān ugra-tejāḥ mahātapāḥ | . . . . 2287. Purā kṛita-yuge rajann Ārshṭisheṇo dvijottamaḥ | vasan guru-kule nityaṁ nityam adhyayane rataḥ | tasya rājan guru-kule vasato nityam eva cha | samāptiṁ nāgamad vidyā nāpi vedāḥ viśāmpate | sa nirviṇṇas tato rājaṁs tapas tepe mahātapāḥ | tato vai tapasā tena prāpya vedān anuttamanān | sa vidvān veda-yuktaś cha siddhaś chāpy ṛishi-sattamaḥ | . . . . | evam siddhaḥ sa bhagavān Ārshṭishenaḥ pratāpavān | tasminn eva tadā tīrthe Sindhudvīpaḥ pratāpavān | Devāpiś cha mahārāja brāhmaṇyam prāpatur mahat |

2281. "There the most excellent rishi Ārshṭisheṇa, constant in his observances, obtained Brāhmanhood by great austere fervour; as did also the royal rishi Sindhudvīpa,[58] and Devāpi great in austere fervour, and the glorious muni Viśvamitra, of great austere fervour and fiery vigour." Some other particulars of Arshṭisheṇa are given further on: 2287. "Formerly in the Kṛita age the most excellent Brāhman Ārshṭisheṇa dwelt constantly in his preceptor's family, devoted to incessant study; but could not complete his mastery of science or of the vedas.[59] Being in consequence discouraged, he betook himself to intense austere fervour. By this means he acquired the incomparable Vedas, and became learned and perfect. . . . . At the same place of pilgrimage the majestic Sindhudvīpa and Devāpi obtained the great distinction of Brāhmanhood."

It will be observed that here Ārshṭisheṇa is, in opposition to the authority of the Nirukta, made a distinct person from Devāpi.

[58] This prince also, as we have seen above, is mentioned among those Rājanyas who composed Vedic hymns.

[59] The Vedas are here spoken of in the plural, although Ārshtisheṇa is said to have lived in the Kṛita age. But the M. Bh. itself says elsewhere (see above, p. 145) that there was then but one Veda.

In a note to his (French) translation of the Rig-veda, M. Langlois (vol. iv. 502) supposes that the hymn above translated (x. 98), like the Purusha Sūkta, is very much posterior in date to the other hymns in the collection. The names of Devāpi and S'āntanu indicate, he thinks, as the date of its composition, a period not far preceding that of the great war of the Mahābhārata. Professor Weber, on the other hand, considers (Indische Studien, i. 203) that the S'āntanu and Devāpi mentioned in that work (Ādi-parvan, 3750 f.) cannot be the same as the persons alluded to in the Rigveda, because their father was Pratīpa, not Ṛishṭisheṇa; and because he thinks it doubtful whether a prince who preceded the Pāṇḍavas by only two generations could have been named in the Rig-veda, and appear there as an author of hymns.

The verses of the Ādi-parvan just referred to are as follows:

Pratīpasya trayaḥ putrāḥ jajnire Bharatarshabha | Devāpiḥ S'āntanuś chaiva Vāhlīkaś mahārathaḥ | Devāpiś cha pravavrāja teshām dharma-hitepsayā | S'āntanuś cha mahīm lebhe Vāhlīkaś cha mahārathaḥ |

"Three sons were born to Pratīpa, viz. Devāpi, S'āntanu, and Vāhlīka the charioteer. Of these Devāpi, desiring the benefits of religious excellence, became an ascetic; whilst S'āntanu and Vāhlīka obtained (the rule of) the earth."

The Harivaṁśa gives a different story about the same Devāpi, verse 1819:

Pratīpo Bhīmasenāt tu Pratīpasya tu S'āntanuḥ | Devāpir Vāhlīkaś chaiva trayaḥ eva mahārathāḥ | . . . . 1822. *Upādhyāyas tu devānām Devāpir abhavad muniḥ | Chyavanasya kṛitaḥ putraḥ ishṭaś chāsīd mahātmanaḥ |*

"Prātīpa sprang from Bhīmasena; and S'āntanu, Devāpi, and Vāhlika were the three chariot-driving sons of Pratīpa. . . . . 1822. Devāpi became a muni, and preceptor of the gods, being the adopted son of Chyavana, by whom he was beloved."

The Vishṇu Purāṇa (iv. 20, 7 ff.) concurs with the preceding authorities in making Devāpi and S'āntanu to be sons of Pratīpa, and descendants of Kuru, and his son Jahnu. It repeats the legend given in the Nirukta of the country of S'āntanu being visited by a drought of twelve years duration, in consequence of his having assumed the royal authority while his elder brother lived. And although, as will be seen, the sequel of the story is widely different from that recorded by the

Nirukta, the earlier incidents in the two narratives are so similar, that it would appear to have been the intention of the Puranic writer to identify the Devāpi and Sāntanu whose history he relates with the persons of the same names, although of different parentage, mentioned in Yāska's work. He may, however, possibly have transferred an older legend to more recent personages. The passage of the Vishṇu Purāṇa is as follows:

Ṛikshād Bhīmasenas tatas cha Dilīpaḥ | Dilīpāt Pratīpas tasyāpi Devāpi Sāntanu-Vāhlīka-sanjnās trayaḥ putrāḥ babhūvuḥ | Devāpir bālaḥ eva araṇyaṁ viveśa | S'āntanur avanīpatir abhavat | ayaṁ cha tasya ślokaḥ prithivyāṁ gīyate "yaṁ yaṁ karābhyāṁ spriśati jīrṇaṁ yauvanam eti saḥ | śāntiṁ chāpnoti yenāgryāṁ karmaṇā tena S'āntanuḥ" | tasya S'āntanoḥ rāshṭre dvādaśa varshāṇi devo na vavarsha | tataścha aśesha-rāshṭra-vināśam avekshya asau rājā brāhmaṇān apṛichhad "bhoḥ kasmād asmin rāshṭre devo na varshati | ko mama aparādhaḥ" iti | te tam ūchur "agrajasya te 'rhā iyam avanis tvayā bhujyate parivettā tvam" | ity uktaḥ sa punas tān apṛichhat "kim mayā vidheyam" iti | tena tam ūchur "yāvad Devāpir na patanādibhir doshair abhibhūyate tāvat tasya arhaṁ rājyam | tad alam etena tasmai dīyatām" | ity ukte tasya mantri-pravareṇa Aśmasāriṇā tatra araṇye tapasvino veda-vāda-virodha-vaktāraḥ prayojitāḥ | tair ati-ṛiju-mater mahīpati-putrasya buddhir veda-virodha-mārgānusāriṇy akriyata | rājā cha S'āntanur dvija-vachanotpanna-parivedana-śokas tān brāhmaṇān agraṇīkṛitya agraja-rājya-pradānāya araṇyaṁ jagāma | tad-āśramam upagatāś cha tam avanīpati-putraṁ Devāpim upatasthuḥ | te brāhmaṇāḥ veda-vādānuvṛiddhāni vachāṁsi "rājyam agrajena karttavyam" ity arthavanti tam ūchuḥ | asāv api veda-vāda-virodha-yukti-dūshitam aneka-prakāram tān āha | tatas te brāhmaṇāḥ S'āntanum ūchur "āgachha bho rājann alam atra ati-nirbandhena | praśāntaḥ eva asāv anāvṛishṭi-doshaḥ | patito 'yam anādi-kāla-mahita-veda-vachana-dūshaṇochchāraṇāt | patite cha agraje naiva pārivettryam bhavati" | ity uktaḥ S'āntanuḥ sva-puram āgatya rājyam akarot | veda-vāda-virodhi-vachanochchāraṇa-dūshite cha jyeshṭhe 'smin bhrātari tishṭhaty api Devāpāv akhila-sasya-nishpattaye vavarsha bhagavān Parjanyaḥ |

"From Riksha sprang Bhīmasena; from him Dilīpa; from him Pratīpa, who again had three sons called Devāpi, Sāntanu, and Vāhlīka. Devāpi while yet a boy retired to the forest; and Sāntanu became

king. Regarding him this verse is current in the world: 'Every decrepit man whom he touches with his hands becomes young. He is called Sāntanu from that work whereby he obtains supreme tranquility (*śānti*).' The god did not rain on the country of this Sāntanu for twelve years. Beholding then the ruin of his entire realm, the king enquired of the Brāhmans: 'Why does not the god rain on this country; what is my offence?' The Brāhmans replied: 'This earth, which is the right of thy elder brother, is now enjoyed by thee; thou art a *parivettṛi* (one married before his elder brother).'[60] Receiving this reply, he again asked them: 'What must I do?' They then answered: 'So long as Devāpi does not succumb to declension from orthodoxy and other offences, the royal authority is his by right; to him therefore let it be given without further question.' When they had so said, the king's principal minister Aśmasārin employed certain ascetics propounding doctrines contrary to the declarations of the Vedas to proceed into the forest, by whom the understanding of the very simple-minded prince (Devāpi) was led to adopt a system at variance with those sacred books. King Sāntanu being distressed for his offence in consequence of what the Brāhmans had said to him, went, preceded by those Brāhmans, to the forest in order to deliver over the kingdom to his elder brother. Arriving at the hermitage, they came to prince Devāpi. The Brāhmans addressed to him statements founded on the declarations of the Veda, to the effect that the royal authority should be exercised by the elder brother. He, on his part, expressed to them many things that were vitiated by reasonings contrary to the tenor of the Veda. The Brāhmans then said to Sāntanu, 'Come hither, o king: there is no occasion for any excessive hesitation in this affair: the offence which led to the drought is now removed. Your brother has fallen by uttering a contradiction of the words of the Veda which

[60] This is illustrated by Manu iii, 171 f.: *Dārāgnihotra-saṁyogaṁ kurute yo 'graje sthite | parivettā sa vijneyaḥ parivittis tu pūrvajaḥ* | 172. *Parivittiḥ parivettā yayā cha parividyate | sarve te narakaṁ yānti dātṛi-yājaka-panchamāḥ* | "171. He who, while his elder brother is unwedded, marries a wife with the nuptial fires, is to be known as a *parivettṛi*, and his elder brother as a *parivitti*. 172. The *parivitti*, the *parivettṛi*, the female by whom the offence is committed, he who gives her away, and fifthly the officiating priest, all go to hell." The Indian writers regard the relation of a king to his realm as analogous to that of a husband to his wife. The earth is the king's bride.

have been revered from time without beginning; and when the elder brother has fallen, the younger is no longer chargeable with the offence of *pārivettrya* (*i.e.* of marrying before his elder brother).' When he had been so addressed, Śāntanu returned to his capital, and exercised the royal authority. And although his eldest brother Devāpi continued to be degraded by having uttered words opposed to the doctrines of the Veda, the god Parjanya rained in order to produce a harvest of all sorts of grain."

Can the compiler of the Purāṇa have deviated from the conclusion of this history as found in the Nirukta, and given it a new turn, in order to escape from the conclusion that a Rājanya could officiate as a purohita?

The same story is briefly told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 22, 14–17.

In the Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, Devāpi's virtues and orthodoxy are extolled in the highest terms, and his exclusion from the throne is ascribed solely to his being a leper, v. 5054:

Devāpis tu mahātejās tvag-doshī rāja-sattamaḥ | dhārmikaḥ satya-vādī cha pituḥ śuśrūshaṇe rataḥ | paura-jānapadānām cha sammataḥ sādhu-satkṛitaḥ | sarveshām bāla-vṛiddhānām Devāpir hṛidayangamaḥ | vadānyaḥ satyasandhaś cha sarva-bhūta-hite rataḥ | varttamānaḥ pituḥ śāstre brāhmaṇānām tathaiva cha | . . . . . | tam brāhmaṇāś cha vṛiddhāś cha paura-jānapadaih saha | sarve nivārayāmāsur Devāper abhisechanam | sa tach chhrutvā tu nṛipatir abhisheka-nivāraṇam | aśru-kaṇṭho 'bhavad rājā paryaśochata chātmajam | evam vadānyo dharmajnaḥ satyasandhaś cha so 'bhavat | priyaḥ prajānām api sa tvag-dosheṇa pradūshitaḥ | "hīnāngam pṛithivīpālam nābhinandanti devatāḥ" | iti kṛitvā nṛipa-śreshṭham pratyashedhan dvijarshabhāḥ | . . . . | nivāritam nṛipam dṛishṭvā Devāpiḥ samśrito vanam |

"But the glorious Devāpi, a most excellent prince, righteous, veracious, and obedient to his father, was a leper. He was esteemed by the inhabitants both of town and country, honoured by the good, beloved by all, both young and old, eloquent, true to his engagements, devoted to the welfare of all creatures, and conformed to the commands of his father, and of the Brāhmans." [The king his father grew old and was making preparations for the investiture of his successor; but public opinion was opposed to the devolution of the royal authority on

a leper, however virtuous]. "The Brahmans and aged men, together with the dwellers both in town and country, all restrained him from the investiture of Devāpi. The king, learning their opposition, was choked with tears, and bewailed his son's fate. Thus Devāpi was eloquent, acquainted with duty, true to his promise, and beloved by the people, but vitiated by leprosy. The Brāhmans forbade the king (to make Devāpi his successor), saying, 'the gods do not approve a king who labours under any corporeal defect.' . . . . Perceiving that the king (his father) was hindered (from carrying out his wishes) Devāpi retired to the forest."

On the same subject, the Matsya Purāṇa, 49, v. 39 f., states as follows:

Dilīpasya Pratīpastu tasya putrās trayaḥ smṛitāḥ | Devāpiḥ S'āntanuś chaiva Bāhlīkaś chaiva te trayaḥ | Bāhlīkasya tu dāyādāḥ sapta Bāhlīśvarāḥ nṛipāḥ | Devāpis tu apadhvastaḥ prajābhir abhavad muniḥ | ṛishayaḥ ūchhuḥ | prajābhis tu kimartham vai apadhvasto janeśvaraḥ | ke doshāḥ rājaputrasya prajābhiḥ samudāhṛitāḥ | Sūta uvācha | kilāsīd rājaputras tu kushṭī taṁ nābhyapūjayan | ko 'rthān vai atra (? *vetty atra*) *devānāṁ kshattram prati dvijottamāḥ* |

"The son of Dilīpa was Pratīpa, of whom three sons are recorded, Devāpi, S'āntanu, and Bāhlīka. The sons of the last were the seven Bāhlīśvara kings. But the Muni Devāpi was rejected by the people. The rishis enquired: 'why was that prince rejected by the people? what faults were alleged against him?' Sūta replied: 'the prince was leprous, and they paid him no respect. Who knows the designs of the gods towards the Kshattriya race?'"

No more is said of Devāpi in this passage.[61] The Vishṇu Purāṇa has the following further curious particulars regarding him, iv. 24, 44 ff.:

Devāpiḥ Pauravo rājā Maruś chekshvāku-vaṁśajaḥ | mahāyoga-balopetau Kalāpa-grāma-saṁśrayau | kṛite yuge ihāgatya kshattra-prāvarttakau hi tau | bhavishyato Manor vaṁśe vīja-bhūtau vyavasthitau | etena krama-yogena Manu-putrair vasundharā | kṛita-tretādi-sanjnāni yugāni trīṇi bhujyate | Kalau tu vīja-bhūtās te kechit tishṭhanti bhūtale | yathaiva Devāpi-Marū sāmpratam samavasthitau |

"King Devāpi of the race of Puru,[62] and Maru of the family of

[61] See Prof. Wilson's note, 4to. ed. p. 458.

[62] In the twentieth chapter, as we have seen, he is said to be of the race of Kuru.

Ikshvāku, filled with the power of intense contemplation (*mahāyoga*) are abiding in the village of Kalāpa, continuing to exist as seeds in the family of Manu; they shall come hither in the (next) Kṛita age, and re-establish the Kshattriya race. According to this order the earth is enjoyed by the sons of Manu throughout the three ages called Kṛita, Tretā, and Dvāpara. But during the Kali certain persons remain upon earth as seeds (of a future race), as Devāpi and Maru now exist."

According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 22, 17, it is the lunar race, which had perished in the Kali age, that Devāpi is to restore in the future Kṛita (*soma-vaṁśe kalau nashṭe kṛitādau sthāpayishyati*).

I shall quote here from the 132nd section of the Matsya Purāṇa, entitled *Manvantara-varṇanam* (a description of the Manvantaras) some of the particulars about the rishis with which it concludes:

98. *Bhṛiguḥ Kāśyaḥ Prachetāś cha Dadhīcho hy Ātmavān api* | 99. *Aurvo 'tha Jamadagniś cha Kṛipaḥ S'āradvatas tathā* | *Ārshṭisheṇo Yudhājich cha Vītahavya-Suvarchasau* | 100. *Vaiṇaḥ Pṛithur Divodāso Brahmāśvo Gṛitsa-Saunakau* | *ekonaviṁśatir hy ete Bhṛigavo mantra-kṛittamāḥ* | 101. *Angirāḥ Vedhasaś chaiva Bharadvājo Bhalandanaḥ* | *Ṛitabādhas tato Gargaḥ Sitiḥ Sankṛitir eva cha* | 102. *Gurudhīraś cha Māndhātā Ambarīshas tathaiva cha* | *Yuvanāśvaḥ Puruḥ Kutsaḥ Pradyumnaḥ S'ravanasya cha* | 103. *Ajamīḍho 'tha Haryaśvas Takshapaḥ Kavir eva cha* | *Pṛishadaśvo Virūpaś cha Kaṇvaś chaivātha Mudgalaḥ* | 104. *Utathyaś cha S'aradvāṁś cha tathā Vājaśravā iti* | *Apaśyo 'tha Suvittaś cha Vāmadevas tathaiva cha* | 105. *Ajito Bṛihadukthaś cha ṛishir Dīrghatamā api* | *Kakshīvāṁś cha trayastriṁśat smṛitā hy Angirasa varāḥ* | 106. *Ete mantra-kṛitaḥ sarve Kāśyapāṁs tu nibodhata* | . . . | 111. *Viśvāmitraś cha Gādheyo Devarājas tathā Balaḥ* | *tathā vidvān Madhuchhandāḥ Ṛishabhaś chāghamarshaṇaḥ* | 112. *Ashṭako Lohitaś chaiva Bhṛitakīlaś cha tāv ubhau* | *Vedaśravāḥ Devarātaḥ Purāṇāśvo Dhananjayaḥ* | 113. *Mithilaś cha mahātejāḥ Sālankāyana eva cha* | *trayodaśaite vijneyāḥ brahmishṭhāḥ Kauśikāḥ varāḥ* | . . . . | 115. *Manur Vaivasvataś chaiva Iḍo rājā Purūravāḥ* | *Kshattriyāṇāṁ varāḥ hy ete vijneyāḥ mantra-vādinaḥ* | 116. *Bhalandaś chaiva Vandyaś cha Sankīrttiś*[88] *chaiva te trayaḥ* | *ete mantra-kṛito jneyāḥ Vaiśyānām pravarāḥ sadā* | 117. *Ity eka-navatiḥ proktāḥ mantrāḥ yaiś cha bahiḥ kṛitaḥ* |

[88] Various readings—*Bhalandakaś cha Vāsāś cha Sankālaś cha.*

brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ rishiputrān nibodhata | 118. *Ṛishīkāṇām sutāḥ hy ete rishi-putrāḥ śrutarshayaḥ* |[64]

"98. Bhṛigu, Kāśya, Prachetas, Dadhīcha, Ātmavat, (99) Aurva, Jamadagni, Kṛipa, S'āradvata, Ārshṭisheṇa, Yudhājit, Vītahavya, Suvarchas, (100) Vaiṇa, Pṛithu, Divodāsa, Brahmāśva, Gṛitsa, S'aunaka, these are the nineteen[65] Bhṛigus, composers of hymns. 101. Angiras, Vedhasa, Bharadvāja, Bhalandana,[66] Ṛitabādha, Garga, Siti, Sankṛiti, Gurudhīra,[67] Māndhātṛi, Ambarīsha, Yuvanāśva, Purukutsa,[68] Pradyumna, S'ravaṇasya,[69] Ajamīḍha, Haryaśva, Takshāpa, Kavi, Pṛishadaśva, Virūpa, Kaṇva, Mudgala, Utathya, S'aradvat, Vājaśravas, Apaśya, Suvitta, Vāmadeva, Ajita, Bṛihaduktha, Dīrghatamas, Kakshīvat, are recorded as the thirty-three eminent Angirases. These were all composers of hymns. Now learn the Kāśyapas. . . . . 111. Viśvāmitra, son of Gādhi, Devarāja, Bala, the wise Madhuchhandas, Ṛishabha, Aghamarshaṇa, (112) Ashṭaka, Lohita, Bhṛitakīla, Vedaśravas, Devarāta, Purāṇāśva, Dhananjaya, the glorious (113) Mithila, Sālankayana, these are to be known as the thirteen devout and eminent Kuśikas.[70] . . . . . 115. Manu Vaivasvata, Iḍa, king Purūravas, these are to be known as the eminent utterers of hymns among the Kshattriyas. 116. Bhalanda, Vandya, and Sankīrtti,[71] these are always to be known as the three eminent persons among the Vaiśyas who were composers of hymns. 117. Thus ninety-one[72] persons have been declared, by whom hymns have been given forth, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas. Learn the sons of the rishis. 118. These are the offspring of the ṛishīkas, sons of rishis, secondary rishis (*śrutarshis*)."

The section ends here.

[64] I am indebted for an additional copy of this section of the Matsya Purāṇa (of which some account is given by Prof. Aufrecht in his Catalogue, p. 41), to the kindness of Mr. Griffith, Principal of Queen's College, Benares, who, at my request, has caused it to be collated with various other MSS. existing in Benares. I have not thought it necessary to exhibit all the various readings in the part I have quoted.

[65] The number of nineteen is only obtained by making Vaiṇa and Pṛithu two persons.

[66] Instead of this word, one Benares MS. has Lakshmaṇa.

[67] Two MSS. have Turavīta. [68] This word is divided into two in the MS.

[69] Two MSS. have, instead, Svaśravas and Tamasyavat.

[70] Unless some of the words I have taken as names are really epithets, fifteen persons are enumerated here.

[71] Some MSS. have Bhalandaka, Vandha or Vāsas, and Sankāla or Sankīrṇa.

[72] This is the total of several lists, some of which I have omitted.

It will be observed from a comparison of this extract with the details previously given, that some of the rājarshis, or rishis of royal blood, such as Ārshṭisheṇa, Vītahavya, Pṛithu (the same as Pṛithī) are spoken of as belonging to the family of Bhṛigu, while others of the same class, such as Māndhātṛi, Ambarīsha, Yuvanāśva, Purukutsa, are reckoned among the Angirases. Viśvāmitra and his descendants are merely designated as Kuśikas without any specific allusion to their Rājanya descent; but Manu, Iḍa, and Purūravas, are distinctly recognized as being as once authors of hymns and Kshattriyas; and, what is more remarkable, three Vaiśyas are also declared to have been sacred poets. These traditions of an earlier age, though scanty in amount, are yet sufficient to show that in the Vedic times the capacity for poetical composition, and the prerogative of officiating at the service of the gods, was not regarded as entirely confined to men of priestly families.

SECT. III.—*Texts from the Atharva-veda illustrating the progress of Brāhmanical pretensions.*

I have already quoted (in pp. 21 and 22) three short passages from the Atharva-veda regarding the origin of the Brāhman and Kshattriya castes. I shall now bring forward some other texts from the same collection which show a much greater development of the pretensions of the priests to a sacred and inviolable character than we meet in any part of the Rig-veda, if the 109th hymn of the tenth book (cited above) be excepted.

I shall first adduce the 17th hymn of the fifth book, to which I have already alluded, as an expansion of R.V. x. 109.

Atharva-veda v. 17. (Verses 1–3 correspond with little variation to verses 1–3 of R.V. x. 109). 4. *Yām āhus "tārakā eshā vikeśī" iti duchchhunām grāmam avapadyamānām | sā brahma-jāyā vi dunoti rāshṭram yatra prāpādi śaśaḥ ulkushīmān |* (verses 5 and 6 = verses 5 and 4 of R.V. x. 109). 7. *Ye garbhāḥ avapadyante jagad yach chāpalupyate | virāḥ ye tṛihyante mitho brahma-jāyā hinasti tān |* 8. *Uta yat patayo daśa striyāḥ pūrve abrāhmaṇāḥ | brahmā ched hastam agrahīt sa eva patir ekadhā |* 9. *Brāhmaṇaḥ eva patir na rājanyo na vaiśyaḥ | tat sūryah prabruvann eti panchabhyo mānavebhyaḥ |* (Verses 10 and 11 = verses 6 and 7 of R.V. x. 109). 12. *Nāsya jāyā śatavāhī kalyāṇī talpam*

ā śaye | *yasmin rāshṭre nirudhyate brahma-jāyā achittyā* | 13. *Na vikarṇaḥ prithuśirās tasmin veśmani jāyate* | *yasminn ityādi* | 14. *Nāsya kshattā nishka-grīvaḥ sūnānām eti agrataḥ* | *yasminn ityādi* | 15. *Nāsya śvetaḥ krishṇa-karṇo dhuri yukto mahīyate* | *yasminn ityādi* | 16. *Nāsya kshettre pushkariṇī nāṇḍīkam jāyate visam* | *yasminn ityādi* | 17. *Nāsmai priśnim vi duhanti ye 'syāḥ doham upāsate* | *yasminn ityādi* | 18. *Nāsya dhenuḥ kalyāṇī nānaḍvān sahate yugam* | *vijānir yatra brāhmaṇo rātrim vasati pāpayā* |

" . . . . 4. That calamity which falls upon the village, of which they say, 'this is a star with dishevelled hair,' is in truth the *brāhmān's* wife, who ruins the kingdom; (and the same is the case) wherever (a country) is visited by a hare attended with meteors. . . . . . . 7. Whenever any miscarriages take place, or any moving things are destroyed, whenever men slay each other, it is the *brāhmān's* wife who kills them. 8. And when a woman has had ten former husbands not *brāhmāns*, if a *brāhmān* take her hand (*i.e.* marry her), it is he alone who is her husband. 9. It is a Brāhman only that is a husband, and not a Rājanya or a Vaiśya. That (truth) the Sun goes forward proclaiming to the five classes of men (*panchabhyo mānavebhyaḥ*), ... 12. His (the king's) wife does not repose opulent (*śatavāhī*) and handsome upon her bed in that kingdom where a *brāhmān's* wife is foolishly shut up. 13. A son with large ears (*vikarṇaḥ*) and broad head is not born in the house in that kingdom, etc. 14. A charioteer with golden neckchain does not march before the king's hosts[73] in that kingdom, etc. 15. A white horse with black ears does not make a show yoked to his (the king's) chariot in that kingdom, etc. 16. There is no pond with blossoming lotuses[74] in his (the king's) grounds in that kingdom where, etc. 17. His (the king's) brindled cow is not milked by his milkmen in that kingdom, etc. 18. His (the king's) milch cow does not thrive, nor does his ox endure the yoke, in that country where a Brāhman passes the night wretchedly without his wife."

This hymn appears to show that, however extravagant the pretensions of the Brāhmans were in other respects, they had, even at the comparatively late period when it was composed, but little regard to

[73] The word here in the original is *sūnānām*, with which it is difficult to make any sense. Should we not read *senānām*?

[74] Compare R.V. x. 107, 10.

the purity of the sacerdotal blood, as they not only intermarried with women of their own order, or even with women who had previously lived single, but were in the habit of forming unions with the widows of Rājanyas or Vaiśyas,[75] if they did not even take possession of the wives of such men while they were alive.[76] Even if we suppose these women to have belonged to priestly families, this would only show that it was no uncommon thing for females of that class to be married to Rājanyas or Vaiśyas—a fact which would, of course, imply that the caste system was either laxly observed, or only beginning to be introduced among the Indians of the earlier Vedic age. That, agreeably to ancient tradition, Brāhmans intermarried with Rājanya women at the period in question, is also distinctly shewn

[75] That the remarriage of women was customary among the Hindus of those days is also shewn by A.V. ix. 5, 27 f., quoted in my paper on Yama, Jour. R. A. S. for 1865, p. 299.

[76] This latter supposition derives a certain support from the emphasis with which the two verses in question (A. V. v. 17, 8, 9) assert that the Brāhman was the only true husband. Whence, it may be asked, the necessity for this strong and repeated asseveration, if the Rājanya and Vais'ya husbands were not still alive, and prepared to claim the restoration of their wives? The verses are, however, explicable without this supposition.

It is to be observed, however, that no mention is here made of S'ūdras as a class with which Brāhmans intermarried. S'ūdras were not Āryas, like the three upper classes. This distinction is recognised in the following verse of the A.V. xix. 62, 1: "Make me dear to gods, dear to princes, dear to every one who beholds me, both to S'ūdra and to Ārya." (Unless we are to suppose that both here and in xix. 32, 8, *ārya* = a Vais'ya, and not *ārya*, is the word). In S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇva Sākhā (Adhvara Kāṇda, i. 6), the same thing is clearly stated in these words (already partially quoted above, p. 176), for a copy of which I am indebted to Prof. Müller: *Tan na sarva eva prapadyeta na hi devāḥ sarveṇaiva sangachhante | ārya eva brāhmaṇo vā kshattriyo vā vais'yo vā te hi yajniyāḥ | no eva sarveṇaiva samvadeta na hi devāḥ sarveṇaiva samvadante āryeṇaiva brāhmaṇena vā kshattriyeṇa vā vais'yena vā te hi yajniyāḥ | yady enam śūdreṇa samvādo vindet "ittham enam nichakshva" ity anyam brūyād esha dīkshitasyopachāraḥ.* "Every one cannot obtain this (for the gods do not associate with every man), but only an Ārya, a Brāhman, or a Kshattriya, or a Vais'ya, for these can sacrifice. Nor should one talk with everybody (for the gods do not talk with every body), but only with an Ārya, a Brāhman, or a Kshattriya, or a Vais'ya, for these can sacrifice. If any one have occasion to speak to a S'ūdra, let him say to another person, 'Tell this man so and so.' This is the rule for an initiated man."

In the corresponding passage of the Mādhyandina S'ākhā (p. 224 of Weber's edition) this passage is differently worded.

From Manu (ix. 149-157; x. 7 ff.) it is clear that Brāhmans intermarried with S'ūdra women, though the offspring of those marriages was degraded.

by the story of the rishi Chyavana and Sukanyā, daughter of king Śaryāta, narrated in the Śatapatha Brāhmana, and quoted in my paper entitled "Contributions to a Knowledge of Vedic Mythology," No. ii., in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, pp. 11 ff. See also the stories of the rishi Śyāvāśva, who married the daughter of king Rathavīti, as told by the commentator on Rig-veda, v. 61, and given in Professor Wilson's translation, vol. iii. p. 344.

The next hymn, from the same work, sets forth with great liveliness and vigour the advantages accruing to princes from the employment of a domestic priest.

Atharva-veda, iii. 19, 1. *Saṁśitam me idam brahma saṁśitam vīryam balam | saṁśitam kshattram ajaram astu jishṇur* (? *jishṇu*) *yeshām asmi purohitaḥ* | 2. *Sam aham eshām rāshṭraṁ syāmi sam ojo vīryam balam | vṛiśchāmi śatrūṇām bāhūn anena havishā aham* | 3. *Nīchaiḥ padyantam adhare bhavantu ye naḥ sūrim maghavānam pṛitanyān | kshiṇāmi brahmaṇā 'mitrān unnayāmi svān aham* | 4. *Tīkshṇīyāṁsaḥ paraśor agnes tīkshṇatarāḥ uta | Indrasya vajrāt tīkshṇīyāṁso yeshām asmi purohitaḥ* | 5. *Eshām aham āyudhā saṁ syāmi eshāṁ rāshṭraṁ suvīraṁ vardhayāmi | eshāṁ kshattram ajaram astu jishṇu eshāṁ chittaṁ viśve avantu devāḥ* | 6. *Uddharshantām Maghavan vājināni ud vīrāṇāṁ jayatām etu ghoshaḥ | pṛithagghoshāḥ ululayaḥ ketumantaḥ udīratām | devāḥ Indra-jyeshṭhāḥ Maruto yantu senayā* | 7. *Preta jayata naraḥ ugrāḥ vaḥ santu bāhavaḥ | tīkshṇeshavo abala-dhanvāno hata ugrāyudhāḥ abalān ugra-bāhavaḥ* | 8. *Avasṛishṭā parā pata śaravye brahma-saṁśite | jayāmitrān pra padyasva jahy eshām varaṁ-varam mā 'mīshām mochi kaśchana* |

"1. May this prayer of mine be successful; may the vigour and strength be complete, may the power be perfect, undecaying, and victorious of those of whom I am the priest (*purohita*). 2. I fortify their kingdom, and augment their energy, valour, and force. I break the arms of their enemies with this oblation. 3. May all those who fight against our wise and prosperous (prince) sink downward, and be prostrated. With my prayer I destroy his enemies and raise up his friends. 4. May those of whom I am the priest be sharper than an axe, sharper than fire, sharper than Indra's thunderbolt. 5. I strengthen their weapons; I prosper their kingdom rich in heroes. May their power be undecaying and victorious. May all the gods foster their designs.

6. May their valorous deeds, o Maghavat, burst forth; may the noise of the conquering heroes arise; may their distinct shouts, their clear yells, go up; may the gods, the Maruts, with Indra as their chief, march forward with their host. 7. Go, conquer, ye warriors; may your arms be impetuous. Ye with the sharp arrows, smite those whose bows are powerless; ye whose weapons and arms are terrible (smite) the feeble. 8. When discharged, fly forth, o arrow, sped by prayer. Vanquish the foes, assail, slay all the choicest of them; let not one escape."

The two following hymns from the same collection declare the guilt, the peril, and disastrous consequences of oppressing Brāhmans, and robbing them of their property. The threats and imprecations of haughty sacerdotal insolence could scarcely be expressed more energetically.

Atharva-veda, v. 18. 1. *Naitāṁ te devāḥ adadus tubhyaṁ nṛipate attave* | *mā brāhmaṇasya rājanya gāṁ jighatso anādyām* | 2. *Aksha-drugdho rājanyo pāpaḥ ātma-parājitaḥ* | *sa brāhmaṇasya gām adyād "adya jīvāni mā śvaḥ"* | 3. *Āvishṭitā agha-vishā pṛidākūr iva charmaṇā* | *mā brāhmaṇasya rājanya tṛishṭā eshā gaur anādyā* | 4. *Nir vai kshattraṁ nayati hanti varcho agnir ārabdho vi dunoti sarvam* | *yo brāhmaṇam manyate annam eva sa vishasya pibati taimātasya* | 5. *Yaḥ enaṁ hanti mṛidum manyamāno deva-pīyur dhana-kāmo na chittāt* | *saṁ tasya Indro hṛidaye agnim indhe ubhe enaṁ dvishṭo nabhasī charantaṁ* | 6. *Na brāhmaṇo hiṁsitavyo agniḥ priyatanor iva* | *Somo hi asya dāyādaḥ Indro asyābhiśastipāḥ* | 7. *Śatāpāshṭhām ni girati tāṁ na śaknoti niḥkhidam* | *annaṁ yo brāhmaṇām malvaḥ svādu admīti manyate* | 8. *Jihvā jyā bhavati kulmalaṁ vāṅ nāḍīkāḥ dantās tapasā 'bhidagdhāḥ* | *tebhir brahmā vidhyati deva-pīyūn hṛid-balair dhanurbhir deva-jūtaiḥ* | 9. *Tīkshṇeshavo brāhmaṇāḥ hetimanto yām asyanti śaravyāṁ na sā mṛishā* | *anuhāya tapasā manyunā cha uta dūrād ava bhindanti enam* | 10. *Ye sahasram arājann āsan daśa-śatā uta* | *te brāhmaṇasya gāṁ jagdhvā Vaitahavyāḥ parābhavan* | 11. *Gaur eva tān hanyamānā Vaitahavyān avātirat* | *ye Kesaraprābandhāyāś charamājām apechiran* | 12. *Eka-śataṁ tāḥ janatāḥ yāḥ bhūmir vyadhūnuta* | *prajāṁ hiṁsitvā brāhmaṇīm asambhavyam parābhavan* | 13. *Deva-pīyuś charati marttyeshu gara-gīrṇo bhavati asthi-bhūyān* | *yo brāhmaṇaṁ deva-bandhuṁ hinasti na sa pitṛiyāṇam apyeti lokam* | 14. *Agnir vai naḥ padavāyaḥ Somo dāyāda uchyate* |

hantābhiśastā Indras tathā tad vedhaso viduḥ | 15. *Ishur iva digdhā nṛipate pṛidākūr iva gopate* | *sā brāhmaṇasya ishur ghorā tayā vidhyati pīyataḥ* |

"1. King, the gods have not given thee (this cow) to eat. Do not, o Rājanya (man of royal descent), seek to devour the Brāhman's cow, which is not to be eaten. 2. The wretched Rājanya, unlucky in play, and self-destroyed, will eat the Brāhman's cow, saying, 'Let me live to-day, (if I can) not (live) to-morrow.' 3. This cow, clothed with a skin, contains deadly poison, like a snake. Beware, Rājanya, of this Brāhman's (cow); she is ill-flavoured, and must not be eaten. 4. She takes away his regal power, destroys his splendour, consumes him entire like a fire which has been kindled. The man who looks upon the Brāhman as mere food to be eaten up, drinks serpent's poison. 5. Indra kindles a fire in the heart of that contemner of the gods who smites the Brāhman, esteeming him to be inoffensive, and foolishly covets his property. Heaven and earth abhor the man who (so) acts. 6. A Brāhman is not to be wronged, as fire (must not be touched) by a man who cherishes his own body. Soma is his (the Brāhman's) kinsman, and Indra shields him from imprecations. 7. The wicked (?) man who thinks the priests' food is sweet while he is eating it, swallows (the cow) bristling with a hundred sharp points, but cannot digest her. 8. The priest's tongue is a bow-string, his voice is a barb, and his windpipe is arrow-points smeared with fire. With these god-directed, and heart-subduing bows, the priest pierces the scorners of the gods. 9. Brāhmans bearing sharp arrows, armed with missiles, never miss their mark when they discharge a shaft. Shooting with fiery energy and with anger, they pierce (the enemy) from afar. 10. The descendants of Vītahavya, who ruled over a thousand men, and were ten hundred in number, were overwhelmed after they had eaten a Brāhman's cow.[77] 11. The cow herself, when she was slaughtered, destroyed them,—those men who cooked the last she-goat of Kesaraprābandhā. 12. Those hundred persons whom the earth shook off, after they had wronged the priestly race, were overwhelmed in an inconceivable manner. 13. He lives among mortals a hater of the gods; infected with poison he becomes reduced to a skeleton; he who wrongs a Brāhman the kins-

[77] I am not aware whether any traces of this story are discoverable in the Purāṇas or Mahābhārata. See the first verse of the hymn next to be quoted.

man of the deities, fails to attain to the heaven of the Forefathers. 14. Agni is called our leader; Soma our kinsman. Indra neutralizes imprecations (directed against us); this the wise understand. 15. Like a poisoned arrow, o king, like a serpent, o lord of cows,—such is the dreadful shaft of the Brāhman, with which he pierces his enemies."

Atharva-veda, v. 19, 1. *Atimātram avardhanta nod iva divam aspṛiśan | Bhṛiguṁ hiṁsitvā S'ṛinjayāḥ Vaitahavyāḥ parābhavan* | 2. *Bṛihatsāmānam Āngirasam ārpayan brāhmaṇaṁ janāḥ | petvas teshām ubhayādam avis tokāny āvayat* | 3. *Ye brāhmaṇam pratyashṭhīvan ye vā 'smin śuklam īshire | asnas te madhye kulyāyāḥ keśān khādanta āsate* | 4. *Brahmagavī pachyamānā yāvat sā 'bhi vijangahe | tejo rāshṭrasya nirhanti na vīro jāyate vṛishā* | 5. *Krūram asyāḥ āśasanaṁ tṛishṭam piśitam asyate | kshīraṁ yad asyāḥ pīyate tad vai pitṛishu kilbisham* | 6. *Ugro rājā manyamāno brāhmaṇaṁ yaj jighatsati | parā tat sichyate rāshṭram brāhmaṇo yatra jīyate* | 7. *Ashṭāpadī chaturakshī chatuḥ-śrotrā chaturhanuḥ | dvyāsyā dvijihvā bhūtvā sā rāshṭram avadhūnute brahmajyasya* | 8. *Tad vai rāshṭram āsravati nāvam bhinnām ivodakam | brāhmāṇaṁ yatra hiṁsanti tad rāshṭraṁ hanti duchchhunā* | 9. *Taṁ vṛikshāḥ apa sedhanti "chhāyāṁ no mopa gāḥ" iti | yo brāhmaṇasya saddhanam abhi Nārada manyate* | 10. *Visham etad deva-kṛitaṁ rājā Varuṇo abravīt | na brāhmaṇasya gāṁ jagdhvā rāshṭre jāgāra kaśchana* | 11. *Navaiva tāḥ navatayo yāḥ bhūmir vyadhūnuta | prajāṁ hiṁsitvā brāhmaṇīm asambhavyam parābhavan* | 12. *Yām mṛitāyānubadhnanti kūdyam padayopanīm | tad vai brahmajya te devāḥ upastaraṇam abruvan* | 13. *Aśrūṇi kṛipamāṇasya yāni jītasya vāvṛituḥ | taṁ vai brahmajya te devāḥ apām bhāgam adhārayan* | 14. *Yena mṛitaṁ snapayanti śmaśrūṇi yena undate | taṁ vai brahmajya te devāḥ apām bhāgam adhārayan* | 15. *Na varshaṁ Maitrāvaruṇam brahmajyam abhi varshati | nāsmai samitiḥ kalpate na mitraṁ nayate vaśam* |

"1. The Sṛinjayas, descendants of Vītahavya, waxed exceedingly; they almost touched the sky; but after they had injured Bhrigu, they were overwhelmed. 2. When men pierced Brihatsāman, a Brāhman descended from Angiras, a ram with two rows of teeth swallowed their children. 3. Those who spit, or throw filth (?) upon a Brāhman, sit eating hair in the midst of a stream of blood. 4. So long as this Brāhman's cow is cut up (?) and cooked, she destroys the glory of the kingdom; no vigorous hero is born there. 5. It is cruel to

slaughter her; her ill-flavoured flesh is thrown away. When her milk is drunk, that is esteemed a sin among the Forefathers. 6. Whenever a king, fancying himself mighty, seeks to devour a Brāhman, that kingdom is broken up, in which a Brāhman is oppressed. Becoming eight-footed, four-eyed, four-eared, four-jawed, two-faced, two-tongued, she (the cow) shatters the kingdom of the oppressor of Brāhmans. 8. (Ruin) overflows that kingdom, as water swamps a leaky boat: calamity smites that country in which a priest is wronged. 9. Even trees, o Nārada, repel, and refuse their shade to, the man who claims a right to the property of a Brāhman. This (property), as king Varuṇa hath said, has been turned into a poison by the gods. No one who has eaten a Brāhman's cow continues to watch (*i.e.* to rule) over a country. 11. Those nine nineties (of persons) whom the earth shook off, when they had wronged the priestly race, were overwhelmed in an inconceivable manner (see verse 12 of the preceding hymn). 12. The gods have declared that the cloth wherewith a dead man's feet are bound shall be thy pall, thou oppressor of priests. 13. The tears which flow from a persecuted man as he laments,—such is the portion of water which the gods have assigned to thee, thou oppressor of priests. 14. The gods have allotted to thee that portion of water wherewith men wash the dead, and moisten beards. 15. The rain of Mitra and Varuṇa does not descend on the oppressor of priests. For him the battle has never a successful issue; nor does he bring his friend into subjection."

The attention of the reader is directed to the intensity of contempt and abhorrence which is sought to be conveyed by the coarse imagery contained in verses 3, and 12–14, of this last hymn.

There is another section of the same Veda, xii. 5, in which curses similar to those in the last two hymns are fulminated against the oppressors of Brāhmans. The following are specimens:

Atharva-veda, xii. 5, 4. *Brahma padavāyam brāhmaṇo 'dhipatiḥ* | 5. *Tām ādadānasya brahma-gavīm̐ jinato brāhmaṇān kshattriyasya* | 6. *Apa krāmati sūnṛitā vīryam puṇyā lakshmīḥ* | 7. *Ojaścha tejaś cha sahaś cha balam̐ cha vāk cha indriyam̐ cha śrīś cha dharmaś cha* | 8. *Brahma cha kshattram̐ cha rāshṭram̐ cha viśaś cha tvishiś cha yaśaś cha varchaś cha draviṇam̐ cha* | 9. *Āyuś cha rūpam̐ cha nāma cha kīrttiś cha prāṇaś cha apānaś cha chakshuś cha śrotram̐ cha* | 10. *Payaś cha rasaś*

cha annaṁ cha annādyaṁ cha ṛitaṁ cha satyaṁ cha ishṭaṁ cha pūrttaṁ cha prajā cha paśavaś cha | 11. *Tāni sarvāṇi apa krāmanti brahma-gavīm ādadānasya jinato brāhmaṇaṁ kshattriyasya* | 12. *Sā eshā bhīmā brahma-gavī agha-vishā* . . . . . | 13. *Sarvāṇy asyāṁ ghorāṇi sarve cha mṛityavaḥ* | 14. *Sarvāṇy asyāṁ krūrāṇi sarve purusha-vadhāḥ* | 15. *Sā brahma-jyaṁ deva-pīyum brahmagavī ādīyamānā mṛityoḥ paḍbīśe ā dyati* |

"4. Prayer (*brāhmăn*) is the chief (thing); the Brāhman is the lord (*adhipati*). 5. From the Kshattriya who seizes the priest's cow, and oppresses the Brāhman, (6) there depart piety, valour, good fortune, (7) force, keenness, vigour, strength, speech, energy, prosperity, virtue, (8) prayer (*brāhmăn*), royalty, kingdom, subjects, splendour, renown, lustre, wealth, (9) life, beauty, name, fame, inspiration and expiration, sight, hearing, (10) milk, sap, food, eating, righteousness, truth, oblation, sacrifice, offspring, and cattle;—(11) all these things depart from the Kshattriya who seizes the priest's cow. 12. Terrible is the Brāhman's cow, filled with deadly poison. . . . 13. In her reside all dreadful things, and all forms of death, (14) all cruel things, and all forms of homicide. 15. When seized, she binds in the fetters of death the oppressor of priests and despiser of the gods."

A great deal more follows to the same effect, which it would be tiresome to quote.

I subjoin some further texts, in which reference is made to *brāhmăns*.

In xix. 22, 21 (= xix. 23, 30) it is said:

Brahma-jyeshṭhā sambhṛitā vīryāṇi brahmāgre jyeshṭhaṁ divam ātatāna | *bhūtānām brahmā prathamo ha jajne tenārhati brahmaṇā sparddhituṁ kaḥ* |

"Powers are collected, of which prayer (or sacred science, *brāhmăn*) is the chief. Prayer, the chief, in the beginning stretched out the sky. The priest (*brāhmăn*) was born the first of beings. Who, then, ought to vie with the *brāhmăn*.

A superhuman power appears to be ascribed to the *brāhmăn* in the following passages,—unless by *brāhmăn* we are to understand Bṛihaspati:—

xix. 9, 12. *Brahmā Prajāpatir Dhātā lokāḥ vedāḥ sapta-ṛishayo 'gnayaḥ* | *tair me kṛitaṁ svastyayanam Indro me śarma yachhatu brahmā me śarma yachhatu* |

"May a prosperous journey be granted to me by prayer, Prajāpati, Dhātṛi, the worlds, the Vedas, the seven rishis, the fires; may Indra grant me felicity, may the *brăhmăn* grant me felicity."

xix. 43, 8. *Yatra brahma-vido yānti dīkshayā tapasā saha | brahmā mā tatra nayatu brahmā brahma dadhātu me | brahmaṇe svāhā.*

"May the *brăhmăn* conduct me to the place whither the knowers of prayer (or of sacred science) go by initiation with austerity. May the *brăhmăn* impart to me sacred science. *Svāhā* to the *brăhmăn*."

The wonderful powers of the Brahmachārin, or student of sacred science, are described in a hymn (A.V. xi. 5), parts of which are translated in my paper on the progress of the Vedic Religion, pp. 374 ff.

And yet with all this sacredness of his character the priest must be devoted to destruction, if, in the interest of an enemy, he is seeking by his ceremonies to effect the ruin of the worshipper.

v. 8, 5. *Yam amī puro dadhire brahmāṇam apabhūtaye | Indra sa me adhaspadam̐ tam pratyasyāmi mṛityave |*

"May the *brăhmăn* whom these men have placed in their front (as a *purohita*) for our injury, fall under my feet, o Indra; I hurl him away, to death (compare A.V. vii. 70, 1 ff.).

SECT. IV.—*Opinions of Professor R. Roth and Dr. M. Haug regarding the origin of caste among the Hindus.*

I shall in this section give some account of the speculations of Prof. R. Roth and Dr. M. Haug on the process by which they conceive the system of castes to have grown up among the Indians.

The remarks which I shall quote from Prof. Roth are partly drawn from his third "Dissertation on the Literature and History of the Veda," p. 117, and partly from his paper on "Brahma and the Brāhmans," in the first volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society.[78] He says in the latter essay: "The religious development of India is attached through the course of three thousand years to the word *brăhmă*. This conception might be taken as the standard for estimating the progress of thought directed to divine things, as at every step taken by the latter, it has gained a new form, while at the same time

[78] The reader who is unacquainted with German will find a fuller account of this article in the Benares Magazine for October 1851, pp. 823 ff.

it has always embraced in itself the highest spiritual acquisition of the nation. . . . . The original signification of the word *brăhmă*, as we easily discover it in the Vedic hymns, is that of prayer; not praise or thanksgiving, but that invocation which, with the force of the will directed to God, seeks to draw him to itself, and to receive satisfaction from him. . . . . From this oldest sense and form of *brăhmă* (neuter) was formed the masculine noun *brahmā*, which was the designation of those who pronounced the prayers, or performed the sacred ceremonies; and in nearly all the passages of the Rig-veda in which it was thought that this word must refer to the Brahmanical caste, this more extended sense must be substituted for the other more limited one. . . . . From this sense of the word *brahmā*, nothing was more natural than to convert this offerer of prayer into a particular description of sacrificial priest: so soon as the ritual began to be fixed, the functions which were before united in a single person, who both prayed to the gods and sacrificed to them, became separated, and a priesthood interposed itself between man and God."[79]

Then further on, after quoting R.V. iv. 50, 4 ff. (see above, p. 247), Prof. Roth continues: "In this manner here and in many places of the liturgical and legal books, the promise of every blessing is attached to the maintenance of a priest by the king. Inasmuch as he supports and honours the priest, the latter ensures to him the favour of the gods. So it was that the caste of the Brāhmans arose and attained to power and consideration: first, they were only the single domestic priests of the kings; then the dignity became hereditary in certain families; finally a union, occasioned by similarity of interests, of these families in one larger community was effected; and all this in reciprocal action with the progress made in other respects by theological doctrine and religious worship. Still the extension of the power which fell into the hands of this priestly caste would not be perfectly comprehensible

[79] In his third Dissertation on the Literature and History of the Veda, Prof. Roth remarks: "In the Vedic age, access to the gods by prayer and sacrifice was open to all classes of the community; and it was only the power of expressing devotion in a manner presumed to be acceptable to the deities, or a readiness in poetical diction, that distinguished any individual or family from the mass, and led to their being employed to conduct the worship of others. The name given to such persons was *purohita*, one 'put forward;' one through whose mediation the gods would receive the offering presented. But these priests had as yet no especial sanctity or exclusive prerogative which would render their employment imperative."

from this explanation alone. The relation of spiritual superiority in which the priests came to stand to the kings was aided by other historical movements."

Professor Roth then proceeds: "When—at a period more recent than the majority of the hymns of the Rig-veda—the Vedic people, driven by some political shock, advanced from their abodes in the Punjab further and further to the south, drove the aborigines into the hills, and took possession of the broad tract of country lying between the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Vindhya range; the time had arrived when the distribution of power, the relation of king and priest, could become transformed in the most rapid and comprehensive manner. Principalities separated in such various ways, such a division into tribes as had existed in the Punjab, were no longer possible here, where nature had created a wide and continuous tract with scarcely any natural boundaries to dissever one part from another. Most of those petty princes who had descended from the north with their tribes must here of necessity disappear, their tribes become dissolved, and contests arise for the supreme dominion. This era is perhaps portrayed to us in the principal subject of the Mahābhārata, the contest between the descendants of Pāṇḍu and Kuru. In this stage of disturbance and complication, power naturally fell into the hands of those who did not directly possess any authority, the priestly races and their leaders, who had hitherto stood rather in the position of followers of the kings, but now rose to a higher rank. It may easily be supposed that they and their families, already honoured as the confidential followers of the princes, would frequently be able to strike a decisive stroke to which the king would owe his success. If we take further into account the intellectual and moral influence which this class possessed in virtue of the prerogative conceded to, or usurped by, them, and the religious feeling of the people, it is not difficult to comprehend how in such a period of transition powerful communities should arise among the domestic priests of petty kings and their families, should attain to the highest importance in every department of life, and should grow into a caste which, like the ecclesiastical order in the middle ages of Christianity, began to look upon secular authority as an effluence from the fulness of their power, to be conferred at their will; and how, on the other hand, the numerous royal families should

sink down into a nobility which possessed, indeed, the sole right to the kingly dignity, but at the same time, when elected by the people, required inauguration in order to their recognition by the priesthood, and were enjoined above all things to employ only Brāhmans as their counsellors."

In order to render the probability of this theory still more apparent, Professor Roth goes on to indicate the relations of the other castes to the Brāhmans. The position which the three superior classes occupied in the developed Brahmanical system was one of gradation, as they differed only in the extent of their religious and civil prerogatives, the Kshattriya being in some respects less favoured than the Brāhman, and the Vaiśya than the Kshattriya. With the S'ūdras, on the other hand, the case was quite different. They were not admitted to sacrifice, to the study of the Vedas, or to investiture with the sacred cord. From this Professor Roth concludes that the three highest castes stood in a closer connection with each other, whether of descent, or of culture, than any of them did to the fourth. The Indian body politic, moreover, was complete without the S'ūdras. The Brāhman and Kshattriya were the rulers, while the Vaiśyas formed the mass of the people. The fact of the latter not being originally a separate community is confirmed by the employment assigned to them, as well as by their name Vaiśya, derived from the word *Viś*, a word which in the Veda designates the general community, especially considered as the possessor of the pure Aryan worship and culture, in contradistinction to all barbarian races. Out of this community the priesthood arose in the manner above described, while the Kshattriyas were the nobility, descended in the main from the kings of the earlier ages. The fourth caste, the S'ūdras, consisted, according to Prof. Roth, of a race subdued by the Brahmanical conquerors, whether that race may have been a branch of the Arian stock which immigrated at an earlier period into India, or an autochthonous Indian tribe.

In his tract on the origin of Brāhmanism, from which I have already quoted (see above, pp. 11 and 14), Dr. Haug thus states his views on this question: "It has been of late asserted that the original parts of the Vedas do not know the system of caste. But this conclusion was prematurely arrived at without sufficiently weighing the evidence. It is true the caste system is not to be found in such a developed state;

the duties enjoined to the several castes are not so clearly defined as in the Law Books and Purāṇas. But nevertheless the system is already known in the earlier parts of the Vedas, or rather presupposed. The barriers only were not so insurmountable as in later times." (p. 6). This view he supports by a reference to the Zend Avesta, in which he finds evidence of a division of the followers of Ahura Mazda into the three classes of Atharvas, Rathaesthas, and Vaśtrya fshuyans, which he regards as corresponding exactly to the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas of India. The Atharvas, or priests, in particular formed a class or even a caste; they had secrets which they were prohibited from divulging; they were the spiritual guides of their nation, and none but the son of a priest could become a priest—a rule which the Parsīs still maintain. From these facts, Dr. Haug deduces the conclusion that the nation of which both the Indo-Arians and the Perso-Arians originally formed a part had been divided into three classes even before the separation of the Indians from the Iranians; and he adds (p. 7): "From all we know, the real origin of caste appears to go back to a time anterior to the composition of the Vedic hymns, though its development into a regular system with insurmountable barriers can be referred only to the latest period of the Vedic times."

I shall furnish a short analysis of some other parts of Dr. Haug's interesting tract. He derives (p. 7) the word *brāhmaṇa* from *brăhmăn* (neuter), which originally meant "a sacred song, prayer," as an effusion of devotional feeling. *Brăhmă* was the "sacred element" in the sacrifice, and signified "the soul of nature, the productive power." The Brahmanic sacrifices had production as their object, and embraced some rites which were intended to furnish the sacrificer with a new spiritual body wherewith he might ascend to heaven, and others calculated to provide him with cattle and offspring (p. 8). The symbol of this *brăhmă*, or productive power, which must always be present at the sacrifice, was a bunch of *kuśa* grass, generally called Veda (a word alternating with *brăhmă*), which, at the sacrifice, was passed from one priest to another, and given to the sacrificer and his wife. The corresponding symbol of twigs used by the Parsīs was called in Zend *băresma*, which Dr. Haug considers to have been originally the same as *brăhmă* (p. 9). As it was essential to the success of these sacrifices

that every portion of the complicated ceremonial should be accurately performed, and as mistakes could not be avoided, it became necessary to obviate by an atonement (*prāyaśchitti*) the mischief which would otherwise have ensued; and the priest appointed to guard against or expiate such mistakes, when committed by the other priests—the *hotṛi*, *adhvaryu*, and *udgātṛi*—was called, "from the most ancient times," the *brāhmān* (masculine), who was a functionary pre-eminently supplied with *brāhmā* (neuter) or sacred knowledge, and thereby connected "with the soul of nature, the cause of all growth, the last cause of all sacrificial rites" (p. 10). The office of *brāhmān* was not one to which mere birth gave a claim, but had to be attained by ability and study. The descendants of these *brāhmān* priests were the Brāhmans, and the speculations of the most eminent *brāhmān* priests on divine things, and especially on sacrificial rites, are contained in the works called Brāhmaṇas (p. 12). Dr. Haug considers that no such a class as that of the *brāhmān* priests existed at the early period when the ancestors of the Hindus separated from those of the Parsīs in consequence of religious differences. The few rites preserved by the Parsīs as relics of the remotest antiquity closely resemble those of the Brāhmans. Dr. Haug finds that in the Homa ritual of the former (corresponding to the Soma ceremony of the latter) only two priests, called *Zota* and *Raspi* or *Rathwi*, are required, whom he recognises as corresponding to the Hotṛi and Adhvaryu of the latter. So long as the rites were simple, no *brāhmān* priest was wanted; but when they became complicated and multiform, the necessity for such a functionary arose. And it was only then that the sons of the *brāhmāns*, *i.e.* the Brāhmans, could rise through the possession of sacred knowledge, derived from their fathers, to great power, and form themselves into a regular caste. The development of these ceremonies out of their primitive simplicity into the complexity and multiformity which they ultimately assumed must, Dr. Haug thinks, have been the work of many centuries. This transformation must have taken place in the region bordering on the Sarasvatī, where the expansion of the Brahmanical system, and the elevation of the Brāhmans to full spiritual supremacy, is to be sought, before the Indo-Arians advanced south-eastwards into Hindostan proper (p. 14). The ascendancy of the Brāhmans was not however attained without opposition on the part of the kings (p. 18). Dr. Haug concludes by relating the reception

of Viśvāmitra into the order of Brāhmans, and by giving some account of the rishis and the several classes into which they were divided.

As the question is generally stated by Dr. Haug in pages 6 and 12 ff., the difference between him and other European scholars is one of age and not of principle, for neither party admits any distinction of race or congenital diversity between the three superior castes or classes.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY CONTESTS BETWEEN THE BRAHMANS AND KSHATTRIYAS.

I proceed to give some legendary illustrations of the struggle which no doubt occurred in the early ages of Hindu history between the Brāhmans and the Kshattriyas, after the former had begun to constitute a fraternity exercising the sacerdotal profession, but before the respective provinces of the two classes had been accurately defined by custom, and when the members of each were ready to encroach on the prerogatives claimed as their own exclusive birthright by the other.

SECT. I.—*Manu's Summary of refractory and submissive monarchs.*

I shall begin with the following passage, which we find in the Institutes of Manu, vii. 38 ff., regarding the impious resistance, as the lawgiver considered it, of certain monarchs to the legitimate claims of the priests, and the dutiful behaviour of others.

38. *Vṛiddhāṁś cha nityaṁ seveta viprān veda-vidaḥ śuchīn* | *vṛiddha-sevī hi satataṁ rakshobhir api pūjyate* | 39. *Tebhyo 'dhigachhed vinayaṁ vinītātmā 'pi nityaśaḥ* | *vinītātmā hi nṛipatir na vinaśyati karchichit* | 40. *Bahavo 'vinayād nashṭāḥ rājānaḥ sa-parichhadāḥ* | *vanasthāḥ api rājyāni vinayāt pratipedire* | 41. *Veṉo vinashṭo 'vinayād Nahushaś chaiva pārthivaḥ* | *Sudāḥ Paijavanaś*[80] *chaiva Sumukho Nimir eva cha* | 42. *Prithus tu vinayād rājyam prāptavān Manur eva cha* | *Kuveraś cha dhanaiśvaryyam brāhmaṇyaṁ chaiva Gādhijaḥ* |

"Let the king constantly reverence ancient Brāhmans skilled in the Vedas, and pure in conduct; for he who always respects the aged is honoured even by the Rākshases. 39. Let him, even though humble-

[80] In support of this reading, see M. Loiseleur Deslongchamps's and Sir G. C. Haughton's notes on the passage.

minded, be continually learning submissiveness from them: for a submissive monarch never perishes. 40. Through want of this character many kings have been destroyed with all their possessions; whilst by humility even hermits have obtained kingdoms. 41. Veṇa perished through want of submissiveness, and king Nahusha, and Sūdas the son of Pijavana, and Sumukha, and Nimi. 42. But through submissiveness Pṛithu and Manu attained kingly power, Kuvera the lordship of wealth, and the son of Gādhi (Viśvāmitra) Brāhmanhood."[81]

Veṇa is again referred to in Manu ix. 66 f.: *Ayaṁ dvijair hi vidvadbhiḥ paśudharmo nigarhitaḥ | manushyāṇām api prokto Veṇe rājyam praśāsati* | 67. *Sa mahīm akhilām bhunjan rājarshi-pravaraḥ purā | varṇānāṁ sankaraṁ chakre kāmopahata-chetanaḥ* |

"This custom (of raising up seed to a deceased brother or kinsman by his widow) fit only for cattle, was declared to be (law) for men also, when Veṇa held sway. This eminent royal rishi, who in former times ruled over the whole earth, having his reason destroyed by lust, occasioned a confusion of castes."

The legendary history of nearly all the kings thus stigmatized or celebrated can be traced in the Purāṇas and other parts of Indian literature. I shall supply such particulars of the refractory monarchs as I can find.

It will be observed that Manu is spoken of as an ordinary prince; and that even Kuvera, the god of wealth, is said to have attained his dignity by the same species of merit as the other persons whom the writer eulogizes. I am not aware whether any legends exist to the same effect. Something of a contrary tendency is found with regard to the deity in question in the passage of the Mahābhārata, of which an extract is given above, in p. 140, note 249.

[81] Kullūka remarks on this passage: *Gādhi-putro Viśvamitraś cha kshattriyaḥ saṁs tenaiva dehena brāhmaṇyam prāptavān | rājya-lābhāvasare brāhmaṇya-prāptir aprastutā 'pi vinayotkarshārtham uktā | īdṛiśo 'yaṁ śāstrānushṭhāna-nishiddha-varjana-rūpa-vinayodayena kshattriyo 'pi durlabham brāhmaṇyam lebhe* | "Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, being a Kshattriya, obtained Brāhmanhood in the same body (*i.e.* without being again born in another body). The attainment of Brahmanhood by one who at the time held kingly authority, although an unusual occurrence, is mentioned to show the excellence of submissiveness. Through that quality, as exhibited in the observance of scriptural injunctions, and in abstinence from things forbidden, he, being a Kshattriya, obtained Brahmanhood, so difficult to acquire."

I have not met with any story of Sumukha's contest with the Brāhmans. Some MSS. read Suratha instead of Sumukha.

The name of Sudās, the son of Pijavana, occurs in several parts of the Rig-veda. I shall return to him in relating the contest between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra. I begin with the story of Veṇa.

SECT. II.—*Legend of Veṇa.*

According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 13, Veṇa was the son of Anga, and the descendant in the ninth generation of the first Manu, Svāyambhuva; the line of ancestors from the latter downwards being as follows: Uttānapāda, Dhruva, Slishti, Ripu, Chākshusha, the sixth Manu called Chākshusha, Uru, Anga (see Wilson's Vishṇu P. vol. i.). Veṇa thus belongs to a mythical age preceding by an enormous interval that of the descendants of Manu Vaivasvata mentioned in the preceding chapter of this volume; five Manvantaras, or periods of 308,571 years each, having intervened in the present Kalpa between the close of the Svāyambhuva, and the beginning of the existing, or Vaivasvata, Manvantara.

Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 13, 7: *Parāśara uvācha | Sunīthā nāma yā kanyā Mṛityoḥ prathama-jā 'bhavat | Angasya bhāryyā sa dattā tasyām Veṇas tv ajāyata* | 8. *Sa mātāmaha-dosheṇa tena Mṛityoḥ sutātmajaḥ | nisargād iva Maitreya dushṭaḥ eva vyajāyata* | 9. *Abhishikto yadā rājye sa Veṇaḥ paramarshibhiḥ | ghoshayāmāsa sa tadā pṛithivyām pṛithivīpatiḥ* | "*na yashṭavyam na dātavyam hotavyam na kadāchana | bhoktā yajnasya kas tv anyo hy aham yajna-patiḥ sadā* | 10. *Tatas tam ṛishayaḥ sarve sampūjya pṛithivīpatim | ūchuḥ sāmakalam samyan Maitreya samupasthitāḥ | ṛishayaḥ ūchuḥ* | 11. "*Bho bho rājan śṛiṇushva tvam yad vadāmas tava prabho | rājya-dehopakāre yaḥ prajānām cha hitam param* | 12. *Dīrgha-sattreṇa deveśam sarva-yajneśvaram Harim | pūjayishyāmo bhadram te tatrāṁśas te bhavishyati* | 13. *Yajnena yajna-purusho Vishṇuḥ samprīṇito vibhuḥ | asmābhir bhavataḥ kāmān sarvān eva pradāsyati | yajnair yajneśvaro yeshām rāshṭre sampūjyate Hariḥ | teshām sarvepsitāvāptim dadāti nṛipa bhūbhujām*" | *Veṇaḥ uvācha* | "*mattaḥ ko 'bhyadhiko 'nyo 'sti kaś chārādhyo mamāparaḥ | ko 'yam Harir iti khyāto yo vo yajneśvaro mataḥ | Brahmā Janārdano Rudraḥ Indro Vāyur Yamo Raviḥ* |

Hutabhug Varuṇo Dhātā Pūshā Bhūmir Niśākaraḥ | ete chānye cha ye devāḥ śāpānugraha-kāriṇaḥ | nṛipasya te śarīra-sthāḥ sarva-devamayo nṛipaḥ | etaj jnātvā mayā 'jnaptaṁ yad yathā kriyatāṁ tathā | na dātavyaṁ na hotavyaṁ na yashṭavyaṁ cha vo dvijāḥ | 14. *Bharttuḥ śuśrūshaṇam dharmo yathā strīṇām paro mataḥ | mamājnā-pālanaṁ dharmo bhavatāṁ cha tathā dvijāḥ*" | *ṛishayaḥ ūchuḥ* | "*dehy anujnām mahārāja mā dharmo yātu sankshayam | havishām pariṇāmo 'yaṁ yad etad akhilaṁ jagat* | 15. *Dharme cha sankshayaṁ yāte kshīyate chākhilaṁ jagat*" | *Parāśaraḥ uvācha | iti vijnāpyamāno 'pi sa Veṇaḥ paramarshibhiḥ | yadā dadāti nānujnām proktaḥ proktaḥ punaḥ punaḥ | tatas te munayaḥ sarve kopāmarsha-samanvitāḥ* | "*hanyatāṁ hanyatām pāpaḥ*" *ity ūchus te parasparam* | 16. "*Yo yajna-purushaṁ devam anādi-nidhanam prabhum | vinindaty adhamāchāro na sa yogyo bhuvaḥ patiḥ*" | *ity uktvā mantra-pūtais te kuśair muni-gaṇāḥ nṛipam | nirjaghnur nihatam pūrvam bhagavan-nindanādinā | tataś cha munayo reṇuṁ dadṛiśuḥ sarvato dvija* | "*kim etad*" *iti chāsannam paprachhus te janaṁ tada* | 17. *Ākhyātaṁ cha janais teshām* "*chaurībhūtair arājake | rāshṭre tu lokair ārabdham para-svādānaṁ āturaiḥ* | 18. *Teshām udīrṇa-vegānāṁ chaurāṇāṁ muni-sattamāḥ | sumahān dṛiśyate reṇuḥ para-vittāpahāriṇām*" | *tataḥ sammantrya te sarve munayas tasya bhūbhṛitaḥ | mamanthur ūrum putrārtham anapatyasya yatnataḥ | mathyataś cha samuttasthau tasyoroḥ purushaḥ kila | dagdha-sthūṇāpratīkāśah kharvāṭāsyo 'tihrasvakaḥ* | 19. *Kiṁ karomīti tān sarvān viprān āha sa chāturaḥ | nishīdeti tam ūchus te nishādas tena so 'bhavat* | 20. *Tatas tat-sambhavāḥ jātāḥ Vindhya-śaila-nivāsinaḥ | nishādāḥ muni-śārdūla pāpa-karmopalakshaṇāḥ* | 21. *Tena dvāreṇa nishkrāntam tat pāpaṁ tasya bhūpateḥ | nishādās te tathā jātāḥ Veṇa-kalmasha-sambhavāḥ* | 22. *Tato 'sya dakshiṇaṁ hastam mamanthus te tadā dvijāḥ | mathyamāne cha tatrābhūt Pṛithur Vainyaḥ pratāpavān | dīpyamānaḥ sva-vapushā sākshād Agnir ivojjvalan* | 23. *Ādyam ājagavaṁ nāma khāt papāta tato dhanuḥ | śarāś cha divyāḥ nabhasaḥ kavachaṁ cha papāta ha | tasmin jāte tu bhūtāni samprahṛishṭāni sarvaśaḥ | satputreṇa cha jātena Veṇo 'pi tridivaṁ yayau | pun-nāmno narakāt trātaḥ sa tena sumahātmanā* |

"7. The maiden named Sunīthā, who was the first-born of Mṛityu (Death)[83] was given as wife to Anga; and of her Veṇa was born. 8. This son of Mṛityu's daughter, infected with the taint of his ma-

[83] See above, p. 124, and note 230.

ternal grandfather, was born corrupt, as if by nature. 9. When Veṇa was inaugurated as king by the eminent rishis, he caused this proclamation to be made on the earth: 'Men must not sacrifice, or give gifts, or present oblations. Who else but myself is the enjoyer of sacrifices? I am for ever the lord of offerings.' 10. Then all the rishis approaching the king with respectful salutations, said to him in a gentle and conciliatory tone: 11. 'Hear, o king, what we have to say: 12. We shall worship Hari, the monarch of the gods, and the lord of all sacrifices, with a Dīrghasattra (prolonged sacrifice), from which the highest benefits will accrue to your kingdom, your person, and your subjects. May blessings rest upon you! You shall have a share in the ceremony. 13. Vishṇu the lord, the sacrificial Male, being propitiated by us with this rite, will grant all the objects of your desire. Hari, the lord of sacrifices, bestows on those kings in whose country he is honoured with oblations, everything that they wish.' Veṇa replied: 'What other being is superior to me? who else but I should be adored? who is this person called Hari, whom you regard as the lord of sacrifice? Brahmā, Janārdana, Rudra, Indra, Vāyu, Yama, Ravi (the Sun), Agni, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Pūshan, Earth, the Moon,—these and the other gods who curse and bless are all present in a king's person: for he is composed of all the gods.[83] Knowing this, ye must

[83] The orthodox doctrine, as stated by Manu, vii. 3 ff., coincides very nearly with Veṇa's estimate of himself, although the legislator does not deduce from it the same conclusions: 3. *Rakshārtham asya sarvasya rājānam asṛijat prabhuḥ* | 4. *Indrānila-yamārkāṇām Agneś cha Varuṇasya cha* | *Chandra-Vitteśayoś chaiva mātrāḥ nirhṛitya śāśvatīḥ* | 5. *Yasmād eshām surendrāṇām mātrābhyo nirmito nṛipaḥ* | *tasmād abhibhavaty esha sarva-bhūtāni tejasā* | 6. *Tapaty āditya-vach chaisha chakshūṃshi cha manāṃsi cha* | *na chainam bhuvi śaknoti kaśchid apy abhivīkshitum* | 7. *So 'gnir bhavati Vāyuś cha so 'rkaḥ Somaḥ sa Dharmarāṭ* | *sa Kuveraḥ sa Varuṇaḥ sa Mahendraḥ prabhāvataḥ* | 8. *Bālo 'pi nāvamantavyo "manushyaḥ" iti bhūmipaḥ* | *mahatī devatā hy eshā nara-rūpeṇa tishṭhati* | "3. The lord created the king for the preservation of this entire world, (4) extracting the eternal essential particles of Indra, Vāyu, Yama, Sūrya, Agni, Varuṇa, Chandra, and Kuvera. 5. Inasmuch as the king is formed of the particles of all these gods, he surpasses all beings in brilliancy. 6. Like the Sun, he distresses both men's eyes and minds; and no one on earth can ever gaze upon him. 7. He is Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Soma, Yama, Kuvera, Varuṇa, and Indra, in majesty. 8. Even when a child a king is not to be despised under the idea that he is a mere man; for he is a great deity in human form."

In another passage, ix. 303, this is qualified by saying that the king should imitate the functions of the different gods: *Indrasyārkasya Vāyoścha Yamasya Varuṇasya cha* | *Chandrasyāgneḥ Pṛithivyāś cha tejo vṛittaṃ nṛipaś charet* | This expanded in the next verses.

act in conformity with my commands. Brāhmans, ye must neither give gifts, nor present oblations nor sacrifices. 14. As obedience to their husbands is esteemed the highest duty of women, so is the observance of my orders incumbent upon you.' The rishis answered: 'Give permission, great king: let not religion perish: this whole world is but a modified form of oblations. 15. When religion perishes the whole world is destroyed with it.' When Veṇa, although thus admonished and repeatedly addressed by the eminent rishis, did not give his permission, then all the munis, filled with wrath and indignation, cried out to one another, 'Slay, slay the sinner. 16. This man of degraded life, who blasphemes the sacrificial Male, the god, the lord without beginning or end, is not fit to be lord of the earth.' So saying the munis smote with blades of kuśa grass consecrated by texts this king who had been already smitten by his blasphemy of the divine Being and his other offences. The munis afterwards beheld dust all round, and asked the people who were standing near what that was. 17. They were informed: 'In this country which has no king, the people, being distressed, have become robbers, and have begun to seize the property of others. 18. It is from these robbers rushing impetuously, and plundering other men's goods, that this great dust is seen? Then all the munis, consulting together, rubbed with force the thigh of the king, who was childless, in order to produce a son. From his thigh when rubbed there was produced a man like a charred log, with flat face, and extremely short. 19. 'What shall I do?' cried the man, in distress, to the Brāhmans. They said to him, 'Sit down' (*nishīda*); and from this he became a Nishāda. 20. From him sprang the Nishādas dwelling in the Vindhya mountains, distinguished by their wicked deeds. 21. By this means the sin of the king departed out of him; and so were the Nishādas produced, the offspring of the wickedness of Veṇa. 22. The Brāhmans then rubbed his right hand; and from it, when rubbed, sprang the majestic Pṛithu, Veṇa's son, resplendent in body, glowing like the manifested Agni. 23. Then the primeval bow called Ājagava fell from the sky, with celestial arrows, and a coat of mail. At Pṛithu's birth all creatures rejoiced. And through the birth of this virtuous son, Veṇa, delivered from the hell called Put[84] by this eminent person, ascended to heaven."

[84] This alludes to the fanciful derivation of *puttra*, "son," from *put* + *tra*.

The Harivaṁśa (sect. 5) relates the same story thus, with little variation from the Vishṇu Purāṇa:

Vaiśampāyanaḥ uvācha | Āsīd dharmasya goptā vai pūrvam Atri-samaḥ prabhuḥ | Atri-vaṁśa-samutpannas tv Ango nāma prajāpatiḥ | tasya putro 'bhavad Veno nātyarthaṁ dharma-kovidaḥ | jāto Mṛityu-sutāyāṁ vai Sunīthāyām prajāpatiḥ | sa mātāmaha-doshena tena kālātmajātmajaḥ | sva-dharmān pṛishṭhataḥ kṛitvā kāmāl lobheshv avarttata | maryādāṁ sthāpayāmāsa dharmāpetāṁ sa pārthivaḥ | veda-dharmān atikramya so 'dharma-nirato 'bhavat | niḥ-svādhyāya-vashaṭkārās tasmin rājani śāsati | prāvarttan na papuḥ somaṁ hutaṁ yajneshu devatāḥ | "na yashṭavyaṁ na hotavyaṁ" iti tasya prajāpateḥ | āsīt pratijnā krūreyaṁ vināśe samupasthite | aham ijyaś cha yashṭā cha yajnaś cheti kurūdvaha | "mayi yajnāḥ vidhātavyāḥ mayi hotavyam" ity api | tam atikrānta-maryādam ādadānam asāmpratam | ūchur maharshayaḥ sarve Marīchi-pramukhās tadā | "vayaṁ dīkshāṁ pravekshyāmaḥ saṁvatsara-gaṇān bahūn | adharmaṁ kuru mā Vena naisha dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ | anvaye 'treḥ prasūtas tvam prajāpatir asaṁśayam | 'prajāś cha pālayishye 'ham' iti te samayaḥ kṛitaḥ" | tāṁs tathā bruvataḥ sarvān maharshīn abravīt tadā | Venaḥ prahasya durbuddhir imam artham anartha-vit | Venaḥ uvācha | "srashṭā dharmasya kaś chānyaḥ śrotavyaṁ kasya vā mayā | śruta-vīrya-tapaḥ-satyair mayā vā kaḥ samo bhuvi | prabhavaṁ sarva-bhūtānāṁ dharmāṇāṁ cha viśeshataḥ | sammūḍhāḥ na vidur nūnam bhavanto mām achetasaḥ | ichhan daheyam pṛithivīm plāvayeyaṁ jalais tathā | dyām bhuvaṁ chaiva rundheyaṁ nātra kāryā vichāraṇā" | yadā na śakyate mohād avalepāch cha pārthivaḥ | anunetum tadā Venas tataḥ kruddhāḥ maharshayaḥ | nigṛihya tam mahātmāno visphurantam mahā-balam | tato 'sya savyam ūrum te mamanthur jāta-manyavaḥ | tasmiṁs tu mathyamāne vai rājnaḥ ūrau vijajnivān | hrasvo 'timātraḥ purushaḥ kṛishṇaś chāpi babhūva ha | sa bhītaḥ prānjalir bhūtvā sthitavān Janamejaya | tam Atrir vihvalaṁ dṛishṭvā nishīdety abravīt tadā | nishāda-vaṁśa-karttā 'sau babhūva vadatāṁ vara | dhīvarān asṛijach chāpi Vena-kalmasha-sambhavān | ye chānye Vindhya-nilayās Tukhārās Tumburās tathā | adharma-ruchayas tāta viddhi tān Vena-sambhavān | tataḥ punar mahātmānaḥ pāṇiṁ Venasya dakshiṇam | araṇīm iva saṁrabdhāḥ mamanthur jāta-manyavaḥ | Pṛithus tasmāt samuttasthau karāj jvalana-sannibhaḥ | dīpyamanaḥ sva-vapushā sākshād Agnir iva jvalan |

"There was formerly a Prajāpati (lord of creatures), a protector of

righteousness, called Anga, of the race of Atri, and resembling him in power. His son was the Prajāpati Vena, who was but indifferently skilled in duty, and was born of Sunīthā, the daughter of Mṛityu. This son of the daughter of Kāla (Death), owing to the taint derived from his maternal grandfather, threw his duties behind his back, and lived in covetousness under the influence of desire. This king established an irreligious system of conduct: transgressing the ordinances of the Veda, he was devoted to lawlessness. In his reign men lived without study of the sacred books and without the vashaṭkāra, and the gods had no Soma-libations to drink at sacrifices. 'No sacrifice or oblation shall be offered,'—such was the ruthless determination of that Prajāpati, as the time of his destruction approached. 'I,' he declared, 'am the object, and the performer of sacrifice, and the sacrifice itself: it is to me that sacrifice should be presented, and oblations offered.' This transgressor of the rules of duty, who arrogated to himself what was not his due, was then addressed by all the great rishis, headed by Marīchi: 'We are about to consecrate ourselves for a ceremony which shall last for many years: practise not unrighteousness, o Vena: this is not the eternal rule of duty. Thou art in very deed a Prajāpati of Atri's race, and thou hast engaged to protect thy subjects.' The foolish Vena, ignorant of what was right, laughingly answered those great rishis who had so addressed him: 'Who but myself is the ordainer of duty? or whom ought I to obey? Who on earth equals me in sacred knowledge, in prowess, in austere fervour, in truth? Ye who are deluded and senseless know not that I am the source of all beings and duties. Hesitate not to believe that I, if I willed, could burn up the earth, or deluge it with water, or close up heaven and earth.' When owing to his delusion and arrogance Vena could not be governed, then the mighty rishis becoming incensed, seized the vigorous and struggling king, and rubbed his left thigh. From this thigh, so rubbed, was produced a black man, very short in stature, who, being alarmed, stood with joined hands. Seeing that he was agitated, Atri said to him 'Sit down' (*nishīda*). He became the founder of the race of the Nishādas, and also progenitor of the Dhīvaras (fishermen), who sprang from the corruption of Vena. So too were produced from him the other inhabitants of the Vindhya range, the Tukhāras, and Tumburas, who are prone to lawlessness. Then the mighty sages, excited and incensed, again rubbed

the right hand of Vena, as men do the *araṇi* wood, and from it arose Pṛithu, resplendent in body, glowing like the manifested Agni."

Although the Harivaṁśa declares Vena to be a descendant of Atri, yet as the Prajāpati Atri is said in a previous section to have adopted Uttānapāda, Vena's ancestor, for his son (Hariv. sect. 2, verse 60, *Uttānapādaṁ jagrāha putram Atriḥ prajāpatiḥ*) there is no contradiction between the genealogy given here and in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

The story of Vena is told in the same way, but more briefly, in the Mahābhārata, S'āntip. sect. 59. After narrating the birth of Pṛithu, the writer proceeds, verse 2221:

Tatas tu prānjalir Vainyo maharshīṁs tān uvācha ha | "*susūkshmā me samutpannā buddhir dharmārtha-darśinī* | *anayā kim mayā kāryyaṁ tad me tattvena śaṁsata* | *yad māṁ bhavanto vakshyanti kāryam artha-samanvitam* | *tad ahaṁ vai karishyāmi nātra kāryā vichāraṇā*" | *tam ūchus tattra devās te te chaiva paramarshayaḥ* | "*niyato yattra dharme vai tvam aśankaḥ samāchara* | *priyāpriye parityajya samaḥ sarveshu jantushu* | *kāma-krodhau cha lobhaṁ cha mānaṁ chotsṛijya dūrataḥ* | *yaś cha dharmāt parichalel loke kaśchana mānavaḥ* | *nigrāhyās te sva-bāhubhyāṁ śaśvad dharmam avekshatā* | *pratijnāṁ chādhirohasva manasā karmaṇā girā* | '*pālayishyāmy aham bhaumam brahma*' *ity eva chāsakṛit* | . . . . *adaṇḍyāḥ me dvijāś cheti pratijānīhi he vibho* | *lokaṁ cha sankarāt kṛitsnaṁ trātāsmīti parantapa*" | *Vainyas tatas tān uvācha devān ṛishi-purogamān* | "*brāhmaṇāḥ me mahābhāgāḥ namasyāḥ purusharshabhāḥ*" | "*evam astv*" *iti Vainyas tu tair ukto brahmavādibhiḥ* | *purodhāś chābhavat tasya S'ukro brahmamayo nidhiḥ* | *mantriṇo Bālakhilyāś cha Sārasvatyo gaṇas tathā* | *maharshir bhagavān Gargas tasya sāṁvatsaro 'bhavat* |

"The son of Vena (Pṛithu) then, with joined hands, addressed the great rishis: 'A very slender understanding for perceiving the principles of duty has been given to me by nature: tell me truly how I must employ it. Doubt not that I shall perform whatever you shall declare to me as my duty, and its object.' Then those gods and great rishis said to him: 'Whatever duty is enjoined perform it without hesitation, disregarding what thou mayest like or dislike, looking on all creatures with an equal eye, putting far from thee lust, anger, cupidity, and pride. Restrain by the strength of thine arm all those men who swerve from righteousness, having a constant regard to duty. And in thought, act, and word take upon thyself, and continually renew, the

engagement to protect the terrestrial Brâhmăn (Veda, or Brāhmans?)' .... And promise that thou wilt exempt the Brāhmans from punishment, and preserve society from the confusion of castes.' The son of Vena then replied to the gods, headed by the rishis: 'The great Brāhmans, the chief of men, shall be reverenced by me.' 'So be it,' rejoined those declarers of the Veda. Śukra, the depository of divine knowledge, became his purohita; the Bālakhilyas and Sārasvatyas his ministers; and the venerable Garga, the great rishi, his astrologer."

The character and conduct of Pṛithu, as pourtrayed in the last passage presents a strong, and when regarded from a Brahmanical point of view, an edifying, contrast to the contempt of priestly authority and disregard of Vedic observances which his predecessor had shewn.

In legends like that of Vena we see, I think, a reflection of the questions which were agitating the religious world of India at the period when the Purāṇas in which they appear were compiled, viz., those which were then at issue between the adherents of the Veda, and the various classes of their opponents, Bauddha, Jaina, Chārvāka, etc. These stories were no doubt written with a purpose. They were intended to deter the monarchs contemporary with the authors from tampering with those heresies which had gained, or were gaining, circulation and popularity, by the example of the punishment which, it was pretended, had overtaken the princes who had dared to deviate from orthodoxy in earlier times. Compare the account given of the rise of heretical doctrines in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (pp. 209 ff. vol. iii. of Dr. Hall's edition of Professor Wilson's translation), which the writer no doubt intended to have something more than a merely historical interest.

The legend of Vena is told at greater length, but with no material variation in substance, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, iv. sections 13–15. See also Professor Wilson's note in his Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i. in loco.

In ascribing to Vena an irreligious character and a contempt for the priests, the Purāṇas contradict a verse in the Rig-veda x. 93, 14, in which (unless we suppose a different individual to be there meant) Vena is celebrated along with Duḥśīma, Pṛithavāna, and Rāma for his conspicuous liberality to the author of the hymn (*pra tad Duḥśīme Pṛithavāne Vene pra Rāme vocham asure maghavatsu | ye yuktvāya pancha śatā asmayu pathā viśrāvi eshām*). The two other passages,

viii. 9, 10, and x. 148, 5, in which he is alluded to as the father of Pṛithu have been quoted above, p. 268.

I observe that a Vena, called Bhārgava (or a descendant of Bhṛigu), is mentioned in the list of traditional authors of hymns, given at the end of Professor Aufrecht's Rig-veda, vol. ii., as the rishi of R.V. ix. 85, and x. 123.

Sect. III.—*Legend of Purūravas.*

Purūravas has been already alluded to (in pp. 158, 221, 226, 268, and 279 f.) as the son of Iḍa (or Iḍā), and the grandson of Manu Vaivasvata; as the author of the triple division of the sacred fire; and as a royal rishi. We have also seen (p. 172) that in Rig-veda i. 31, 4, he is referred to as *sukṛite*, a "beneficent," or "pious," prince. Rig-veda x. 95 is considered to contain a dialogue between him and the Apsaras Urvaśī (see above, p. 226). In verse 7 of that hymn the gods are alluded to as having strengthened Purūravas for a great conflict for the slaughter of the Dasyus (*mahe yat tvā Purūravo raṇāya avarddhayan dasyu-hatyāya devāḥ*); and in the 18th verse he is thus addressed by his patronymic: *Iti tvā devāḥ ime āhur Aiḷa yathā īm etad bhavasi mṛityubandhuḥ | prajā te devān havishā yajāti svarge u tvam api mādayāse* | "Thus say these gods to thee, o son of Iḷa, that thou art indeed nothing more than a kinsman of death: (yet) let thy offspring worship the gods with an oblation, and thou also shalt rejoice in heaven."

It thus appears that in the Vedic hymns and elsewhere Purūravas is regarded as a pious prince, and Manu does not include him in his list of those who resisted the Brāhmans. But the M. Bh., Ādiparvan 3143 speaks of him as follows:

Purūravās tato vidvān Ilāyāṁ samapadyata | sā vai tasyābhavad mātā pitā chaiveti naḥ śrutam | trayodaśa samudrasya dvīpān aśnan Purūravāḥ | amānushair vṛitaḥ sarvair mānushaḥ san mahāyaśāḥ | vipraiḥ sa vigrahaṁ chakre vīryyonmattaḥ Purūravāḥ | jahāra cha sa viprāṇām ratnāny utkrośatām api | Sanatkumāras taṁ rājan Brahma-lokād upetya ha | anudarśaṁ tataś chakre pratyagṛihṇād na chāpy asau | tato maharshibhiḥ kruddhaiḥ sadyaḥ śapto vyanaśyata | lobhānvito bala-madād nashṭa-sanjno narādhipaḥ | sa hi gandharva-loka-sthān Urvaśyā sahito virāṭ | ānināya kriyārthe 'gnīn yathāvad vihitāṁs tridhā |

"Subsequently the wise Purūravas was born of Ilā, who, as we have heard, was both his father and his mother. Ruling over thirteen islands of the ocean, and surrounded by beings who were all superhuman, himself a man of great renown, Purūravas, intoxicated by his prowess, engaged in a conflict with the Brāhmans, and robbed them of their jewels, although they loudly remonstrated. Sanatkumāra came from Brahmā's heaven, and addressed to him an admonition, which, however, he did not regard. Being then straightway cursed by the incensed rishis, he perished, this covetous monarch, who, through pride of power, had lost his understanding. This glorious being (*virāṭ*), accompanied by Urvaśī, brought down for the performance of sacred rites the fires which existed in the heaven of the Gandharvas, properly distributed into three." (See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, 4to. ed. pp. 350 and 394 ff. with note p. 397.)

I cite from the Harivaṁśa another passage regarding Purūravas, although no distinct mention is made in it of his contest with the Brāhmans:

Harivaṁśa 8811. *Pitā Budhasyottama-vīrya-karmā Purūravāḥ yasya suto nṛi-devaḥ | prāṇāgnir īḍyo 'gniṁ ajījanad yo nashṭaṁ śamī-garbha-bhavam bhavātmā | tathaiva paśchāch chakame mahātmā purorvaśīm apsarasāṁ varishṭhām | pītaḥ purā yo 'mṛita-sarva-deho muni-pravīrair vara-gātri-ghoraiḥ | nṛipaḥ kuśāgraiḥ punar eva yaś cha dhīmān kṛito 'gnir divi pūjyate cha |*

"He (the Moon) was the father of Budha (Mercury), whose son was Purūravas, a god among men, of distinguished heroic deeds, the vital fire, worthy of adoration, the generator, who begot the lost fire which sprang from the heart of the śamī-wood, the great personage, who, placed to the west, loved Urvaśī, the paragon of Apsarases, who was placed to the east. This king with his entire immortal body was formerly swallowed up with the points of Kuśa grass by the munis terrible with their resplendent forms; but was again made wise, and is worshipped in heaven as fire."

Sect. IV.—*Story of Nahusha.*

The legend of Nahusha,[86] grandson of Purūravas (see above, p. 226),

[86] The name of Nahush occurs in the Rig-veda as that of the progenitor of a race.

the second prince described by Manu as having come into hostile collision with the Brāhmans is narrated with more or less detail in different parts of the Mahābhārata, as well as in the Purāṇas. The following passage is from the former work, Ādip. 3151:

Āyusho Nahushaḥ putro dhīmān satya-parākramaḥ | rājyaṁ śaśāsa sumahad dharmeṇa pṛithivīpate | pitṛīn devān ṛishīn viprān gandharvoraga-rākshasān | Nahushaḥ pālayāmāsa brahma kshattram atho viśaḥ | sa hatvā dasyu-sanghātān ṛishīn karam adāpayat | paśuvach chaiva tān pṛishṭhe vāhayāmāsa vīryyavān | kārayāmāsa chendratvam abhibhūya divaukasaḥ | tejasā tapasā chaiva vikrameṇaujasā tathā |

"Nahusha the son of Āyus, wise, and of genuine prowess, ruled with justice a mighty empire. He protected the pitṛis, gods, rishis, wise men, gandharvas, serpents (*uraga*), and rākshasas, as well as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas. This energetic prince, after slaying the hosts of the Dasyus, compelled the rishis to pay tribute, and made them carry him like beasts upon their backs. After subduing the celestials he conquered for himself the rank of Indra, through his vigour, austere fervour, valour and fire."

The story is thus introduced in another part of the same work, the Vanaparvan, section 180. Yudhishṭhira found his brother Bhīmasena seized by a serpent in a forest (see above, p. 133). This serpent, it appears, was no other than king Nahusha, who on being questioned thus relates his own history:

Nahusho nāma rājā 'ham āsam pūrvas tavānagha | prathitaḥ panchamaḥ Somād Āyoḥ putro narādhipa | kratubhis tapasā chaiva svādhyāyena damena cha | trailokyaiśvaryam avyagram prāpto 'haṁ vikrameṇa cha | tad aiśvaryyaṁ samāsādya darpo mām agamat tadā | sahasraṁ hi dvijātīnām uvāha śivikām mama | aiśvaryya-mada-matto 'ham avamanya tato dvijān | imām Agastyena daśām ānītaḥ pṛithivīpate | . . . . ahaṁ hi divi divyena vimānena charan purā | abhimānena mattaḥ san kanchid nānyam achintayam | brahmarshi-deva-gandharva-yaksha-rākshasa-pannagāḥ | karān mama prayachhanti sarve trailokya-vāsinaḥ | chakshushā yam prapaśyāmi prāṇinam pṛithivīpate | tasya tejo harāmy āśu tad hi drishṭer balam mama | maharshīṇām sahasraṁ hi uvāha śivikām mama |

See above, p. 165, note 7, and pp. 179 f. Nahusha Mānava is the traditional rishi of Rig-veda ix. 101, verses 7–9, and Yayāti Nāhusha of verses 4–6 of the same hymn. See list of rishis in Professor Aufrecht's Rig-veda ii. 464 ff.

sa mām apanayo rājan bhramśayāmāsa vai śriyaḥ | tatra hy Agastyaḥ pādena vahan spṛishṭo mayā muniḥ | Agastyena tato 'smy ukto dhvamsa sarpeti vai rushā | tatas tasmād vimānāgryāt prachyutaś chyuta-lakshaṇaḥ | prapatan bubudhe 'tmānaṁ vyālībhūtam adhomukham | ayācham tam ahaṁ vipraṁ "śāpasyānto bhaved" iti | "pramādāt sampramūḍhasya bhagavan kshantum arhasi" | tataḥ sa mām uvāchedam prapatantaṁ kṛipānvitaḥ | "Yudhishṭhiro dharma-rājaḥ śāpāt tvām mochayishyati" | . . . . ity uktvā 'jagaraṁ deham muktvā na Nahusho nṛipaḥ | divyaṁ vapuḥ samāsthāya gatas tridivam eva cha |

"I was a king called Nahusha, more ancient than thou, known as the son of Āyus, and fifth in descent from Soma. By my sacrifices, austere fervour, sacred study, self-restraint, and valour, I acquired the undisturbed sovereignty of the three worlds. When I had attained that dominion, pride took possession of my soul: a thousand Brāhmans bore my vehicle. Becoming intoxicated by the conceit of my lordly power, and contemning the Brāhmans, I was reduced to this condition by Agastya." The serpent then promises to let Bhīmasena go, if Yudhishṭhira will answer certain questions (above referred to in p. 133 ff.). Yudhishṭhira afterwards enquires how delusion had happened to take possession of so wise a person as their conversation shewed Nahusha to be. The latter replies that he had been perverted by the pride of power, and proceeds: "Formerly, as I moved through the sky on a celestial car, intoxicated with self-conceit, I regarded no one but myself. All the inhabitants of the three worlds, brāhmanical rishis, gods, gandharvas, yakshas, rākshasas, pannagas, paid me tribute. Such was the power of my gaze that on what creature soever I fixed my eyes, I straightway robbed him of his energy. A thousand of the great sages bore my vehicle. That misconduct it was, o king, which hurled me from my high estate. For I then touched with my foot the muni Agastya who was carrying me. Agastya in his wrath cried out to me 'Fall, thou serpent.' Hurled therefore from that magnificent car, and fallen from my prosperity, as I descended headlong, I felt that I had become a serpent. I entreated the Brāhman (Agastya), 'Let there be a termination of the curse: thou, o reverend rishi, shouldest forgive one who has been deluded through his inconsideration.' He then compassionately replied to me as I fell, 'Yudhishṭhira, the king of righteousness, will free thee from the curse.'" And at the close of the

conversation between Yudhishṭhira and the serpent, we are told that "King Nahusha, throwing of his huge reptile form, became clothed in a celestial body, and ascended to heaven."

The same story is related in greater detail in the Udyogaparvan, sections 10–16, as follows:

After his slaughter of the demon Vṛittra, Indra became alarmed at the idea of having taken the life of a Brāhman (for Vṛittra was regarded as such), and hid himself in the waters. In consequence of the disappearance of the king of the gods, all affairs, celestial as well as terrestrial, fell into confusion. The rishis and gods then applied to Nahusha to be their king. After at first excusing himself on the plea of want of power, Nahusha at length, in compliance with their solicitations, accepted the high function. Up to the period of his elevation he had led a virtuous life, but he now became addicted to amusement and sensual pleasure; and even aspired to the possession of Indrāṇī, Indra's wife, whom he had happened to see. The queen resorted to the Angiras Vṛihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, who engaged to protect her. Nahusha was greatly incensed on hearing of this interference; but the gods endeavoured to pacify him, and pointed out the immorality of appropriating another person's wife. Nahusha, however, would listen to no remonstrance, and insisted that in his adulterous designs he was no worse than Indra himself: 373. *Ahalyā dharshitā pūrvam ṛishi-patnī yaśasvinī | jīvato bharttur Indreṇa sa vaḥ kiṁ na nivāritaḥ* | 374. *Bahūni cha nṛiśaṁsāni kṛitānīndreṇa vai purā | vaidharmyāṇy upadāś chaiva sa vaḥ kiṁ na nivāritaḥ* | "373. The renowned Ahalyā, a rishi's wife, was formerly corrupted by Indra in her husband's lifetime (see p. 121 f.): Why was he not prevented by you? 374. And many barbarous acts, and unrighteous deeds, and frauds, were perpetrated of old by Indra: Why was he not prevented by you?" The gods, urged by Nahusha, then went to bring Indrāṇī; but Vṛihaspati would not give her up. At his recommendation, however, she solicited Nahusha for some delay, till she should ascertain what had become of her husband. This request was granted. The gods next applied to Vishṇu on behalf of Indra; and Vishṇu promised that if Indra would sacrifice to him, he should be purged from his guilt, and recover his dominion, while Nahusha would be destroyed. Indra sacrified accordingly; and the result is thus told: 419. *Vibhajya brahma-hatyām tu vṛiksheshu*

cha nadīshu cha | parvateshu prithivyām cha strīshu chaiva Yudhishṭhira | sa vibhajya cha bhūteshu visṛijya cha sureśvaraḥ | vijvaro dhuta-pāpmā cha Vāsavo 'bhavad ātmavān | "Having divided the guilt of brahmanicide among trees, rivers, mountains, the earth, women, and the elements, Vāsava (Indra), lord of the gods, became freed from suffering and sin, and self-governed." Nahusha was by this means shaken from his place. But (unless this is said by way of prolepsis, or there is some confusion in the narrative) he must have speedily regained his position, as we are told that Indra was again ruined, and became invisible. Indrāṇī now went in search of her husband; and by the help of Upaśruti (the goddess of night and revealer of secrets) discovered him existing in a very subtile form in the stem of a lotus growing in a lake situated in a continent within an ocean north of the Himālaya. She made known to him the wicked intentions of Nahusha, and entreated him to exert his power, rescue her from danger, and resume his dominion. Indra declined any immediate interposition on the plea of Nahusha's superior strength; but suggested to his wife a device by which the usurper might be hurled from his position. She was recommended to say to Nahusha that "if he would visit her on a celestial vehicle borne by rishis, she would with pleasure submit herself to him" (449. *Ṛishi-yānena divyena mām upaihi jagatpate | evam tava vaśe prītā bhavishyāmīti tam vada*). The queen of the gods accordingly went to Nahusha, by whom she was graciously received, and made this proposal: 457. *Ichhāmy aham athāpūrvam vāhanam te surādhipa | yad na Vishṇor na Rudrasya nāsurāṇām na rākshāsām | vahantu tvām mahābhāgāḥ rishayaḥ sangatāḥ vibho | sarve śivikayā rājann etad hi mama rochate* | "I desire for thee, king of the gods, a vehicle hitherto unknown, such as neither Vishṇu, nor Rudra, nor the asuras, nor the rakshases employ. Let the eminent rishis, all united, bear thee, lord, in a car: this idea pleases me." Nahusha receives favourably this appeal to his vanity, and in the course of his reply thus gives utterance to his self-congratulation: 463. *Na hy alpa-vīryo bhavati yo vāhān kurute munīn | aham tapasvī balavān bhūta-bhavya-bhavat-prabhuḥ | mayi kruddhe jagad na syād mayi sarvam pratishṭhitam | . . . . tasmāt te vachanam devi karishyāmi na saṁśayaḥ | saptarshayo mām vakshyanti sarve brahmarshayas tathā | paśya māhātmyam asmākam ṛiddhim cha varavarṇini |* . . . . 468. *Vimāne yojayitvā sa ṛishīn niyamam āsthitān | abrahmaṇyo*

balopeto matto mada-balena cha | kāma-vṛittaḥ sa dushṭātmā vāhayāmāsa tān ṛishīn | "He is a personage of no mean prowess who makes the munis his bearers. I am a fervid devotee of great might, lord of the past, the future, and the present. If I were angry the world would no longer stand; on me everything depends. . . . . Wherefore, o goddess, I shall, without doubt, carry out what you propose. The seven rishis, and all the brāhman-rishis, shall carry me. Behold, beautiful goddess, my majesty and my prosperity." The narrative goes on: "Accordingly this wicked being, irreligious, violent, intoxicated by the force of conceit, and arbitrary in his conduct, attached to his car the rishis, who submitted to his commands, and compelled them to bear him." Indrāṇī then again resorts to Vṛihaspati, who assures her that vengeance will soon overtake Nahusha for his presumption; and promises that he will himself perform a sacrifice with a view to the destruction of the oppressor, and the discovery of Indra's lurking place. Agni is then sent to discover and bring Indra to Vṛihaspati; and the latter, on Indra's arrival, informs him of all that had occured during his absence. While Indra, with Kuvera, Yama, Soma, and Varuṇa, was devising means for the destruction of Nahusha, the sage Agastya came up, congratulated Indra on the fall of his rival, and proceeded to relate how it had occurred: 527. *Srāntārttāścha vahantas tam Nahusham pāpakāriṇam | devarshayo mahābhāgas tathā brahmarshayo 'malāḥ | paprachhur Nahusham devam saṁśayaṁ jayatāṁ vara | ye ime brāhmaṇāḥ proktāḥ mantrāḥ vai prokshaṇe gavām | ete pramāṇam bhavataḥ utāho neti Vāsava | Nahusho neti tān āha tamasā mūḍha-chetanaḥ | ṛishayaḥ ūchuḥ | adharme sampravṛitas tvaṁ dharmaṁ na pratipadyase | pramāṇam etad asmākam pūrvam proktam maharshibhiḥ | Agastyaḥ uvācha | Tato vivadamānah sa munibhiḥ saha Vāsava | atha mām aspṛiśad mūrdhni pādenādharma-pīḍitaḥ | tenābhūd hata-tejāś cha niḥśrīkaś cha mahīpatiḥ | tatas taṁ sahasā vignam avocham bhaya-pīḍitam | "yasmāt pūrvaiḥ kṛitam brahma brahmarshibhir anushṭhitam | adushṭaṁ dūshayasi vai yach cha mūdhny aspṛiśaḥ padā | yach chāpi tvam ṛishīn mūḍha brahma-kalpān durāsadān | vāhān kṛitvā vāhayasi tena svargād hata-prabhaḥ | dhvaṁsa pāpa paribhrashṭaḥ kshīṇa-puṇyo mahītalam | daśa-varsha-sahasrāṇi sarpa-rūpa-dharo mahān | vicharishyasi pūrṇeshu punaḥ svargam avāpsyasi" | evam bhrashṭo durātmā sa deva-rājyād arindama | dishṭyā vardhāmahe śakra hato brāhmaṇa-kaṇ-*

takaḥ | *tripishṭapam prapadyasva pāhi lokān śachīpate* | *jetendriyo jitāmitraḥ stūyamāno maharshibhiḥ* | "Wearied with carrying the sinner Nahusha, the eminent divine-rishis, and the spotless brāhman-rishis, asked that divine personage Nahusha [to solve] a difficulty: 'Dost thou, o Vāsava, most excellent of conquerors, regard as authoritative or not those Brāhmaṇa texts which are recited at the immolation of kine?' 'No,' replied Nahusha, whose understanding was enveloped in darkness. The rishis rejoined: 'Engaged in unrighteousness, thou attainest not unto righteousness: these texts, which were formerly uttered by great rishis, are regarded by us as authoritative.' Then (proceeds Agastya) disputing with the munis, Nahusha, impelled by unrighteousness, touched me on the head with his foot. In consequence of this the king's glory was smitten and his prosperity departed. When he had instantly become agitated and oppressed with fear, I said to him, 'Since thou, o fool, contemnest that sacred text, always held in honour, which has been composed by former sages, and employed by brāhman-rishis, and hast touched my head with thy foot, and employest the Brahmā-like and irresistible rishis as bearers to carry thee,—therefore, shorn of thy lustre, and all thy merit exhausted, sink down, sinner, degraded from heaven to earth. For ten thousand years thou shalt crawl in the form of a huge serpent. When that period is completed, thou shalt again ascend to heaven.' So fell that wicked wretch from the sovereignty of the gods. Happily, o Indra, we shall now prosper, for the enemy of the Brāhmans has been smitten. Take possession of the three worlds, and protect their inhabitants, o husband of Śachī (Indrāṇī), subduing thy senses, overcoming thine enemies, and celebrated by the great rishis."[86]

Indra, as we have seen above, was noted for his dissolute character. The epithet "subduing thy senses," assigned to him in the last sentence by Agastya, is at variance with this indifferent reputation. Is it to be regarded as a piece of flattery, or as a delicate hint that the god would do well to practise a purer morality in future?

This legend appears, like some others, to have been a favourite with the compilers of the Mahābhārata; for we find it once more related, though with some variety of detail, (which may justify its repetition in

[86] Further on, in verse 556, Nahusha is called "the depraved, the hater of brahman, the sinful-minded (*durāchāraś cha Nahusho brahma-dviṭ pāpachetanaḥ*).

a condensed form), in the Anuśāsanaparvan, verses 4745–4810. We are there told that Nahusha, in recompense for his good deeds, was exalted to heaven; where he continued to perform all divine and human ceremonies, and to worship the gods as before. At length he became puffed up with pride at the idea that he was Indra, and all his good works in consequence were neutralized. For a great length of time he compelled the rishis to carry him about. At last it came to Agastya's turn to perform the servile office. Bhṛigu then came and said to Agastya, 'Why do we submit to the insults of this wicked king of the gods?' Agastya answered that none of the rishis had ventured to curse Nahusha, because he had obtained the power of subduing to his service everyone upon whom he fixed his eyes; and that he had *amṛita* (nectar) for his beverage. However, Agastya said he was prepared to do anything that Bhṛigu might suggest. Bhṛigu said he had been sent by Brahmā to take vengeance on Nahusha, who was that day about to attach Agastya to his car, and would spurn him with his foot; and that he himself (Bhṛigu), "incensed at this insult, would by a curse condemn the transgressor and hater of Brāhmans to become a serpent" (*vyutkrānta-dharmaṁ tam ahaṁ dharshaṇāmarshito bhṛiśam | ahir bhavasveti rushā śapsye pāpaṁ dvija-druham*). All this accordingly happened as follows:

Athāgastyam ṛishi-śreshṭham vāhanāyājuhāva ha | drutaṁ Sarasvatī-kūlāt smayann iva mahābalaḥ | tato Bhṛigur mahātejāḥ Maitrāvaruṇim abravīt | "nimīlayasva nayane jaṭāṁ yāvad viśāmi te" | sthāṇubhūtasya tasyātha jaṭām prāviśad achyutaḥ | Bhṛiguḥ sa sumahātejāḥ pātanāya nṛipasya cha | tataḥ sa deva-rāṭ prāptas tam ṛishiṁ vāhanāya vai | tato 'gastyaḥ surapatiṁ vākyam āha viśāmpate | "yojayasveti māṁ kshipraṁ kaṁ cha deśaṁ vahāmi te | yattra vakshyasi tattra tvāṁ nayishyāmi surādhipa" | ity ukto Nahushas tena yojayāmāsa tam munim | Bhṛigus tasya jaṭāntaḥ-stho babhūva hṛishito bhṛiśam | na chāpi darśanaṁ tasya chakāra sa Bhṛigus tadā | vara-dāna-prabhāva-jno Nahushasya mahātmanaḥ | na chukopa tadā 'gastyo yukto 'pi Nahusheṇa vai | taṁ tu rāja pratodena chodayāmāsa Bhārata | na chukopa sa dharmātmā tataḥ pādena deva-rāṭ | Agastyasya tadā kruddho vāmenābhyahanach chhiraḥ | tasmin śirasy abhihate sa jaṭāntargato Bhṛiguḥ | śaśāpa balavat kruddho Nahusham pāpa-chetasam | "yasmāt padā 'hanaḥ krodhāt śirasīmam mahāmunim | tasmād āśu mahīṁ gachha sarpo bhūtvā sudurmate" | ity uktaḥ sa tadā tena

sarpo bhūtvā papāta ha | adṛishṭenātha Bhṛiguṇā bhūtale Bharatarshabha | Bhṛiguñ hi yadi so 'drakshyad Nahushaḥ pṛithivīpate | sa na śakto 'bhavishyad vai pātane tasya tejasā |

"The mighty Nahusha, as it were smiling, straightway summoned the eminent rishi Agastya from the banks of the Sarasvatī to carry him. The glorious Bhṛigu then said to Maitrāvaruṇi (Agastya), 'Close thy eyes whilst I enter into the knot of thy hair.' With the view of overthrowing the king, Bhṛigu then entered into the hair of Agastya who stood motionless as a stock. Nahusha then came to be carried by Agastya, who desired to be attached to the vehicle and agreed to carry the king of the gods whithersoever he pleased. Nahusha in consequence attached him. Bhṛigu, who was lodged in the knot of Agastya's hair, was greatly delighted, but did not venture to look at Nahusha, as he knew the potency of the boon which had been accorded to him (of subduing to his will everyone on whom he fixed his eyes). Agastya did not lose his temper when attached to the vehicle, and even when urged by a goad the holy man remained unmoved. The king of the gods, incensed, next struck the rishi's head with his left foot, when Bhṛigu, invisible within the knot of hair, became enraged, and violently cursed the wicked Nahusha: 'Since, fool, thou hast in thine anger smitten this great muni on the head with thy foot, therefore become a serpent, and fall down swiftly to the earth.' Being thus addressed, Nahusha became a serpent, and fell to the earth, through the agency of Bhṛigu, who remained invisible. For if he had been seen by Nahusha, the saint would have been unable, in consequence of the power possessed by the oppressor, to hurl him to the ground."

Bhṛigu, on Nahusha's solicitation, and the intercession of Agastya, placed a period to the effects of the curse, which, as in the other version of the legend, Yudhishṭhira was to be the instrument of terminating.

From several phrases which I have quoted from the version of this legend given in the Udyogaparvan, as well as the tenor of the whole, it appears to be the intention of the writers to hold up the case of Nahusha as an example of the nemesis awaiting not merely any gross display of presumption, but all resistance to the pretensions of the priesthood, and contempt of their persons or authority.

Sect. V.—*Story of Nimi.*

Nimi (one of Ikshvāku's sons) is another of the princes who are stigmatized by Manu, in the passage above quoted, for their want of deference to the Brāhmans. The Vishṇu P. (Wilson, 4to. ed. p. 388) relates the story as follows: Nimi had requested the Brāhman-rishi Vaśishṭha to officiate at a sacrifice, which was to last a thousand years. Vaśishṭha in reply pleaded a pre-engagement to Indra for five hundred years, but promised to return at the end of that period. The king made no remark, and Vaśishṭha went away, supposing that he had assented to this arrangement. On his return, however, the priest discovered that Nimi had retained Gautama (who was, equally with Vaśishṭha, a Brāhman-rishi) and others to perform the sacrifice; and being incensed at the neglect to give him notice of what was intended, he cursed the king, who was then asleep, to lose his corporeal form. When Nimi awoke and learnt that he had been cursed without any previous warning, he retorted, by uttering a similar curse on Vaśishṭha, and then died. "In consequence of this curse" (proceeds the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 5, 6) "the vigour of Vaśishṭha entered into the vigour of Mitra and Varuṇa. Vaśishṭha, however, received from them another body when their seed had fallen from them at the sight of Urvaśī" (*tach-chhāpāch cha Mitrā-varuṇayos tejasi Vaśishṭha-tejaḥ pravishṭam | Urvaśī-darśanād udbhūta-vīryya-prapātayoḥ sakāśād Vaśishṭho deham aparaṁ lebhe*).[87] Nimi's body was embalmed. At the close of the sacrifice which he had begun, the gods were willing, on the intercession of the priests, to restore him to life, but he declined the offer; and was placed by the deities, according to his desire, in the eyes of all living creatures. It is in consequence of this that they are always opening and shutting (*nimisha* means "the twinkling of the eye").

The story is similarly related in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 13, 1–13. A portion of the passage is as follows:

3. *Nimiś chalam idaṁ vidvān sattram ārabhatātmavān | ṛitvigbhir aparais tāvad nāgamad yāvatā guruḥ | śishya-vyatikramaṁ vīkshya nirvarttya gurur āgataḥ | aśapat "patatād deho Nimeḥ paṇḍita-māninaḥ" | Nimiḥ pratidadau śāpaṁ guruve 'dharma-varttine | "tavāpi patatād deho*

[87] This story will be further illustrated in the next section.

lobhād dharmam ajānataḥ" | *ity utsasarjja svaṁ dehaṁ Nimir adhyātma-kovidaḥ* | *Mitrā-varuṇayor jajne Urvaśyām prapitāmahaḥ* |

"Nimi, who was self-controlled, knowing the world to be fleeting, commenced the sacrifice with other priests until his own spiritual instructor should come back. The latter, on his return, discovering the transgression of his disciple, cursed him thus: 'Let the body of Nimi, who fancies himself learned, fall from him.' Nimi retorted the curse on his preceptor, who was acting unrighteously: 'Let thy body also fall from thee, since thou, through coveteousness, art ignorant of duty.' Having so spoken, Nimi, who knew the supreme spirit, abandoned his body: and the patriarch (Vaśishṭha) was born of Urvaśī to Mitra and Varuṇa."[88]

The offence of Nimi, as declared in these passages, is not that of contemning the sacerdotal order in general, or of usurping their functions; but merely of presuming to consult his own convenience by proceeding to celebrate a sacrifice with the assistance of another Brāhman (for Gautama also was a man of priestly descent) when his own spiritual preceptor was otherwise engaged, without giving the latter any notice of his intention. The Bhāgavata, as we have seen, awards blame impartially to both parties, and relates (as does also the Vishṇu Purāṇa) that the king's curse took effect on the Brāhman, as well as the Brāhman's on the king.

Sect. VI.—*Vasishṭha*

One of the most remarkable and renowned of the struggles between Brāhmans and Kshattriyas which occur in the legendary history of India is that which is said to have taken place between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra. I propose to furnish full details of this conflict with its fabulous accompaniments from the Rāmāyaṇa, which dwells upon it at considerable length, as well as from the Mahābhārata, where it is repeatedly

[88] On the last verse the commentator S'rīdhara has the following note: *Urvaśī-darśanāt skannaṁ retas tābhyāṁ kumbhe nishiktam* | *tasmāt prapitāmaho Vaśishṭho jajne* | *tathā cha śrutiḥ "kumbhe retaḥ sishichituḥ samānam" iti* | "Seed fell from them at the sight of Urvaśī and was shed into a jar: from it the patriarch, Vaśishṭha, was born. And so says the śruti" (R.V. vii. 33, 13, which will be quoted in the next section).

introduced; but before doing so, I shall quote the passages of the Rig-veda which appear to throw a faint light on the real history of the two rivals. It is clear from what has been said in the Introduction to this volume, pp. 1–6, as well as from the remarks I have made in pp. 139 f., that the Vedic hymns, being far more ancient than the Epic and Puranic compilations, must be more trustworthy guides to a knowledge of the remotest Indian antiquity. While the Epic poems and Puranas no doubt embody numerous ancient traditions, yet these have been freely altered according to the caprice or dogmatic views of later writers, and have received many purely fictitious additions. The Vedic hymns, on the contrary, have been preserved unchanged from a very remote period, and exhibit a faithful reflection of the social, religious, and ecclesiastical condition of the age in which they were composed, and of the feelings which were awakened by contemporary occurrences. As yet there was no conscious perversion or colouring of facts for dogmatic or sectarian purposes; and much of the information which we derive from these naïve compositions is the more trustworthy that it is deduced from hints and allusions, and from the comparison of isolated particulars, and not from direct and connected statements or descriptions. It is here therefore, if anywhere, that we may look for some light on the real relations between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra. After quoting the hymns regarding these two personages, I shall adduce from the Brāhmaṇas, or other later works, any particulars regarding their birth and history which I have discovered. The conflict between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra has been already discussed at length in the third of Dr. Rudolf Roth's "Dissertations on the literature and history of the Veda,"[89] where the most important parts of the hymns bearing upon the subject are translated. The first hymn which I shall adduce is intended for the glorification of Vasishṭha and his family. The latter part relates the birth of the sage, while the earlier verses refer to his connection with king Sudās. Much of this hymn is very obscure.

R.V. vii. 33, 1. *Svityancho mā dakshiṇatas-kapardāḥ dhiyañjinvāso abhi hi pramanduḥ | uttishṭhan voce pari barhisho nṛīn na me dūrād avitave Vasishṭhāḥ* | 2. *Dūrād Indram anayann ā sutena tiro vaiśantam ati pāntam ugram | Pāśadyumnasya Vāyatasya somāt sutād Indro avṛiṇīta Vasishṭhān* | 3. *Eva in nu kaṁ sindhum ebhis tatāra eva in nu kam*

[89] Zur Litteratur und Geshichte des Weda. Stuttgart. 1846.

Bhedam ebhir jaghāna | eva in nu kaṁ dāśarājne Sudāsam prāvad Indro brahmaṇā vo Vasishṭhāḥ | 4. Jushṭī naro brahmaṇā vaḥ pitṛīṇām aksham avyayaṁ na kila rishātha | yat śakvarīshu bṛihatā ravena Indre śushmam adadhāta Vasishṭhāḥ | 5. Ud dyām iva it tṛishṇajo nāthitāso adīdhayur dāśarājne vṛitāsaḥ | Vasishṭhasya stuvataḥ Indro aśrod uruṁ Tṛitsubhyo akṛiṇod u lokam | 6. Daṇḍā iva goajanāsaḥ āsan parichhinnāḥ Bharatāḥ arbhakāsaḥ | abhavach cha pura-etā Vasishṭhaḥ ād it Tṛitsūnāṁ viśo aprathanta | 7. Trayaḥ kṛiṇvanti bhuvaneshu retas tisraḥ prajāḥ āryāḥ jyotir-agrāḥ | trayo gharmāsaḥ ushasaṁ sachante sarvān it tān anu vidur Vasishṭhāḥ | 8. Sūryasya iva vakshatho jyotir eshām samudrasya iva mahimā gabhīraḥ | vātasya iva prajavo na anyena stomo Vasishṭhāḥ anu etave vaḥ | 9. Te in niṇyaṁ hṛidayasya praketaiḥ sahasra-valśam abhi saṁ charanti | yamena tatam paridhiṁ vayanto apsarasaḥ upa sedur Vasishṭhāḥ | 10. Vidyuto jyotiḥ pari saṁ jihānam Mitrā-varuṇā yad apaśyatāṁ tvā | tat te janma uta ekaṁ Vasishṭha Agastyo yat tvā viśaḥ ājabhāra | 11. Uta asi Maitrāvaruṇo Vasishṭha Urvaśyāḥ brahman manaso 'dhi jātaḥ | drapsaṁ skannam brahmaṇā daivyena viśve devāḥ pushkare tvā 'dadanta | 12. Sa praketaḥ ubhayasya pravidvān sahasradānaḥ uta vā sadānaḥ | yamena tatam paridhiṁ vayishyann apsarasaḥ pari jajne Vasishṭhaḥ | 13. Sattre ha jātāv ishitā namobhiḥ kumbhe retaḥ sishichatuḥ samānam | tato ha Mānaḥ ud iyāya madhyāt tato jātam ṛishim āhur Vasishṭham |

"1. The white-robed (priests) with hair-knots on the right, stimulating to devotion, have filled me with delight. Rising from the sacrificial grass, I call to the men, 'Let not the Vasishṭhas (stand too) far off to succour [or gladden] me.[90] 2. By their libation they brought Indra hither from afar across the Vaiśanta away from the powerful draught.[91] Indra preferred the Vasishṭhas to the soma offered by Pāśadyumna,[92] the son of Vayata. 3. So too with them he crossed the river; so too with them he slew Bheda; so too in the battle of the ten kings[93] Indra delivered Sudās through your prayer, o Vasishṭhas.

[90] Sāyaṇa thinks that Vasishṭha is the speaker, and refers here to his own sons. Professor Roth (under the word *av*) regards Indra as the speaker. May it not be Sudās?

[91] This is the interpretation of this clause suggested by Professor Aufrecht, who thinks Vaiśanta is probably the name of a river.

[92] According to Sāyaṇa, another king who was sacrificing at the same time as Sudās.

[93] See verses 6–8 of R.V. vii. 83, to be next quoted.

4. Through gratification caused by the prayer of your fathers, o men, ye do not obstruct the undecaying axle (?), since at (the recitation of the) S'akvarī verses[94] with a loud voice ye have infused energy into Indra, o Vasishṭhas. 5. Distressed, when surrounded in the fight of the ten kings, they looked up, like thirsty men, to the sky. Indra heard Vasishṭha when he uttered praise, and opened up a wide space for the Tṛitsus.[95] 6. Like staves for driving cattle, the contemptible Bharatas were lopped all round. Vasishṭha marched in front, and then the tribes of the Tṛitsus were deployed. 7. Three deities create a fertilizing fluid in the worlds. Three are the noble creatures whom light precedes. Three fires attend the dawn.[96] All these the Vasishṭhas know. 8. Their lustre is like the full radiance of the sun; their greatness is like the depth of the ocean; like the swiftness of the wind, your hymn, o Vasishṭhas, can be followed by no one else. 9. By the intuitions of their heart they seek out the mystery with a thousand branches. Weaving the envelopment stretched out by Yama, the Vasishṭhas sat down by the Apsaras. 10. When Mitra and Varuṇa saw thee quitting the flame of the lightning, that was thy birth; and thou hadst one (other birth), o Vasishṭha, when Agastya brought thee to the people. 11. And thou art also a son of Mitra and Varuṇa, o Vasishṭha, born, o priest, from the soul of Urvaśī. All the gods placed thee —a drop which fell through divine contemplation—in the vessel. 12. He, the intelligent, knowing both (worlds?), with a thousand gifts, or with gifts — he who was to weave the envelopment stretched out by Yama — he, Vasishṭha, was born of the Apsaras. 13. They, two (Mitra and Varuṇa?), born at the sacrifice, and impelled by adorations, dropped into the jar the same amount of seed. From the

[94] See R.V. x. 71, 11, above, p. 256.

[95] This is evidently the name of the tribe which the Vasishṭhas favoured, and to which they themselves must have belonged. See vii. 83, 4. The Bharatas in the next verse appear to be the hostile tribe.

[96] In explanation of this Sāyaṇa quotes a passage from the S'āṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa, as follows: "*Trayaḥ kṛiṇvanti bhuvaneshu retaḥ*" *ity Agniḥ pṛithivyām retaḥ kṛiṇoti Vāyur antarikshe Ādityo divi* | "*tisraḥ prajāḥ āryyāḥ jyotir-agrāḥ*" *iti Vasavo Rudrāḥ Ādityās tāsaṁ jyotir yad asāv Ādityaḥ* | "*trayo gharmāsaḥ ushasaṁ sachante*" *ity Agnir Ushasaṁ sachate Vāyur Ushasaṁ sachate Ādityaḥ Ushasaṁ sachate* | (1) "Agni produces a fertilizing fluid on the earth, Vāyu in the air, the Sun in the sky. (2) The 'three noble creatures' are the Vasus, Rudras, and Adityas. The Sun is their light. (3) Agni, Vāyu, and the Sun each attend the Dawn."

midst of that arose Māna (Agastya?); and from that they say that the rishi Vasishṭha sprang."[97]

There is another hymn (R.V. vii. 18) which relates to the connection between Vasishṭha and Sudās (verses 4, 5, 21–25) and the conflict between the latter and the Tṛitsus with their enemies (verses 6–18); but as it is long and obscure I shall content myself with quoting a few verses.[98]

R.V. vii. 18, 4. *Dhenuṁ na tvā suyavase dudhukshann upa brahmāṇi sasṛije Vasishṭhaḥ | tvām id me gopatiṁ viśvaḥ āha ā naḥ Indraḥ sumatiṁ gantu achha* | 5. *Arṇāṁsi chit paprathānā Sudāse Indro gādhāni*

[97] Whatever may be the sense of verses 11 and 13, the Nirukta states plainly enough v. 13; *Tasyāh darśanād Mitrā-varuṇayoḥ retaś chaskanda | tad-abhivādiny eshā ṛig bhavati* | "On seeing her (Urvaśī) the seed of Mitra and Varuṇa fell from them. To this the following verse (R.V. vii. 33, 11) refers." And Sāyaṇa on the same verse quotes a passage from the Bṛihaddevatā: *Tayor ādityayoḥ sattre dṛishṭvā 'psarasam Urvaśīm | retaś chaskanda tat kumbhe nyapatad vāsatīvare | tenaiva tu muhūrttena vīryavantau tapasvinau | Agastyaś cha Vasishṭhaś cha tatrarshī sambabhūvatuḥ | bahudhā patitaṁ retaḥ kalaśe cha jale sthale | sthale Vasishṭhas tu muniḥ sambabhūvārshi-sattamaḥ | kumbhe tv Agastyaḥ sambhūto jale matsyo mahādyutiḥ | udiyāya tato 'gastyo śamyā-mātro mahātapāḥ | mānena sammito yasmāt tasmād Mānyaḥ ihochyate | yadvā kumbhād ṛishir jātaḥ kumbhenāpi hi mīyate | kumbhah ity abhidhānaṁ cha parimāṇasya lakshyate | tato 'psu gṛihyamāṇāsu Vasishṭhaḥ pushkare sthitaḥ | sarvataḥ pushkare taṁ hi viśve devāḥ adhārayan* | "When these two Adityas (Mitra and Varuṇa) beheld the Apsaras Urvaśī at a sacrifice their seed fell from them into the sacrificial jar called *vāsatīvara*. At that very moment the two energetic and austere rishis Agastya and Vasishṭha were produced there. The seed fell on many places, into the jar, into water, and on the ground. The muni Vasishṭha, most excellent of rishis, was produced on the ground; while Agastya was born in the jar, a fish of great lustre. The austere Agastya sprang thence of the size of a *śamyā* (*i.e.* the pin of a yoke; see Wilson, *s.v.*, and Professor Roth, *s.v. māna*). Since he was measured by a certain standard (*māna*) he is called the 'measurable' (*mānya*). Or, the rishi, having sprung from a jar (*kumbha*), is also measured by a jar, as the word *kumbha* is also designated as the name of a measure. Then when the waters were taken, Vasishṭha remained in the vessel (*pushkara*); for all the gods held him in it on all sides." In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 64, Prof. Roth speaks of the verses of the hymn which relate to Vasishṭha's origin as being a more modern addition to an older composition, and as describing the miraculous birth of the sage in the taste and style of the Epic mythology. Professor Max Müller (Oxford Essays for 1856, pp. 61 f.) says that Vasishṭha is a name of the Sun; and that the ancient poet is also "called the son of Mitra and Varuṇa, night and day, an expression which has a meaning only in regard to Vasishṭha, the sun; and as the sun is frequently called the offspring of the dawn, Vasishṭha, the poet, is said to owe his birth to Urvaśī" (whom Müller identifies with Ushas). For M. Langlois's view of the passage, see his French version of the R.V. vol. iii. pp. 79 f. and his note, p. 234.

[98] See Roth's Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, pp. 87 ff. where it is translated into German.

akriṇot supārā | . . . . . 21. *Pra ye gṛihād amamadus tvāyā Parāśaraḥ Satayātur Vasishṭhaḥ* | *na te bhojasya sakhyam mṛishanta adha sūribhyaḥ sudinā vi uchhān* | 22. *Dve naptur Devavataḥ śate gor dvā rathā vadhūmantā Sudāsaḥ* | *arhann Agne Paijavanasya dānam hoteva sadma pari emi rebhan* | 23. *Chatvāro mā Paijavanasya dānāḥ smaddishṭayaḥ kṛiśanino nireke* | *ṛijrāso mā pṛithivishṭhāḥ Sudāsas tokam tokāya śravase vahanti* | 24. *Yasya śravo rodasī antar urvī śīrshṇe śīrshṇe vibabhāja vibhaktā.* | *sapta id Indram na sravato gṛiṇanti ni Yudhyāmadhim aśiśād abhīke* | *imam naro Marutaḥ saśchatānu Divodāsam na pitaram Sudāsaḥ* | *avishṭana Paijavanasya ketam dūṇāśam kshattram ajaram duvoyu* |

"4. Seeking to milk thee (Indra), like a cow in a rich meadow, Vasishṭha sent forth his prayers to thee; for every one tells me that thou art a lord of cows; may Indra come to our hymn. 5. However the waters swelled, Indra made them shallow and fordable to Sudās. . . . . . 21. Parāśara,[99] Satayātu, and Vasishṭha, devoted to thee, who from indifference have left their home, have not forgotten the friendship of thee the bountiful;—therefore let prosperous days dawn for these sages. 22. Earning two hundred cows and two chariots with mares, the gift of Sudās the son of Pijavana, and grandson of Devavat,[100] I walk round the house, o Agni, uttering praises, like a hotṛi priest. 23. The four brown steeds, bestowed by Sudās the son of Pijavana, vigorous, decked with pearls, standing on the ground, carry me on securely to renown from generation to generation. 24. That donor, whose fame pervades both worlds, has distributed gifts to every person. They praise him as the seven rivers[101] praise Indra; he has slain Yudhyāmadhi in battle. 25. Befriend him (Sudās), ye heroic Maruts, as

[99] *Parāśara* is said in Nir. vi. 30, which refers to this passage, to have been a son of Vasishṭha born in his old age (*Parāśaraḥ parāśīrṇasya Vasishṭhasya sthavirasya jajne*); or he was a son of S'akti and grandson of Vasishṭha (Roth *s.v.*)

[100] *Devavat* is said by Sāyana to be a proper name. He may be the same as Divodāsa in verse 25. Or Divodāsa may be the father, and Pijavana and Devavat among the forefathers of Sudās. In the Vishṇu Purāṇa Sarvakāma is said to have been the father and Ṛituparna the grandfather of Sudāsa, Wilson's V.P. 4to. ed. p. 380. At p. 454 f. a Sudāsa is mentioned who was son of Chyavana, grandson of Mitrayu and great-grandson of Divodāsa.

[101] Professor Roth (Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 100) compares R.V. i. 102, 2, *asya śravo nadyaḥ sapta bibhrati*, "the seven rivers exalt his (Indra's) renown." These rivers are, as Roth explains, the streams freed by Indra from Vṛittra's power.

ye did Divodāsa the (fore)father of Sudās; fulfil the desire of the son of Pijavana (by granting him) imperishable, undecaying power, worthy of reverence (?)."

Although the Vasishṭhas are not named in the next hymn, it must refer to the same persons and circumstances as are alluded to in the first portion of R.V. vii. 33, quoted above.

R.V. vii. 83, 1. *Yuvām narā paśyamānāsaḥ āpyam prāchā gavyantaḥ pṛithu-parśavo yayuḥ | dāsā cha vṛittrā hatam āryāṇi cha Sudāsam Indrā-varuṇā 'vasā 'vatam* | 2. *Yatra naraḥ samayante kṛita-dhvajo yasminn ājā bhavati kinchana priyam | yatra bhayante bhuvanā svar-dṛiśas tatra naḥ Indrā-varuṇā 'dhi vochatam* | 3. *Sam bhūmyāḥ antāḥ dhvasirāḥ adṛikshata Indrā-varuṇā divi ghoshaḥ āruhat | asthur janānām upa mām arātayo arvāg avasā havana-śrutā āgatam* | 4. *Indrā-varuṇā vadhanābhir aprati Bhedaṁ vanvantā pra Sudāsam āvatam | brahmāṇi eshāṁ śriṇutaṁ havīmani satyā Tṛitsūnām abhavat purohitiḥ* | 5. *Indrā-varuṇāv abhi ā tapanti mā aghāni aryo vanushām arātayaḥ | yuvāṁ hi vasvaḥ ubhayasya rājatho adha sma no avatam pārye divi* | 6. *Yuvāṁ havante ubhayāsaḥ ājishu Indraṁ cha vasvo Varuṇaṁ cha sātaye | yatra rājabhir daśabhir nibādhitam pra Sudāsam āvataṁ Tṛitsubhiḥ saha* | 7. *Daśa rājānaḥ samitāḥ ayajyavaḥ Sudāsam Indrā-varuṇā na yuyudhuḥ | satyā nṛiṇām adma-sadām upastutir devāḥ eshām abhavan deva-hūtishu* | 8. *Dāśarājne pariyattāya viśvataḥ Sudāse Indra-varuṇāv aśikshatam | śvityancho yatra namasā kaparddino dhiyā dhīvanto asapanta Tṛitsavaḥ* |

"Looking to you, o heroes, to your friendship, the men with broad axes advanced to fight. Slay our Dāsa and our Arya enemies, and deliver Sudās by your succour, o Indra and Varuṇa. 2. In the battle where men clash with elevated banners, where something which we desire[102] is to be found, where all beings and creatures tremble, there, o Indra and Varuṇa, take our part. 3. The ends of the earth were seen to be darkened, o Indra and Varuṇa, a shout ascended to the sky; the foes of my warriors came close up to me; come hither with your help, ye hearers of our invocations. 4. Indra and Varuṇa, unequalled with your weapons, ye have slain Bheda, and delivered Sudās; ye heard the prayers of these men in their invocation; the priestly agency

[102] Sāyaṇa divides the *kinchana* of the Pada-text into *kincha na*, which gives the sense "where nothing is desired, but everything is difficult."

of the Tṛitsus[103] was efficacious. 5. O Indra and Varuṇa, the injurious acts of the enemy, the hostilities of the murderous, afflict me on every side. Ye are lords of the resources of both worlds: protect us therefore (where ye live) in the remotest heavens. 6. Both parties[104] invoke you, both Indra and Varuṇa, in the battles, in order that ye may bestow riches. (They did so in the fight) in which ye delivered Sudās—when harassed by the ten kings—together with the Tṛitsus. 7. The ten kings, who were no sacrificers, united, did not vanquish Sudās, o Indra and Varuṇa. The praises of the men who officiated at the sacrifice were effectual; the gods were present at their invocations. 8. Ye, o Indra and Varuṇa, granted succour to Sudās, hemmed in on every side in the battle of the ten kings,[105] where the white-robed Tṛitsus,[106] with hair-knots, reverentially praying, adored you with a hymn."

From these hymns it appears that Vasishṭha, or a Vasishṭha and his family were the priests of king Sudās (vii. 18, 4 f., 21 ff.; vii. 33, 3 f.); that, in their own opinion, these priests were the objects of Indra's preference (vii. 33, 2), and had by the efficacy of their intercessions been the instruments of the victory gained by Sudās over his enemies in the battle of the ten kings. It seems also to result from some of the verses (vii. 33, 6; vii. 83, 4, 6; and vii. 33, 1, compared with vii. 83, 8) that both the king and the priests belonged to the tribe of the Tṛitsus.[107] Professor Roth remarks that in none of the hymns which

[103] Compare verses 7 and 8. Sāyaṇa, however, translates the clause differently: "The act of the Tṛitsus for whom I sacrificed, and who put me forward as their priest, was effectual: my priestly function on their behalf was successful" (*Tṛitsūnām etat-sanjnānām mama yājyānām purohitir mama purodhānam satyā satya-phalam abhavat | teshu yad mama paurohityam tat saphalam jātam |*

[104] According to Sāyaṇa the two parties were Sudās and the Tṛitsus his allies (*ubhaya-vidhāḥ Sudāḥ-sanjno rājā tat-sahāya-bhūtās Tṛitsavaś cha evam dvi-prakārāḥ janāḥ*). It might have been supposed that one of the parties meant was the hostile kings; but they are said in the next verse to be *ayajyavaḥ*, "persons who did not sacrifice to the gods."

[105] *Dāśarājne.* This word is explained by Sāyaṇa in his note on vii. 33, 3, *daśabhī rājabhiḥ saha yuddhe pravṛitte*, "battle having been joined with ten kings." In the verse before us he says "the lengthening of the first syllable is a Vedic peculiarity, and that the case-ending is altered, and that the word merely means 'by the ten kings'" (*daśa-śabdasya chhāndaso dīrghaḥ | vibhakti-vyatyayaḥ | daśabhī rājabhiḥ . . . . pariveshṭitāya*).

[106] Here Sāyaṇa says the Tṛitsus are "the priests so called who were Vasishṭha's disciples" (*Tṛitsavo Vasishṭha-śishyāḥ etat-sanjnāḥ ṛitvijaḥ*).

[107] See Roth, Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 120.

he quotes is any allusion made to the Vasishṭhas being members of any particular caste; but that their connection with Sudās is ascribed to their knowledge of the gods, and their unequalled power of invocation (vii. 33, 7 f.)

In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii. 21, we have another testimony to the connection of Vasishṭha with Sudās, as he is there stated to have "consecrated Sudās son of Pijavana by a great inauguration similar to Indra's;[108] in consequence of which Sudās went round the earth in every direction conquering, and performed an aśvamedha sacrifice" (*etena ha vai aindreṇa mahābhishekeṇa Vasishṭhaḥ Sudāsam Paijavanam abhishishecha | tasmād u Sudāḥ Paijavanaḥ samantam sarvataḥ pṛithivīm jayan parīyāya aśvena cha medhyena īje*).

The following passages refer to Vasishṭha having received a revelation from the god Varuṇa, or to his being the object of that god's special favour:

vii. 87, 4. *Uvācha me Varuṇo medhirāya triḥ sapta nāma aghnyā bibhartti | vidvān padasya guhyā na vochad yugāya vipraḥ upāraya śikshan |*

"Varuṇa has declared to me[109] who am intelligent, 'The Cow[110] possesses thrice seven names. The wise god, though he knows them, has not revealed the mysteries of (her) place, which he desires to grant to a future generation."

R.V. vii. 88, 3. *Ā yad ruhāva Varuṇaś cha nāvam pra yat samudram īrayāva madhyam | adhi yad apām snubhiś charāva pra pra īnkha īnkhayāvahai śubhe kam* | 4. *Vasishṭham ha Varuṇo nāvi ā adhād ṛishim chakāra svapāḥ mahobhiḥ | stotāram vipraḥ sudinatve ahnām yād nu dyāvas tatanan yād ushasaḥ* | 5. *Kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuḥ sachāvahe yad*

[108] Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. 40.

[109] Vasishṭha is not named in this hymn, but he is its traditional author.

[110] Sāyaṇa says that either (1) Vāch is here meant under the figure of a cow having the names of 21 metres, the Gāyatrī, etc., attached to her breast, throat, and head, or (2) that Vāch in the form of the Veda holds the names of 21 sacrifices; but that (3) another authority says the earth is meant, which (in the Nighaṇṭu, i. 1) has 21 names, *go, gmā, jmā*, etc. (*Vāg atra gaur uchyate | sā cha urasi kaṇṭhe śirasi cha baddhāni gāyatry-ādīni sapta chhandasām nāmāni bibhartti | yadvā vedātmikā vāg ekaviṁśati-saṁsthānām yajnānām nāmāni bibhartti | dhārayati | aparaḥ āha "gauḥ pṛithivī | tasyāś cha 'gaur gmā jmā' iti paṭhitāny ekaviṁśati-nāmāni" iti*). I have, in translating the second clause of the verse, followed for the most part a rendering suggested by Professor Aufrecht.

avrikam purā chit | *brihantam mānam Varuṇa svadhāvaḥ sahasra-dvāraṁ jagama grihaṁ te* | 6. *Yaḥ āpir nityo Varuṇa priyaḥ san tvām āgāṁsi kriṇavat sakhā te* | *mā te enasvanto yakshin bhujema yandhi sma vipraḥ stuvate varūtham* |

"When Varuṇa and I embark on the boat, when we propel it into the midst of the ocean, when we advance over the surface of the waters, may we rock upon the undulating element till we become brilliant. 4. Varuṇa took Vasishṭha into the boat; by his mighty acts working skilfully he (Varuṇa) has made him a rishi; the wise (god has made) him an utterer of praises in an auspicious time, that his days and dawns may be prolonged.[111] 5. Where are (now) our friendships, the tranquility which we enjoyed of old? We have come, o self-sustaining Varuṇa, to thy vast abode, to thy house with a thousand gates. 6. Whatever friend of thine, being a kinsman constant and beloved, may commit offences against thee;—may we not, though sinful, suffer (punishment), o adorable being; do thou, o wise god, grant us protection."

R.V. vii. 86 is a sort of penitential hymn in which Vasishṭha refers to the anger of Varuṇa against his old friend (verse 4) and entreats forgiveness of his offences. This hymn, which appears to be an earnest and genuine effusion of natural feeling, is translated in Professor Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 540.

The passage which follows is part of a long hymn, consisting chiefly of imprecations directed against Rākshases and Yātudhānas, and said in the Brihaddevatā (as quoted by Sāyaṇa in his introductory remarks) to have "been 'seen' by the rishi (Vasishṭha) when he was overwhelmed with grief and anger for the loss of his hundred sons who had been slain by the sons of Sudās" (*rishir dadarśa raksho-ghnam puttra-śoka-pariplutāḥ* | *hate puttra-śate kruddhaḥ Saudāsair duḥkhitas tadā*). I shall cite only the verses in which Vasishṭha repels the imputation (by whomsoever it may have been made) that he was a demon (Rakshas or Yātudhana).

R.V. vii. 104, 12. *Suvijnānaṁ chikitushe janāya sach cha asach cha vachasī paspridhāte* | *tayor yat satyaṁ yatarad rijīyas tad it Somo avati hanti asat* | 13. *Na vai u Somo vrijinaṁ hinoti na kshattriyam mithuyā*

[111] Professor Aufrecht renders the last clause, "As long as days and dawns shall continue."

dhārayantam | *hanti raksho hanti asad vadantam ubhāv Indrasya prasitau śayāte* | 14. *Yadi vā aham anṛita-devaḥ āsa mogham vā devān api ūhe Agne* | *kim asmabhyam Jātavedo hriṇīshe droghavāchas te nirṛitham sachantām* | 15. *Adya murīya yadi yātudhāno asmi yadi vā āyus tatapa pūrushasya* | *adha sa vīrair daśabhir vi yuyāḥ yo mā mogham "Yātudhāna" ity āha* | 16. *Yo mā ayātum "yātudhāna" ity āha yo vā rakshāḥ "śuchir asmi" ity āha* | *Indras tam hantu mahatā vadhena viśvasya jantor adhamas padīshṭa* |

"The intelligent man is well able to discriminate (when) true and false words contend together. Soma favours that one of them which is true and right, and annihilates falsehood. 13. Soma does not prosper the wicked, nor the man who wields power unjustly. He slays the Rakshas; he slays the liar: they both lie (bound) in the fetters of Indra. 14. If I were either a follower of false gods, or if I erroneously conceived of the gods, o Agni:—Why, o Jātavedas, art thou incensed against us? Let injurious speakers fall into thy destruction. 15. May I die this very day, if I be a Yātudhāna, or if I have destroyed any man's life. May he be severed from his ten sons who falsely says to me, 'o Yātudhāna.' 16. He who says to me, who am no Yātu, 'o Yātudhāna,' or who (being himself) a Rakshas, says, 'I am pure,'—may Indra smite him with his great weapon; may he sink down the lowest of all creatures.

In elucidation of this passage Sāyaṇa quotes the following lines: *Hatvā puttra-śatam pūrvam Vasishṭhasya mahātmanaḥ* | *Vasishṭham "rākshaso 'si tvam" Vāsishṭham rūpam āsthitaḥ* | *"aham Vasishṭhaḥ" ity evam jighāṁsuḥ rākshaso 'bravīt* | *atrottarāḥ richo drishṭāḥ Vasishṭheneti naḥ śrutam* |

"Having slain the hundred sons of the great Vasishṭha, a murderous Rākshasa, assuming the form of that rishi, formerly said to him, 'Thou art a Rākshasa, and I am Vasishṭha.' In allusion to this the latter verses were seen by Vasishṭha, as we have heard."

We may, however, safely dismiss this explanation resting on fabulous grounds.

The verses may, as Professor Max Müller supposes,[113] have arisen out

113 "Vasishṭha himself, the very type of the Arian Brahman, when in feud with Viśvāmit, is called not only an enemy, but a 'Yātudhāna,' and other names which in common parlance are only bestowed on barbarian savages and evil spirits. We

of Vasishtha's contest with Viśvāmitra, and it may have been the latter personage who brought these charges of heresy, and of murderous and demoniacal character against his rival.[113]

Allusion is made both in the Taittirīya Sanhitā and in the Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa to the slaughter of a son of Vasishtha by the sons or descendants of Sudās. The former work states, Ashtaka vii. (p. 47 of the India Office MS. No. 1702):

Vasishtho hataputro 'kāmayata "vindeya prajām abhi Saudāsān bhaveyam" iti | sa etam ekasmānnapanchāśam apaśyat tam āharat tenāyajata | tato vai so 'vindata prajām abhi Saudāsān abhavat |

"Vasishtha, when his son had been slain, desired, 'May I obtain offspring; may I overcome the Saudāsas.' He beheld this *ekasmānnapanchāśa* (?), he took it, and sacrificed with it. In consequence he obtained offspring, and overcame the Saudāsas."

The passage of the Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa, 4th adhyāya, as quoted by Professor Weber (Ind. St. ii. 299) is very similar:

Vasishtho 'kāmayata hata-putraḥ "prajāyeya prajayā paśubhir abhi Saudāsān bhaveyam" iti | sa etaṁ yajna-kratum apaśyad Vasishtha-yajnam . . . . tena ishtvā . . . . abhi Saudāsān abhavat |

"Vasishtha, when his son had been slain, desired, 'May I be fruitful in offspring and cattle, and overcome the Saudāsas.' He beheld this form of offering, the Vasishtha-sacrifice; and having performed it, he overcame the Saudāsas."

In his introduction to Rig-veda, vii. 32, Sāyaṇa has the following notice from the Anukramanikā:

"*Saudāsair agnau prakshipyamāṇaḥ S'aktir antyam pragāthan ālebhe so 'rdharche ukte 'dahyata | tam putroktaṁ Vasishthaḥ samāpayta" iti Sātyāyanakam | "Vasishthasya eva hata-putrasya ārsham" iti Tāṇḍakam |*

"The Sātyayana Brāhmaṇa says that 'Sakti (son of Vasishtha), when being thrown into the fire by the Saudāsas, received (by inspiration) the concluding pragātha of the hymn. He was burnt after he had spoken half a *rich*; and Vasishtha completed what his son was

have still the very hymn in which Vasishtha deprecates such charges with powerful indignation." Prof. Müller then quotes verses 14–16 of the hymn before us ("Last Results of the Turanian Researches," in Bunsen's "Outlines of the Philophy of Univ. History," i. 344.

[113] See my article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian society in the Vedic age," in the Journal Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, pp. 295 ff.

uttering. The Tāṇḍaka says that 'it was Vasishṭha himself who spoke the whole when his son was slain.'"

The words supposed to have been spoken by Śakti, viz. "O Indra, grant to us strength as a father to his sons" (*Indra kratuṁ naḥ ā bhara pitā putrebhyo yathā*) do not seem to be appropriate to the situation in which he is said to have been placed; and nothing in the hymn appears to allude to any circumstances of the kind imagined in the two Brāhmaṇas.

Manu says of Vasishṭha (viii. 110): *Maharshibhiś cha devaiś cha käryyārthaṁ śapathāḥ kṛitāḥ | Vasishṭhaś chāpi śapathaṁ śepe Paiyavane nṛipe* | "Great rishis and gods too have taken oaths for particular objects. Vasishṭha also swore an oath to king Paiyavana." The occasion on which this was done is stated by the Commentator Kullūka: *Vasishṭho 'py anena puttra-śatam bhakshitam iti Viśvāmitreṇa ākrushṭo sva-pariśuddhaye Piyavanāpatye Sudāmni rājani śapathaṁ chakāra* | "Vasishṭha being angrily accused by Viśvāmitra of having eaten (his) hundred sons, took an oath before king Sudāman (Sudās, no doubt, is meant) the son of Piyavana in order to clear himself." This seems to refer to the same story which is alluded to in the passage quoted by the Commentator on Rig-veda vii. 104, 12.

In the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 55, 5 f., a hundred sons of Viśvāmitra are said to have been burnt up by the blast of Vasishṭha's mouth when they rushed upon him armed with various weapons (*Viśvāmitra-sutānāṁ tu śataṁ nānā-vidhāyudham | abhyadhāvat susankruddhaṁ Vasishṭham japatāṁ varam | hunkareṇaiva tān sarvān nirdadāha mahān rishiḥ*).

Vasishṭha is also mentioned in Rig-veda, i. 112, 9, as having received succour from the Aśvins (—*Vasishṭhaṁ yābhir ajarāv ajinvatam*).

Vasishṭha, or the Vasishṭhas, are also referred to by name in the following verses of the seventh Mandala of the Rig-veda: 7, 7; 9, 6; 12, 3; 23, 1, 6; 26, 5; 37, 4; 39, 7; 42, 6; 59, 3; 70, 6; 73, 3; 76, 6, 7; 77, 6; 80, 1; 90, 7; 95, 6; 96, 1, 3; but as no information is derivable from these texts, except that the persons alluded to were the authors or reciters of the hymns, it is needless to quote them.[114]

[114] Another verse of a hymn in which the author is not referred to (vii. 72, 2) is as follows: *Ā no devebhir upa yātam arvāk sajoshashā nāsatyā rathena | yuvor hi naḥ sakhyā pitryāṇi samāno bandhur uta tasya vittam* | "Come near to us, Aśvins, on the same car with the gods: for we have ancestral friendships with you, a common relation; do ye recognize it." Although this has probably no mythological

In the Atharva-veda, iv. 29, 3 and 5, Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra are mentioned among other personages, Angiras, Agasti, Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa, Bharadvāja, Gavishṭhira, and Kutsa, as being succoured by Mitra and Varuṇa (. . . . *yāv Angirasam avatho yāv Agastim Mitrā-Varuṇā Jamadagnim Atrim* | *yau Kaśyapam avatho yau Vasishṭham* . . . . *yau Bharadvājam avatho yau Gavishṭhiraṁ Viśvāmitraṁ Varuṇa Mitra Kutsam*). And in the same Veda, xviii. 3, 15 f., they are invoked as deliverers: *Viśvāmitro 'yaṁ Jamadagnir Atrir avantu naḥ Kaśyapo Vāmadevaḥ* | *Viśvāmitra Jamadagne Vasishṭha Bharadvāja Gotama Vāmadeva* . . . | "15. May this Viśvāmitra, may Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa, Vāmadeva preserve us. 16. O Viśvāmitra, o Jamadagni, o Vasishṭha, o Bharādvaja, o Gotama, o Vāsmadeva." The second passage at least must be a good deal more recent than the most of the hymns of the Rig-veda.

Sudās is mentioned in other parts of the Rig-veda without any reference either to Vasishṭha or to Visvāmitra. In some cases his name is coupled with that of other kings or sages, which appears to shew that in some of these passages at least a person, and not a mere epithet, "the liberal man," is denoted by the word Sudās.

R.V. i. 47, 6. (The traditional rishi is Praskaṇva.) *Sudāse dasrā vasu bibhratā rathe pṛiksho vahatam Aśvinā* | *rayiṁ samudrād uta vā divas pari asme dhattam puru-spṛiham* |

"O impetuous Aśvins, possessing wealth in your car, bring sustenance to Sudās. Send to us from the (aerial) ocean, or the sky, the riches which are much coveted."

Sāyaṇa says the person here meant is "king Sudās, son of Pijavana" (*Sudāse* . . . . *rājne Pijavana-puttrāya*).

i. 63, 7. (The rishi is Nodhas, of the family of Gotama.) *Tvaṁ ha tyad Indra sapta yudhyan puro vajrin Purukutsāya dardaḥ* | *barhir na yat Sudāse vṛithā varg anho rājan varivaḥ Pūrave kaḥ* |

"Thou didst then, o thundering Indra, war against, and shatter, the seven cities for Purukutsa, when thou, o king, didst without effort hurl

reference, Sāyaṇa explains it as follows: *Vivasvān Varuṇaś cha ubhāv api Kaśyapād Aditer jātau* | *Vivasvān Aśvinor janako Varuṇo Vasishṭhasya ity evam samāna-bandhutvam* | "Vivasvat and Varuṇa were both sons of Kaśyapa and Aditi. Vivasvat was the father of the Aśvins and Varuṇa of Vasishṭha; such is the affinity." Sāyaṇa then quotes the Bṛihaddevatā to prove the descent of the Aśvins from Vivasvat. Compare R.V. x. 17, 1, 2, and Nirukta, xii. 10, 11.

away distress from Sudās like a bunch of grass, and bestow wealth on Pūru.[115]

i. 112, 19. (The rishi is Kutsa.) . . . . *yābhir Sudāse ūhathuḥ sudevyam tābhir u shu ūtibhir Aśvinā gatam* |

"Come, o Aśvins, with those succours whereby ye brought glorious power to Sudās" ['son of Pijavana'—Sāyaṇa].[116]

The further texts which follow are all from the seventh Mandala, of which the rishis, with scarcely any exception, are said to be Vasishṭha and his descendants:

vii. 19, 3. *Tvam dhṛishṇo dhṛishatā vītahavyam prāvo viśvābhir ūtibhiḥ Sudāsam* | *pra Paurukutsim Trasadasyum āvaḥ kshettrasātā vṛittrahatyeshu Pūrum* |

"Thou, o fierce Indra, hast impetuously protected Sudās, who offered oblations, with every kind of succour. Thou hast preserved Trasadasyu the son of Purukutsa, and Pūru in his conquest of land and in his slaughter of enemies."

vii. 20, 2. *Hantā Vṛittram Indraḥ śuśuvānaḥ prāvīd nu vīro jaritāram ūtī* | *karttā Sudāse aha vai u lokam dātā vasu muhur u dāśushe bhūt* |

"Indra growing in force slays Vṛitra; the hero protects him who praises him; he makes room for Sudās [or the liberal sacrificer—*kalyāṇa-dānāya yajamānāya.* Sāyaṇa]; he gives riches repeatedly to his worshipper."

vii. 25, 3. *Śatam te śiprinn ūtayaḥ Sudāse sahasram śamsāḥ uta rātir astu* | *jahi vadhar vanusho marttyasya asme dyumnam adhi ratnam cha dhehi* |

"Let a hundred succours come to Sudās, a thousand desirable (gifts) and prosperity. Destroy the weapon of the murderous. Confer renown and wealth on us."

(Sāyaṇa takes *sudās* here and in all the following citations to signify a "liberal man.")

[115] Professor Roth renders this passage differently in his Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 132; as does also Prof. Benfey, Orient und Occident, i. p. 590.

[116] In R.V. i. 185, 9, we find the word *sudās* in the comparative degree *sudāstara*, where it must have the sense of "very liberal": *bhūri chid aryaḥ sudāstarāya* | "(give the wealth) of my enemy, though it be abundant to (me who am) most liberal." In v. 53, 2, the term *sudās* appears to be an adjective: *ā etān rathesu tasthushaḥ kaḥ śuśrāva kathā yayuḥ* | *kasmai sasruḥ sudāse anu āpayaḥ iḷābhir vṛishṭayaḥ saha* | "Who has heard them (the Maruts) mounted on their cars, how they have gone? To what liberal man have they resorted as friends, (in the form of) showers with blessings?"

vii. 32. 10. *Nakiḥ Sudāso ratham pari āsa na rīramat | Indro yasya avitā yasya Maruto gamat sa gomati vraje |*

"No one can oppose or stop the chariot of Sudās. He whom Indra, whom the Maruts, protect, walks in a pasture filled with cattle."

vii. 53, 3: *Uto hi vaṁ ratnadheyāni santi purūṇi dyāvā-pṛithivī Sudāse |*

"And ye, o Heaven and Earth, have many gifts of wealth for Sudās [or the liberal man]."

vii. 60, 8. *Yad gopāvad Aditiḥ śarma bhadram Mitro yachhanti Varuṇaḥ Sudāse | tasminn ā tokaṁ tanayaṁ dadhānāḥ mā karma devaheḷanaṁ turāsaḥ | 9. . . . . pari dveshobhir Aryamā vṛiṇaktu uruṁ Sudāse vṛishaṇau u lokam |*

"Since Aditi, Mitra, and Varuṇa afford secure protection to Sūdas (or the liberal man), bestowing on him offspring;—may we not, o mighty deities, commit any offence against the gods. 9. . . . . May Aryaman rid us of our enemies. (Grant) ye vigorous gods, a wide space to Sudās."

There is another passage, vii. 64, 3 (*bravad yathā naḥ ād ariḥ Sudāse*), to which I find it difficult to assign the proper sense.

Vasishṭha is referred to in the following passages of the Brāhmaṇas:

Kāṭhaka 37, 17.[117] *Ṛishayo vai Indram pratyakshaṁ na apaśyaṁs taṁ Vasishṭhaḥ eva pratyasham apaśyat | so 'bibhed "itarebhyo mā ṛishibhyaḥ pravakshyati" iti*[118] *| so 'bravīd "brāhmaṇaṁ te vakshyāmi yathā tvat-purohitāḥ prajāḥ prajanishyante | atha mā itarebhyaḥ ṛishibhyo mā pravochaḥ" iti | tasmai etān stoma-bhāgān abravīt tato Vasishṭha-purohitāḥ prajāḥ prājāyanta |*

"The rishis did not behold Indra face to face; it was only Vasishṭha who so beheld him. He (Indra) was afraid lest Vasishṭha should reveal him to the other rishis; and said to him, 'I shall declare to thee a Brāhmaṇa in order that men may be born who shall take thee for their purohita. Do not reveal me to the other rishis.' Accordingly he declared to

[117] Quoted by Professor Weber, Indische Studien, iii. 478.

[118] The words from *so 'bibhet* down to *iti* are omitted in the Taitt. Sanhitā, iii. 5, 2, 2, where this passage is also found. Weber refers in Ind. St. ii. to another part of the Kāṭhaka, ii. 9, where Vasishṭha is alluded to as having "seen" a text beginning with the word *purovāta* during a time of drought ("*Purovāta*" *iti vṛishṭy-apete bhūta-grāme Vasishṭho dadarśa*).

him these parts of the hymn. In consequence men were born who took Vasishṭha for their purohita."

Professor Weber refers in the same place to a passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa relating to the former superiority of Vasishṭha's family in sacred knowledge and priestly functions:

xii. 6, 1, 38. *Vasishṭho ha virājam vidānchakāra tām ha Indro 'bhidadhyau | sa ha uvācha "ṛishe virājam ha vai vettha tām me brūhi" iti | sa ha uvācha "kim mama tataḥ syād" iti | "sarvasya cha te yajnasya prāyaśchittim brūyām rūpam cha tvā darśayeya" iti | sa ha uvācha "yad nu me sarvasya yajnasya prāyaśchittim brūyāḥ kim u sa syād yam tvam rūpam darśayethāḥ" iti | jīva-svarga eva asmāl lokāt preyād" iti | tato ha etām ṛishir Indrāya virājam uvācha "iyam vai virāḍ" iti | tasmād yo 'syai bhūyishṭham labhate sa eva śreshṭho bhavati | atha ha etām Indraḥ ṛishaye prāyaśchittim uvācha agnihotrād agre ā mahataḥ ukthāt | tāḥ ha sma etāḥ purā vyāhṛitīr Vasishṭhāḥ eva viduḥ | tasmād ha sma purā Vāsishṭhaḥ eva brahmā bhavati |*

"Vasishṭha was acquainted with the Virāj (a particular Vedic metre). Indra desired it; and said, 'O rishi, thou knowest the Virāj: declare it to me.' Vasishṭha asked: 'What (advantage) will result to me from doing so?' (Indra replied) 'I shall both explain to thee the forms for rectifying anything amiss (*prāyaśchitti*)[119] in the entire sacrifice, and show thee its form.' Vasishṭha further enquired, 'If thou declarest to me the remedial rites for the entire sacrifice, what shall he become to whom thou wilt show the form?' (Indra answered) 'He shall ascend from this world to the heaven of life.' The rishi then declared this Virāj to Indra, saying, 'this is the Virāj.' Wherefore it is he who obtains the most of this (Virāj) that becomes the most eminent. Then Indra explained to the rishi this remedial formula from the *agnihotra* to the great *uktha*. Formerly the Vasishṭhas alone knew these sacred syllables (*vyāhṛiti*). Hence in former times a Vasishṭha only was a (priest of the kind called) *brăhmăn*."

Professor Weber quotes also the following from the Kāṭhaka 32, 2. *Yām abrāhmaṇaḥ prāśnāti sā skannā āhutis tasyā vai Vasishṭhaḥ eva prāyaśchittam vidānchakāra* | "The oblation of which a person not a brāhman partakes is vitiated. Vasishṭha alone knew the remedial rite for such a case."

[119] See above, p. 294.

In the Shaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-veda, quoted by the same writer (Ibid. i. 39, and described p. 37, as possessing a distinctly formed Brahmanical character indicating a not very early date), we have the following passage:

i. 5. *Indro ha Viśvāmitrāya uktham uvācha Vasishṭhāya brahma vāg uktham ity eva Viśvāmitrāya mano brahma Vasishṭhāya | tad vai etad Vāsishṭham brahma | api ha evaṁvidhaṁ vā Vāsishṭhaṁ vā brahmāṇaṁ kurvīta |*

"Indra declared the *uktha* (hymn) to Viśvāmitra, and the *brāhmăn* (devotion) to Vasishṭha. The *uktha* is expression (*vāk*); that (he made known) to Viśvāmitra; and the *brāhmăn* is the soul; that (he made known) to Vasishṭha. Hence this *brāhmăn* (devotional power) belongs to the Vasishṭhas. Moreover, let either a person of this description, or a man of the family of Vasishṭha, be appointed a *brāhmăn*-priest."

Here the superiority of Vasishṭha over Viśvāmitra is clearly asserted.[120]

Vasishṭha is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Śantip. verses 11221 ff., as having communicated divine knowledge to king Janaka, and as referring (see verses 11232, 11347, 11409, 11418, 11461, etc.) to the Sānkhya and Yoga systems. The sage is thus characterized:

11221. *Vasishṭhaṁ śreshṭham āsīnam ṛishīṇām bhāskara-dyutim | paprachha Janako rājā jnānaṁ naiśśreyasam param | param adhyātma-kuśalam adhātma-gati-niśchayam | Maitrāvaruṇim āsīnam abhivādya kṛitānjaliḥ |*

"King Janaka with joined hands saluted Vasishṭha the son of Mitra and Varuṇa, the highest and most excellent of rishis, resplendent as the sun, who was acquainted with the Supreme Spirit, who had ascertained the means of attaining to the Supreme Spirit; and asked him after that highest knowledge which leads to final beatitude."

The doctrine which the saint imparts to the king he professes to have derived from the eternal Hiraṇyagarbha, *i.e.* Brahmā (*avāptam etad hi mayā sanātanād Hiraṇyagarbhād gadato narādhipa*).

I have already in former parts of this volume quoted passages from Manu, the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and the Mahābhārata, regarding the creation

[120] Professor Weber mentions (Ind. St. i. 53) that in the commentary of Rāmakṛishṇa on the Pāraskara Gṛihya Sūtras allusion is made to the "Chhandogas who follow the Sūtras of the Vasishṭha family" *Vāsishṭha-sūtrānuchāriṇaś chhandogāḥ*).

of Vasishṭha. The first-named work (see above, p. 36) makes him one of ten Maharshis created by Manu Svāyambhuva in the first (or Svāyambhuva) Manvantara. The Vishṇu Purāṇa (p. 65) declares him to have been one of nine mind-born sons or Brahmās created by Brahmā in the Manvantara just mentioned. The same Purāṇa, however, iii. 1, 14, makes him also one of the seven rishis of the existing or Vaivasvata Manvantara, of which the son of Vivasvat, S'rāddhadeva,[121] is the Manu (*Vivasvataḥ suto vipra S'rāddhadevo mahādyutiḥ | Manuḥ saṁvarttate dhīmān sāmpratam saptame 'ntare . . . . Vasishṭhaḥ Kāśyapo 'thātrir Jamadagniḥ sa-Gautamaḥ | Viśvāmitra-Bharadvājau sapta saptarshayo 'bhavan*). The Mahābhārata (see p. 122) varies in its accounts, as in one place it does not include Vasishṭha among Brahmā's six mind-born sons, whilst in a second passage it adds him to the number which is there raised to seven,[122] and in a third text describes him as one of twenty-one Prajāpatis.

According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 10, 10, "Vasishṭha had by his wife Ūrjjā" (one of the daughters of Daksha, and an allegorical personage, see V. P. i. 7, 18), seven sons called Rajas, Gātra, Ūrddhvabāhu, Savana, Anagha, Sutapas, and Sukra, who were all spotless rishis" (*Ūrjjāyām cha Vasishṭhasya saptājāyanta vai sutāḥ | Rajo-Gātrordhhvabāhuścha Savanaś chānaghas tathā | Sutapāḥ S'ukraḥ ity ete sarve saptarshayo 'malāḥ*). This must be understood as referring to the Svāyambhuva Manvantara. The Commentator says these sons were the seven rishis in the third Manvantara (*saptarshayas tṛitīya-manvantare*). In the description of that period the V. P. merely says, without naming them (iii. 1, 9) that "the seven sons of Vasishṭha were the seven rishis" (*Vasishṭha-tanayās tatra sapta saptarshayo 'bhavan*).[123] The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (iv. 1, 40 f.) gives the names of Vasishṭha's sons differently; and also specifies Saktṛi and others as the offspring of a different marriage. (Compare Professor Wilson's notes on these passages of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.)

[121] See above p. 209, note 66, and pp. 188 ff.

[122] In another verse also (Ādip. 6638, which will be quoted below in a future section) he is said to be a mind-born son of Brahmā.

[123] Ūrjja, who in the Vishṇu P. iii. 1, 6, is stated to be one of the rishis of the second or Svārochisha Manvantara, is said in the Vāyu P. to be a son of Vasishṭha. See Professor Wilson's note (vol. iii. p. 3) on Vishṇu P. iii. 1, 6. The Vāyu P. also declares that one of the rishis in each of the fourth and fifth Manvantaras was a son of Vasishṭha. (See Prof. Wilson's notes (vol. iii. pp. 8 and 11) on Vishṇu P. iii. 1.)

In Manu, ix. 22 f., it is said that "a wife acquires the qualities of the husband with whom she is duly united, as a river does when blended with the ocean. 23. Akshamālā, though of the lowest origin, became honourable through her union with Vasishṭha, as did also Sārangī through her marriage with Mandapāla" (*Yādṛig-guṇena bharttrā strī saṁyujyate yathāvidhi | tādṛig-guṇā sā bhavati samudreṇeva nimnagā | 23. Akshamālā Vasishṭhena saṁyuktā 'dhama-yoni-jā | S'ārangī Mandāpalena jagāmābhyarhaṇīyatām*).

Vasishṭha's wife receives the same name (*Vasishṭhas chākshamālayā*) in a verse of the Mahābhārata (Udyogaparvan, v. 3970);[124] but in two other passages of the same work, which will be adduced further on, she is called Arundhatī.[125]

According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa (ii. 10, 8) Vasishṭha is one of the superintendents who in the month of Āshāḍha abide in the Sun's chariot, the others being Varuṇa, Rambhā, Sahajanyā, Huhu, Budha, and Rathachitra (*Vasishṭho Varuṇo Rambhā Sahajanyā Huhur Budhaḥ | Rathachitras tathā S'ukre vasanty Āshaḍha-sanjnite*); whilst in the month of Phalguna (ibid. v. 16) the rival sage Viśvāmitra exercises the same function along with Vishṇu, Aśvatara, Rambhā, Sūryavarchas, Satyajit, and the Rākshasa Yajnāpeta (*śrūyatāṁ chāpare sūrye phālgune nivasanti ye | Vishṇur Aśvataro Rambhā Sūryavarchāś cha Satyajit | Viśvāmitras tathā raksho Yajnāpeto mahātmanaḥ*).

At the commencement of the Vāyu Purāṇa Vaśishṭha is characterized as being the most excellent of the rishis (*ṛishīṇāṁ cha varishṭhāya Vasishṭhāya mahātmane*).

It is stated in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iii. 3, 9, that the Vedas have been already divided twenty-eight times in the course of the present or Vaivasvata Manvantara; and that this division has always taken place in the Dvāpara age of each system of four yugas. In the first Dvāpara Brahmā Svayambhū himself divided them; in the sixth Mṛityu (Death, or Yama); whilst in the eighth Dvāpara it was Vasishṭha who was the Vyāsa or divider (*Ashṭāviṁśatikṛitvo vai vedāḥ vyastāḥ maharshibhiḥ | Vaivasvate 'ntare tasmin dvāpareshu punaḥ punaḥ* | . . . . 10. *Dvāpare prathame vyastāḥ svayaṁ vedāḥ Svayambhuvā* | . . . . 11. . . . *Mṛityuḥ shashṭhe smṛitaḥ prabhuḥ* | . . . . *Vasishṭhaś chāshṭame smritaḥ*).

[124] Two lines below Haimavatī is mentioned as the wife of Viśvāmitra (*Haimavatyā cha Kauśikaḥ*).

[125] In the St. Petersburg Lexicon *akshamālā* is taken for an epithet of Arundhatī.

Vasishṭha was, as we have seen above, the family-priest of Nimi, son of Ikshvāku, who was the son of Manu Vaivasvata, and the first prince of the solar race of kings; and in a passage of the Mahābhārata, Ādip. (6643 f.), which will be quoted in a future section, he is stated to have been the purohita of all the kings of that family. He is accordingly mentioned in Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 3, 18, as the religious teacher of Sagara, the thirty-seventh in descent from Ikshvāku (*tat-kula-gurum̃ Vasishṭham śaraṇam̃ jagmuḥ*); and as conducting a sacrifice for Saudāsa or Mitrasaha, a descendant in the fiftieth generation of the same prince (Vishṇu P. iv. 4, 25, *Kālena gachhatā sa Saudāso yajnam ayajat | parinishṭhita-yajne cha āchāryye Vasishṭhe nishkrānte ityādi*).

Vasishṭha is also spoken of in the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 110, 1 (see above, p. 115), and elsewhere (ii. 111, 1, etc.), as the priest of Rāma, who appears from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, (iv. 4, 40, and the preceding narrative), to have been a descendant of Ikshvāku in the sixty-first generation.[126]

Vasishṭha, according to all these accounts, must have been possessed of a vitality altogether superhuman; for it does not appear that any of the accounts to which I have referred intend under the name of Vasishṭha to denote merely a person belonging to the family so called, but to represent the founder of the family himself as taking part in the transactions of many successive ages.

It is clear that Vasishṭha, although, as we shall see, he is frequently designated in post-vedic writings as a Brāhman, was, according to some other authorities I have quoted, not really such in any proper sense of the word, as in the accounts which are there given of his birth he is declared to have been either a mind-born son of Brahmā, or the son of Mitra, Varuṇa, and the Apsaras Urvaśī, or to have had some other supernatural origin.

Sect. VII.—*Viśvāmitra.*

Viśvāmitra is stated in the Anukramaṇikā, as quoted by Sāyaṇa at the commencement of the third Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda, to be the rishi, or "seer," of that book of the collection: *Asya maṇḍala-drashṭā*

[126] Rāma's genealogy is also given in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 70, and ii. 110, 6 ff., where, however, he is said to be only the thirty-third or thirty-fourth from Ikshvāku.

Viśvāmitraḥ ṛishiḥ | "The rishi of this (the first hymn) was Viśvāmitra, the 'seer' of the Maṇḍala." This, however, is to be understood with some exceptions, as other persons, almost exclusively his descendants, are said to be the rishis of some of the hymns.

I shall quote such passages as refer, or are traditionally declared to refer, to Viśvāmitra or his family.

In reference to the thirty-third hymn the Nirukta states as follows:

ii. 24. *Tatra itihāsam āchakshate* | *Viśvāmitraḥ ṛishiḥ Sudāsaḥ Paijavanasya purohito babhūvā . . . .* | *sa vittaṁ gṛihītva Vipāṭ-chhutudryoḥ sambhedam āyayau* | *anuyayur itare* | *sa Viśvāmitro nadīs tushṭāva "gādhāḥ bhavata" iti* |

"They there relate a story. The rishi Viśvāmitra was the purohita of Sudās, the son of Pijavana. (Here the etymologies of the names Viśvāmitra, Sudās, and Pijavana are given.) Taking his property, he came to the confluence of the Vipāś and Śutudrī (Sutlej); others followed. Viśvāmitra lauded the rivers (praying them to) become fordable."

Sāyaṇa expands the legend a little as follows:

Purā kila Viśvāmitraḥ Paijavanasya Sudāso rājnaḥ purohito babhūva | *sa cha paurohityena labdha-dhanaḥ sarvam dhanam ādāya Vipāṭ-chhutudryoḥ sambhedam āyayau* | *anuyayur itare* | *athottitīrshur Viśvāmitro 'gādha-jale te nadyau dṛishṭvā uttaraṇārtham ādyābhis tisṛibhis tushṭāva* |

"Formerly Viśvāmitra was the purohita of king Sudās, the son of Pijavana. He, having obtained wealth by means of his office as purohita, took the whole of it, and came to the confluence of the Vipāś and the Śutudrī. Others followed. Being then desirous to cross, but perceiving that the waters of the rivers were not fordable, Viśvāmitra, with the view of getting across lauded them with the first three verses of the hymn."

The hymn makes no allusion whatever to Sudās, but mentions the son of Kuśika (Viśvāmitra) and the Bharatas. It is not devoid of poetical beauty, and is as follows:

R.V. iii. 33, 1 (= Nirukta, ix. 39). *Pra parvatānām uśatī upasthād aśve iva vishite hāsamāne* | *gāveva śubhre mātarā rihāṇe Vipāṭ Chhutudrī payasā javete* | 2. *Indreshite prasavam bhikshamāṇe achha samudraṁ rathyā iva yāthaḥ* | *samārāṇe ūrmibhiḥ pinvamāne anyā vām anyām api eti śubhre* | 3. *Achha sindhum mātṛitamām ayāsam Vipāśam ūrvīm*

subhagām aganma | *vatsam iva mātarā samrihāṇe samānam yonim anu sancharantī* | 4. *Enā vayam payasā pinvamānā anu yonim deva-kritam charantīḥ* | *na varttave prasavaḥ sarga-taktaḥ kimyur vipro nadyo johavīti* | 5 (= Nirukta, ii. 25). *Ramadhvam me vachase somyāya ritāvarīr upa muhūrttam evaiḥ* | *pra sindhum achha brihatī manīshā avasyur ahve Kuśikasya sūnuḥ* | 6 (= Nir. ii. 26). *Indro asmān aradat vajra-bāhur apāhan Vrittram paridhim nadīnām* | *devo 'nayat Savitā supāṇis tasya vayam prasave yāmaḥ ūrvīḥ* | 7. *Pravāchyam śaśvadhā vīryam tad Indrasya karma yad Ahim vivriśchat* | *vi vajreṇa parishado jaghāna āyann āpo ayanam ichhamānāḥ* | 8. *Etad vacho jaritar mā 'pi mrishṭhāḥ ā yat te ghoshān uttarā yugāni* | *ukthethu kāro prati no jushasva mā no ni kaḥ purushatra namas te* | 9. *O su svasāraḥ kārave śriṇota yayau yo dūrād anasā rathena* | *ni su namadhvam bhavata supārā adhoakshaḥ sindhavaḥ srotyābhiḥ* | 10 (= Nir. ii. 27). *Ā te kāro śriṇavāma vachāmsi yayātha durād anasā rathena* | *ni te namsai pīpyānā iva yoshā maryāya iva kanyā śaśvachai te* | 11. *Yad anga tvā Bharatāḥ santareyur gavyan grāmaḥ ishitaḥ Indra-jūtaḥ* | *arshād aha prasavaḥ sarga-taktaḥ ā vo vriṇe sumatim yajniyānām* | 12. *Atārishur Bharatāḥ gavyavaḥ sam abhakta vipraḥ sumatim nadīnām* | *pra pinvadhvam ishayantīḥ surādhāḥ ā vakshaṇāḥ priṇadhvam yāta śībham* |

"1. (Viśvāmitra speaks): Hastening eagerly from the heart of the mountains, contending like two mares let loose, like two bright mother-cows licking[127] (each her calf), the Vipāś and Sutudrī rush onward with their waters. 2. Impelled by Indra, seeking a rapid course, ye move towards the ocean, as if mounted on a car. Running together, as ye do, swelling with your waves, the one of you joins the other, ye bright streams. 3. I have come to the most motherly stream; we have arrived at the broad and beautiful Vipāś; proceeding, both of them, like two mother(-cows) licking each her calf, to a common receptacle. 4. (The rivers reply): Here swelling with our waters we move forward to the receptacle fashioned by the gods (the ocean); our headlong course cannot be arrested. What does the sage desire that he invokes the rivers? 5. (Viśvāmitra says): Stay your course for a moment, ye pure streams, (yielding) to my pleasant words.[128] With a powerful prayer, I, the son

[127] Prof. Roth (Illustr. of Nirukta, p. 133) refers to vii. 2. 5 (*pūrvī śiśum na mātarā rihāṇe*) as a parallel passage.

[128] Prof. Roth (Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 103) renders: "Listen joyfully for a

of Kuśika,[129] desiring succour, invoke the river. 6. (The rivers answer): Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, has hollowed out our channels; he has smitten Ahi who hemmed in the streams. Savitṛi the skilful-handed has led us hither; by his impulse we flow on in our breadth. 7. For ever to be celebrated is the heroic deed of Indra, that he has split Vṛittra in sunder. He smote the obstructions with his thunderbolt; and the waters desiring an outlet went on their way. 8. Do not, o utterer of praises, forget this word, which future ages will re-echo to thee. In hymns, o bard, show us thy devotion; do not humble us before men; reverence be paid to thee. 9. (Viśvāmitra says): Listen, o sisters, to the bard who has come to you from afar with waggon and chariot. Sink down; become fordable; reach not up to our chariot-axles with your streams. 10. (The rivers answer): We shall listen to thy words, o bard; thou hast come from far with waggon and chariot. I will bow down to thee like a woman with full breast[130] (suckling her child); as a maid to a man will I throw myself open to thee. 11. (Viśvāmitra says): When the Bharatas,[131] that war-loving tribe, sent forward, impelled by Indra, have crossed thee, then thy headlong current shall hold on its course. I seek the favour of you the adorable. 12. The war-loving Bharatas have crossed; the Sage has obtained the favour of the rivers. Swell on impetuous, and fertilizing; fill your channels; roll rapidly."

The next quotation is from the fifty-third hymn of the same third Maṇḍala, verses 6 ff.:

6. *Apāḥ somam astam Indra pra yāhi kalyāṇīr jāyā suraṇaṁ gṛihe*

moment to my amiable speech, ye streams rich in water; stay your progress;" and adds in a note: "I do not connect the particle *upa* with *ramadhvam*, as the Nirukta and Sāyaṇa do; the fact that *upa* stands in another Pāda (quarter of the verse) requires a different explanation. The most of those interpretations of the Commentator which destroy the sense have their ultimate ground in the circumstance that he combines the words of different divisions of the verse; and any one may easily convince himself that every Pāda has commonly a separate sense, and is far more independent of the others than is the case in the śloka of later times." In his Lexicon Roth renders *ṛitāvarī* in this passage by "regular," "equably flowing."

129 "Kuśika was a king" (*Kuśiko rājā babhūva*. Nir. ii. 25). Sāyaṇa calls him a royal rishi.

130 This is the sense assigned by Prof. Roth, *s.v. pī* to *pīpyānā*. Sāyaṇa, following Yāska, ii. 27, gives the sense "suckling her child." Prof. Aufrecht considers that the word means "pregnant." In the next clause *śaśvachai* is rendered in the manner suggested by Prof. A., who compares R.V. x. 18, 11, 12.

131 "The men of the family of Bharata, my people" (*Bharata-kula-jāḥ madīyāḥ sarve*." Sāyaṇa).

te | *yatra rathasya brihato nidhānam vimochanam vājino dakshiṇāvat* | 7. *Ime bhojāḥ angiraso virūpāḥ divas putrāso asurasya vīrāḥ* | *Viśvāmitrāya dadato maghāni sahasra-sāve pratirante āyuḥ* | 8. *Rūpam rūpam maghavā bobhavīti māyāḥ kriṇvānas tanvam pari svām* | *trir yad divaḥ pari muhūrttam āgāt svair mantrair anritupāḥ ritāvā* | 9. *Mahān rishir deva-jāḥ deva-jūto astabhnāt sindhum arṇavam nrichakshāḥ* | *Viśvāmitro yad avahat Sudāsam apriyāyata Kuśikebhir Indraḥ* | 10. *Hamsāḥ iva kriṇutha ślokam adribhir madanto gīrbhir adhvare sute sachā* | *devebhir viprāḥ rishayo nrichakshaso vi pibadhvam Kuśikāḥ somyam madhu* | 11. *Upa preta Kuśikāś chetayadhvam aśvam rāye pra munchata Sudāsaḥ* | *rājā vrittram janghanat prāg apāg udag atha yajāte vare ā prithivyāḥ* | 12. *Yaḥ ime rodasī ubhe aham Indram atushṭavam* | *Viśvāmitrasya rakshati brahma idam Bhāratam janam* | 13. *Viśvāmitrāḥ arāsata brahma Indrāya vajriṇe* | *karad in naḥ surādhasaḥ* | 14 (=Nir. vi. 32). *Kim te kurvanti Kīkaṭeshu gāvo nāśiram duhre na tapanti gharmam* | *ā no bhara Pramagandasya vedo Naichāśakham maghavan randhaya naḥ* | 15. *Sasarparīr amatim bādhamānā brihad mimāya Jamadagnidattā* | *ā Sūryasya duhitā tatāna śravo deveshu amritam ajuryam* | 16. *Sasarparīr abharat tūyam ebhyo adhi śravaḥ panchajanyāsu krishṭishu* | *sā pakshyā navyam āyur dadhānā yām me palasti-jamadagnayo daduḥ* | . . . . . 21. *Indra ūtibhir bahulābhir no adya yāchchhreshṭhābhir maghavan śūra jinva* | *yo no dveshṭi adharaḥ sas padīshṭa yam u dvishmas tam u prāṇo jahātu* | 22. *paraśum chid vi tapati śimbalam chid vi vriśchati* | *ukhā chid Indra yeshantī prayastā phenam asyati.* 23. *Na sāyakasya chikite janāso lodham nayanti paśu manyamānāḥ* | *nāvājinam vājināḥ hāsayanti na gardabham puro aśvān nayanti* | 24. *Ime Indra Bharatasya putrāḥ apapitvam chikitur na prapitvam* | *hinvanti aśvam araṇam na nityam jyāvājam pari nayanti ājau* |

"6. Thou hast drunk soma; depart, Indra, to thy abode: thou hast a handsome wife and pleasure in thy house. In whatever place thy great chariot rests, it is proper that the steed should be unyoked. 7. These bountiful Virūpas of the race of Angiras,[133] heroic sons of the divine

[133] Sāyaṇa says that the liberal men are the Kshattriyas, sons of Sudās, that *virūpāḥ* means their different priests of the race of Angiras, Medhātithi, and others, and that the sons of the sky are the Maruts, the sons of Rudra (*Ime yāgam kurvāṇāḥ bhojāḥ Saudāsāḥ kshattriyāḥ teshām yājakāḥ virūpāḥ nānārūpāḥ Medhātithi-prabhritayo 'ngirasaś cha divo 'surasya devebhyo 'pi balavato Rudrasya putrāso . . . . Marutaḥ*). The Virūpas are connected with Angiras in R.V. x. 62, 5; and a Virūpa is mentioned in i. 45, 3; and viii. 64, 6.

Dyaus (sky), bestowing wealth upon Viśvāmitra at the sacrifice with a thousand libations, prolong their lives. 8. The opulent god (Indra) constantly assumes various forms, exhibiting with his body illusive appearances; since he came from the sky thrice in a moment, drinking (soma) according to his own will, at other than the stated seasons, and yet observing the ceremonial. 9.[133] The great rishi, god-born, god-impelled, leader of men, stayed the watery current; when Viśvāmitra conducted Sudās, Indra was propitiated through the Kuśikas. 10. Like swans, ye make a sound with the (soma-crushing) stones, exulting with your hymns when the libation is poured forth; ye Kuśikas, sage rishis, leaders of men, drink the honied soma with the gods.[134] 11. Approach, ye Kuśikas, be alert; let loose the horse of Sudās to (conquer) riches; let the king smite strongly his enemy in the east, the west, and the north; and then let him sacrifice on the most excellent (spot) of the earth.[135] 12. I Viśvāmitra have caused both heaven and earth to sing the praises of Indra;[136] and my prayer protects the race of Bharata. 13. The Viśvāmitras have offered up prayer to Indra the thunderer. May he render us prosperous! 14. What are thy cows doing among the Kīkaṭas,[137] who neither draw from them the milk (which is to be mixed with soma), nor heat the sacrificial kettle. Bring to us the wealth of Pramaganda; subdue to us to the son of Nīchaśākha. 15. Moving swiftly, removing poverty, brought by the Jamadagnis, she has mightily uttered her voice: this daughter of the sun has conveyed (our) renown, eternal and undecaying, (even) to the gods. 16. Moving swiftly she has speedily brought down (our) renown from them to the five races of men; this winged[138] goddess whom the aged Jamadagnis brought to us, has conferred on us new life." Omitting verses

[133] Verses 9–13 are translated by Prof. Roth, Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 106 f.

[134] Comp. M. Bh. Ādip. v. 6695. *Apibach cha tataḥ somam Indreṇa saha Kauśikaḥ* | "And then the Kauśika drank soma with Indra."

[135] Compare R.V. iii. 23, 4, which will be quoted below.

[136] Compare R.V. iv. 17, 1.

[137] *Kīkaṭāḥ nāma deśo 'nāryya-nivāsaḥ* | "Kīkaṭa is a country inhabited by people who are not Āryas." See the second vol. of this work, p. 362, and Journ. Royal As. Soc. for 1866, p. 340.

[138] *Pakshyā.* This word is rendered by Sāyaṇa "the daughter of the sun who causes the light and dark periods of the moon, etc." (*Pakshasya pakshādi-nirvāhakasya Sūryasya duhitā*). Prof. Roth *s.v.* thinks the word may mean "she who changes according to the (light and dark) fortnights."

17-20 we have the following: "21. Prosper us to-day, o opulent Indra, by numerous and most excellent succours. May he who hates us fall down low; and may breath abandon him whom we hate." This is succeeded by three obscure verses, of which a translation will be attempted further on.

Sāyaṇa prefaces verses 15 and 16 by a quotation from Shaḍguruśishya's Commentary on the Anukramaṇikā, which is given with an addition in Weber's Indische Studien i. 119 f. as follows: *Sasarparī-dv-ṛiche prāhur itihāsam purāvidaḥ* ; *Saudāsa-nṛipater yajne Vasishṭhātmaja-Śaktinā* | *Viśvāmitrasyābhibhūtam balaṁ vāk cha samantataḥ* | *Vāsishṭhenābhibhūtaḥ sa hy avāsīdach cha Gādhi-jaḥ* | *tasmai Brāhmīṁ tu Saurīṁ vā nāmnā vāchaṁ Sasarparīm* | *Sūrya-veśmana āhṛitya dadur vai Jamadagnayaḥ* | *Kuśikānāṁ tataḥ sā vāṅ manāk chintām athānudat* | *upapreteti Kuśikān Viśvāmitro 'nvachodayat* | *labdhvā vāchaṁ cha hṛishṭātmā Jamadagnīn apūjayat* | "*Sasarparīr*" *iti dvābhyāṁ ṛigbhyāṁ Vācham stuvam svayam* | "Regarding the two verses beginning "*Sasarparīḥ*" those acquainted with antiquity tell a story. At a sacrifice of king Saudāsa[129] the power and speech of Viśvāmitra were completely vanquished by Śakti, son of Vasishṭha; and the son of Gādhi (Viśvāmitra) being so overcome, became dejected. The Jamadagnis drew from the abode of the Sun a Voice called "Sasarparī," the daughter of Brahmā, or of the Sun, and gave her to him. Then that voice somewhat dispelled the disquiet of the Jamadagnis [or, according to the reading of this line given by Sāyaṇa (*Kuśikānām matiḥ sā vāg amatiṁ tām apānudat*) "that Voice, being intelligence, dispelled the unintelligence of the Kuśikas."]. Viśvāmitra then incited the Kuśikas with the words *upapreta* 'approach' (see verse 11). And being gladdened by receiving the Voice, he paid homage to the Jamadagnis; praising them with the two verses beginning 'Sasarparīḥ.'"

In regard to the verses 21-24 Sāyaṇa has the following remarks: "*Indra ūtibhir ity ādyāś chatasro Vasishṭha-dveshiṇyaḥ* | *purā khalu Viśvāmitra-śishyaḥ Sudāḥ nāma rājarshir āsīt* | *sa cha kenachit kāraṇena Vasishṭha-dveshyo 'bhūt* | *Viśvāmitras tu śishyasya rakshārtham ābhir ṛigbhir Vasishṭham aśapat* | *imāḥ abhiśāpa-rūpāḥ* | *tāḥ ṛicho Vasishṭhāḥ na śṛiṇvanti* | "The four verses beginning 'o Indra, with succours' express hatred to Vasishṭha. There was formerly a royal rishi called

[129] The Bṛihaddevatā, which has some lines nearly to the same effect as these I have quoted (see Ind. Stud. i. 119), gives Sudās instead of Saudāsa.

Sudās, a disciple of Viśvāmitra; who for some reason had incurred the ill-will of Vasishṭha. For his disciple's protection Viśvāmitra cursed Vasishṭha in these verses. They thus consist of curses, and the Vasishṭhas do not listen to them."

In reference to the same passage the Bṛihaddevatā iv. 23 f., as quoted in Indische Studien, i. 120, has the following lines: *Parāś chatasro yās tattra Vasishṭha-dveshiṇīr viduḥ | Viśvāmitreṇa tāḥ proktāḥ abhiśāpāḥ iti smṛitāḥ | dvesha-dveshās tu tāḥ proktāḥ vidyāch chaivābhichārikāḥ | Vasishṭhās tu na śṛiṇvanti tad āchārryaka-sammatam | kīrttanāch chhravaṇād vā 'pi mahān doshaḥ prajāyate | śatadhā bhidyate mūrdhā kīrttitena śrutena vā | teshām bālāḥ pramīyante tasmāt tās tu na kīrttayet |* "The other four verses of that hymn, which are regarded as expressing hatred to Vasishṭha, were uttered by Viśvāmitra, and are traditionally reported to contain imprecations. They are said to express hatred in return for (?) hatred, and should also be considered as incantations. The descendants of Vasishṭha do not listen to them, as this is the will of their preceptor. Great guilt is incurred by repeating or hearing them. The heads of those who do so are split into a hundred fragments; and their children die. Wherefore let no one recite them."

Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta,[140] in accordance with this injunction and warning, says in reference to verse 23: *Yasmin nigame esha śabdaḥ* (*lodhaḥ*) *sā Vasishṭha-dveshiṇī ṛik | ahaṁ cha Kāpishṭhalo Vāsishṭhaḥ | atas tāṁ na nirbravīmi |* "The text in which this word (*lodha*) occurs is a verse expressing hatred of Vasishṭha. But I am a Kāpishṭhala of the family of Vasishṭha; and therefore do not interpret it."

The following text also may have reference to the personal history of Viśvāmitra: R.V. iii. 43, 4. *Ā cha tvām etā vrishaṇā vahāto harī sakhāyā sudhurā svangā | dhānāvad Indraḥ savanaṁ jushāṇaḥ sakhā sakhyuḥ śṛiṇavad vandanāni | 5. Kuvid mā gopaṁ karase janasya kuvid rājānam maghavann ṛijīshin | kuvid mā ṛishim papivāṁsaṁ sutasya kuvid me vasvo amṛitasya śikshāḥ |* "4. May these two vigorous brown steeds, friendly, well-yoked, stout-limbed, convey thee hither. May Indra gratified by our libation mingled with grain, hear (like) a friend, the praises of a friend. 5. Wilt thou make me a ruler of the people? wilt

140 As quoted both by Prof. Roth, Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 108, note, and by Prof. Müller, Pref. to Rig-veda, vol. ii. p. lvi.

thou make me a king, o impetuous lord of riches? wilt thou make me a rishi a drinker of soma? wilt thou endow me with imperishable wealth?"

The next passage refers to Devaśravas and Devavāta, of the race of Bharata, who are called in the Anukramanikā, quoted by Sāyaṇa, "sons of Bharata" (*Bharatasya putrau*); but one of whom at least is elsewhere, as we shall see, said to be a son of Viśvāmitra: R.V. iii. 23, 2. *Amanthishṭām Bhāratā revad Agnim Devaśravāḥ Devavātaḥ sudaksham* | *Agne vi paśya bṛihatā 'bhi rāyā ishāṁ no netā bhavatād anu dyūn* | 3. *Daśa kshipaḥ pūrvyaṁ sīm ajījanan sujātam mātṛishu priyam* | *Agniṁ stuhi Daivavātaṁ Devaśravo yo janānām asad vaśī* | 4. *Ni tvā dadhe vare ā pṛithivyāḥ iḷāyās pade sudinatve ahnām* | *Dṛishadvatyām mānushe Āpayāyāṁ Sarasvatyāṁ revad Agne didīhi* | "2. The two Bhāratas Devaśravas and Devavāta have brilliantly created by friction the powerful Agni. Look upon us, o Agni, manifesting thyself with much wealth; be a bringer of nourishment to us every day. 3. The ten fingers (of Devavāta) have generated the ancient god, happily born and dear to his mothers. Praise, o Devaśravas, Agni, the offspring of Devavāta, who has become the lord of men. 4. I placed (or he placed) thee on the most excellent spot of earth on the place of worship,[141] at an auspicious time. Shine, o Agni, brilliantly on the (banks of the) Dṛishadvatī, on (a site) auspicious for men, on (the banks of) the Āpayā, of the Sarasvatī."

Viśvāmitra is mentioned along with Jamadagni in the fourth verse of the 167th hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala, which is ascribed to these two sages as its authors: *Prasūto bhaksham akaram charāv api stomaṁ chemam prathamaḥ sūrir un mṛije* | *sute sātena yadi āgamaṁ vām prati Viśvāmitra-Jamadagnī dame* | "Impelled, I have quaffed this draught of soma when the oblation of boiled rice was presented; and I, the first bard, prepare this hymn, whilst I have come to you, o Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni in the house, with that which has been offered as a libation."

The family of the Viśvāmitras has, as we have seen, been already mentioned in R.V. iii. 53, 13. They are also named in the following passages:

iii. 1, 21. *Janman janman nihito Jātavedāḥ Viśvāmitrebhir idhyate ajasraḥ* |

[141] Compare R.V. iii. 29, 3, 4.

"The undecaying Jātavedas (Agni) placed (on the hearth) is in every generation kindled by the Viśvāmitras."

iii. 18, 4. *Uch chhochishā sahasas putraḥ stuto bṛihad vayaḥ śaśamāneshu dhehi | revad Agne Viśvāmitreshu śaṁ yor marmṛijma te tanvam bhūri kṛitvaḥ |*

"Son of strength, when lauded, do thou with thy upward flame inspire vigorous life into thy worshippers; (grant) o Agni, brilliant good fortune and prosperity to the Viśvāmitras; many a time have we given lustre to thy body."

x. 89, 17. *Eva te vayam Indra bhunjatīnāṁ vidyāma sumatīnām navānām | vidyāma vastor avasā gṛiṇanto Viśvāmitrāḥ uta te Indra nūnam |*

"Thus may we obtain from thee new favours to delight us: and may we, Viśvāmitras, who praise thee, now obtain riches through thy help, o Indra."

This hymn is ascribed in the Anukramaṇī to Reṇu, the son or descendant of Viśvāmitra; and the 18th verse is identical with the 22nd of the 30th hymn of the third Maṇḍala, which is said to be Viśvāmitra's production.

In a verse already quoted (R.V. iii. 33, 11) Viśvāmitra is spoken of as the son of Kuśika; at least the Nirukta regards that passage as referring to him; and the Kuśikas, who no doubt belonged to the same family as Viśvāmitra, are mentioned in another hymn which I have cited (iii. 53, 9, 10). They are also alluded to in the following texts:

R.V. iii. 26, 1. *Vaiśvānaram manasā 'gniṁ nichāyya havishmanto anushatyaṁ svarvidam | sudānuṁ devaṁ rathiraṁ vasūyavo gīrbhiḥ raṇvaṁ Kuśikāso havāmahe* | . . . . . 3. *Aśvo na krandan janibhiḥ sam idhyate Vaiśvānaraḥ Kuśikebhir yuge yuge | sa no Agniḥ suvīryaṁ svaśvyaṁ dadhātu ratnam amṛiteshu jāgṛiviḥ |*

"We, the Kuśikas, presenting oblations, and desiring riches, revering in our souls, as is meet,[143] the divine Agni Vaiśvānara, the heavenly, the bountiful, the charioteer, the pleasant, invoke him with hymns. . . . . 3. Vaiśvanara, who (crackles) like a neighing horse, is kindled by the Kuśikas with the mothers (*i.e.* their fingers) in every age. May

[143] This is the sense of *anushatyam* according to Prof. Aufrecht. Sāyaṇa makes it one of the epithets of Agni "he who is true to his promise in granting rewards according to works" (*satyenānugataṁ karmānurūpa-phala-pradāne satya-pratijnam*).

this Agni, who is ever alive among the immortals, bestow on us wealth, with vigour and with horses."

iii. 29, 15. *Amitrāyudho Marutām iva prayāḥ prathamajāḥ brahmaṇo viśvam id viduḥ | dyumnavad brahma Kuśikāsaḥ ā īrire ekaḥ eko dame Agnim sam īdhire |*

"Combating their enemies like the hosts of the Maruts, (the sages) the first-born of prayer[143] know everything; the Kuśikas have sent forth an enthusiastic prayer; they have kindled Agni, each in his own house."

iii. 30, 20. *Imam kāmam mandaya gobhir aśvaiś chandrāvatā rādhasā paprathaś cha | svaryavo matibhis tubhyam viprāḥ Indrāya vāhaḥ Kuśikāso akran |*

"Gratify this (our) desire with kine and horses; and prosper us with brilliant wealth. The wise Kuśikas, desiring heaven, have with their minds composed for thee a hymn."

iii. 42, 9. *Tvām sutasya pītaye pratnam Indra havāmahe | Kuśikāso avasyavaḥ |*

"We, the Kuśikas, desiring succour, summon thee the ancient Indra to drink the soma libation."

It will be seen from these passages that the Viśvāmitras and the Kuśikas assert themselves to have been ancient worshippers of Agni, and to be the composers of hymns, and the possessors of all divine knowledge.

In the eleventh verse of the tenth hymn of the first Maṇḍala of the R.V., of which the traditional author is Madhuchhandas of the family of Viśvāmitra, the epithet *Kauśika* is applied to Indra: *Ā tu naḥ Indra Kauśika mandasānaḥ sutam piba | navyam āyuḥ pra sutira kṛidhi sahasra-sām ṛishim |* "Come, Indra, Kauśika, drink our oblation with delight. Grant me new and prolonged life; make the rishi the possessor of a thousand boons."

Sāyaṇa explains the epithet in question as follows: *Kauśika Kuśikasya putra . . . yadyapi Viśvāmitro Kuśikasya putras tathāpi tadrūpeṇa Indrasya eva utpannatvāt Kuśika-putratvam aviruddham | ayam vṛittānto 'nukramaṇikāyām uktaḥ | "Kuśikas tv Aishīrathir Indra-*

[143] Compare with this the epithet of *devajāḥ*, "god-born," applied to Viśvāmitra in iii. 53, 9 (above p. 342); and the claim of knowledge made for the Vasishṭhas in vii. 33, 7 (above p. 320).

tulyam putram ichhan brahmacharyaṁ chachāra | *tasya Indraḥ eva Gāthī putro jajne*" *iti* | "Kauśika means the son of Kuśika . . . Although Viśvāmitra was the son of Kuśika, yet, as it was Indra who was born in his form, there is nothing to hinder Indra being the son of Kuśika. This story is thus told in the Anukramaṇikā: 'Kuśika, the son of Ishīratha desiring a son like Indra, lived in the state of a Brahmachārin. It was Indra who was born to him as his son Gāthin.'" To this the Anukramaṇī (as quoted by Prof. Müller, Rig-veda, vol. ii. pref. p. xl.) adds the words: *Gāthino Viśvāmitraḥ* | *sa tritīyam maṇḍalam apaśyat* | "The son of Gāthin was Viśvāmitra, who saw the third Maṇḍala." In quoting this passage Professor Müller remarks: "According to Shaḍguruśishya this preamble was meant to vindicate the Rishitva of the family of Viśvāmitra:[144] *Saty apavāde svayam rishitvam anubhavato Viśvāmitra-gotrasya vivakshayā itihāsaṁ āha*" | "Wishing to declare the rishihood of the family of Viśvāmitra which was controverted, although they were themselves aware of it, he tells a story."

Professor Roth in his Lexicon (*s.v. Kauśika*) thinks that this term as originally applied to Indra meant merely that the god "belonged, was devoted to," the Kuśikas; and Professor Benfey, in a note to his translation of R.V. i. 10, 11,[145] remarks that "by this family-name Indra is designated as the sole or principal god of this tribe."

[144] Prof. Müller states that "Sāyaṇa passes over what Kātyāyana (the author of the Anukramaṇī) says about the race of Viśvāmitra;" and adds "This (the fact of the preamble being 'meant to vindicate the Rishitva of the family of Viśvāmitra') was probably the reason why Sāyaṇa left it out." It is true that Sāyaṇa does not quote the words of the Anukramaṇī in his introductory remarks to the third Maṇḍala; but as we have seen he had previously adduced the greater part of them in his note on i. 10, 11.

[145] Orient und Occident, vol. i. p. 18, note 50. We have seen above, p. 345, that in R.V. iii. 23, 3, another god, Agni, is called *Daivavāta*, after the rishi Devavāta, by whom he had been kindled. Compare also the expression *Daivodāso Agniḥ* in R.V. viii. 92, 2, which Sāyaṇa explains as = *Divodāsena āhūyamāno 'gniḥ*, "Agni invoked by Divodāsa;" while Prof. Roth *s.v.* understands it to mean "Agni who stands in relation to Divodāsa." In R.V. vi. 16, 19, Agni is called *Divodāsasya satpatiḥ*, "the good lord of Divodāsa." Agni is also called Bhārata in R.V. ii. 7, 1, 5; iv. 25, 4; vi. 16, 19. On the first text (ii. 7, 1) Sāyaṇa says *Bharatāḥ ritvijaḥ* | *teshāṁ sambandhī Bhārataḥ*, "Bharatas are priests. Bhārata is he who is connected with them." On ii. 7, 5 he explains the word by *ritvijām putra-sthānīya*, "Thou who art in the place of a son to the priests." On the second text (iv. 25, 4) *tasmai Agnir Bhārataḥ śarma yaṁsat*, "may Agni Bhārata give him protection") Sāyaṇa takes Bhārata to mean "the bearer of the oblation" (*havisho bharttā*); but also refers to the S'.P.Br. i. 4, 2, 2, where it is said, "or Agni is called 'Bhārata,' because, becoming breath, he sustains all creatures"

According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa (pp. 398–400, Wilson, 4to. ed.) Viśvāmitra was the twelfth in descent from Purūravas, the persons intermediate being (1) Amāvasu, (2) Bhīma, (3) Kānchana, (4) Suhotra, (5) Jahnu, (6) Sumantu, (7) Ajaka, (8) Valākāśva, (9) Kuśa, (10) Kuśāmba, and (11) Gādhi. The birth of Viśvāmitra's father is thus described, V.P. iv. 7, 4: *Teshāṁ Kuśāmbaḥ "śakra-tulyo me putro bhaved" iti tapaś chachāra | taṁ cha ugra-tapasam avalokya "mā bhavatv anyo 'smat-tulya-vīryyaḥ" ity ātmanā eva asya Indraḥ putratvam agachhat | Gādhir nāma sa Kauśiko 'bhavat* | "Kuśāmba (one of Kuśa's four sons) practised austere fervour with the view of obtaining a son equal to Indra. Perceiving him to be very ardent in his austere fervour, Indra, fearing lest another person should be born his own equal in vigour, became himself the son of Kuṣāmba, with the name of Gādhi the Kauśika." Regarding the birth of Viśvāmitra himself, the Vishṇu Purāṇa relates the following story: Gādhi's daughter Satyavatī had been given in marriage to an old Brāhman called Ṛichīka, of the family of Bhṛigu. In order that his wife might bear a son with the qualities of a Brāhman, Ṛichīka had prepared for her a dish of charu (rice, barley, and pulse, with butter and milk) for her to eat; and a similar mess for her mother, calculated to make her conceive a son with the character of a warrior. Satyavatī's mother, however, persuaded her to exchange messes. She was blamed by her husband on her return home for what she had done. I quote the words of the original:

V.P. iv. 7, 14. "*Ati pāpe kim idam akāryyam bhavatyā kṛitam | atiraudraṁ te vapur ālakshyate | nūnaṁ tvayā tvan-mātṛi-satkṛitaś charur upayuktaḥ* (? *upabhuktaḥ*) | *na yuktam etat* | 15. *Mayā hi tattra charau sakalā eva śauryya-vīryya-bala-sampad āropitā tvadīye charāv apy akhila-śānti-jnāna-titikshādikā brāhmaṇa-sampat | etach cha vipa-*

(*esha u vai imāḥ prajāḥ prāṇo bhūtvā bibhartti tasmād vā iva āha "Bhārata" iti*). Another explanation had previously been given that the word *Bhārata* means "he who bears oblations to the gods." On the third text (vi. 16, 19) Sāyaṇa interprets the term in the same way. Roth, *s.v.*, thinks it may mean "warlike." In R.V. vii. 8, 4, (V.S. 12, 34) we find the words *pra pra ayam Agnir Bharatasya śṛiṇve*, "this Agni (the son?) of Bharata has been greatly renowned." Sāyaṇa makes *bharatasya* = *yajamānasya*, "the worshipper," and *pra pra śṛiṇve* = *prathito bhavati*, "is renowned." The Comm. on the Vāj. S. translates "Agni hears the invocation of the worshipper" (*śṛiṇve śṛiṇute āhvānam*). The S'. P. Br. vi. 8, 1, 14, quotes the verse, and explains *Bharata* as meaning "Prajāpati, the supporter of the universe" (*Prajāpatir vai Bharataḥ sa hi idaṁ sarvam bibhartti*).

rītaṁ kurvatyās tava atiraudrāstra-dhāraṇa-māraṇa-nishṭha-kshattriyāchāraḥ puttro bhavishyaty asyāś cha upaśama-ruchir brāhmaṇāchāraḥ" | ity ākarṇya eva sā tasya pādau jagrāha praṇipatya cha enam āha "bhagavan mayā etad ajnānād anushṭhitam | prasādaṁ me kuru | mā evaṁvidhaḥ putro bhavatu | kāmam evaṁvidhaḥ pautro bhavatu" | ity ukto munir apy āha "evam astv" iti | 16. *Anantaraṁ cha sā Jamadagnim ajījanat tan-mātā cha Viśvāmitraṁ janayāmāsa | Satyavatī cha Kauśikī nāma nady abhavat | Jamadagnir Ikshvāku-vaṁśodbhavasya Reṇos tanayāṁ Reṇukām upayeme tasyāṁ cha aśesha-kshattra-vaṁśa-hantāram Paraśurāma-sanjnam bhagavataḥ sakala-loka-guror Nārāyaṇasya aṁśaṁ Jamadagnir ajījanat | Viśvāmitra-putras tu Bhārgavaḥ eva Śunaḥśepo nāma devair dattaḥ | tataś cha Devarāta-nāmā 'bhavat | tataś cha anye Madhuchhanda-Jayakṛita-Devadeva-Ashṭaka-Kachhapa-Hārītakākhyāḥ Viśvāmitra-putrāḥ babhūvuḥ* | 17. *Teshāṁ cha bahūni Kauśika-gotrāṇi ṛishyantareshu vaivāhyāni bhavanti* |

" 'Sinful woman, what improper deed is this that thou hast done? I behold thy body of a very terrible appearance. Thou hast certainly eaten the charu prepared for thy mother. This was wrong. For into that charu I had infused all the endowments of heroism, vigour, and force, whilst into thine I had introduced all those qualities of quietude, knowledge, and patience which constitute the perfection of a Brāhman. Since thou hast acted in contravention of my design a son shall be born to thee who shall live the dreadful, martial, and murderous life of a Kshattriya; and thy mother's offspring shall exhibit the peaceful disposition and conduct of a Brāhman.' As soon as she had heard this, Satyavatī fell down and seized her husband's feet, and said, 'My lord, I have acted from ignorance; show kindness to me; let me not have a son of the sort thou hast described; if thou pleasest, let me have a grandson of that description.' Hearing this the muni replied, 'Be it so.' Subsequently she bore Jamadagni, and her mother gave birth to Viśvāmitra. Satyavatī became the river called Kauśikī. Jamadagni wedded Reṇukā, the daughter of Reṇu, of the family of Ikshvāku; and on her he begot a son called Paraśurāma, the slayer of the entire race of Kshattriyas, who was a portion of the divine Nārāyaṇa, the lord of the universe.[146] To Viśvāmitra a son called Śunaśśepa, of the race of

[146] According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 20, Paraśurāma was the sixteenth incarnation of Vishṇu: *Avatāre shoḍaśame paśyan brahma-druho nṛipān | trissapta-*

Bhṛigu, was given by the gods, who in consequence received the name of Devarāta ("god-given"). And then other sons, Madhuchhandas, Jayakṛita, Devadeva, Ashṭaka, Kachhapa, Hārītaka, etc., were born to Viśvāmitra. From them sprang many families of Kauśikas, which intermarried with those of other rishis."

The Harivaṁśa, verses 1425 ff., gives a similar account, but makes Kuśika, not Kuśāmba, the grandfather of Viśvāmitra:

Kuśa-putrāḥ babhūvur hi chatvāro deva-varchasaḥ | Kuśikaḥ Kuśanābhaś cha Kuśāmbo Mūrtimāṁs tathā | Pahlavaiḥ saha saṁvṛiddho rājā vana-charais tadā | Kuśikas tu tapas tepe puttram Indra-samaṁ vibhuḥ | labheyam iti taṁ S'akras trāsād abhyetya jajnivān | pūrṇe varsha-sahasre vai taṁ tu S'akro hy apaśyata | aty ugra-tapasaṁ dṛishṭvā sahasrākshaḥ purandaraḥ | samarthaḥ putra-janane svam evāṁśam avāsayat | putratve kalpayāmāsa sa devendraḥ surottamaḥ | sa Gādhir abhavad rājā Maghavān Kauśikaḥ svayam | Paurukutsy abhavad bhāryyā Gādhis tasyām ajāyata |

"Kuśa had four sons, equal in lustre to the gods, Kuśika, Kuśanābha, Kuśāmba, and Mūrttimat. Growing up among the Pahlavas, who dwelt in the woods, the glorious king Kuśika practised austere fervour, with the view of obtaining a son equal to Indra; and Indra from apprehension came and was born. When a thousand years had elapsed Sakra (Indra) beheld him. Perceiving the intensity of his austere fervour, the thousand-eyed, city-destroying, god of gods, highest of the deities, powerful to procreate offspring, introduced a portion of himself, and caused it to take the form of a son; and thus Maghavat himself became Gādhi, the son of Kuśika. Paurukutsī was the wife (of the latter), and of her Gādhi was born."

The Harivaṁśa then relates a story similar to that just extracted from the Vishṇu Purāṇa regarding the births of Jamadagni and Viśvāmitra, and then proceeds, verse 1456:

Aurvasyaivam Ṛichīkasya Satyavatyām mahāyaśāḥ | Jamadagnis tapovīryyāj jajne brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ | madhyamaś cha S'unaśśephaḥ S'unaḥpuchhaḥ kanishṭhakaḥ | Viśvāmitraṁ tu dāyādam Gādhiḥ Kuśika-nandanaḥ | janayāmāsa putraṁ tu tapo-vidyā-śamātmakam | prāpya brah-

kṛitvaḥ kupito niḥkshattrām akarod mahīm | "In his sixteenth incarnation, perceiving that kings were oppressors of Brāhmans, he, incensed, made the earth destitute of Kshattriyas one and twenty times."

marshi-samatām yo 'yam saptarshitām gataḥ | Viśvāmitras tu dharmātmā nāmnā Viśvarathaḥ smṛitaḥ | jajne Bhṛigu-prasādena Kauśikād vaṁśa-varddhanaḥ | Viśvāmitrasya cha sutāḥ Devarātādayaḥ smṛitāḥ | vikhyātās trishu lokeshu teshāṁ nāmāni vai śṛiṇu | Devaśravāḥ Katiś chaiva yasmāt Kātyāyanāḥ smṛitāḥ | S'ālāvatyāṁ Hiraṇyāksho Reṇor jajne 'tha Reṇumān | Sānkṛitir Gālavaś chaiva Mudgalaś cheti viśrutāḥ | Madhuchhando Jayaś chaiva Devalaś cha tathā 'shṭakaḥ | Kachhapo Hāritaś chaiva Viśvāmitrasya te sutāḥ | teshāṁ khyātāni gotrāṇi Kauśikānām mahātmanām | Pāṇino Babhravaś chaiva Dhyānajapyās tathaiva cha | Pārthivāḥ Devarātāś cha S'ālankāyana-Vāskalāḥ | Lohitāh Yāmadūtāś cha tathā Kārīshayaḥ smṛitāḥ | Sauśrutāḥ Kauśikāḥ rājaṁs tathā 'nye Saindhavāyanāḥ | Devalāḥ Reṇavaś chaiva Yājnavalkyāghamarshaṇāḥ | Audumbarāḥ hy Abhishṇātās Tārakāyaṇa-chunchulāḥ | S'ālāvatyāḥ Hiraṇyākshāḥ Sānkṛityāḥ Gālavās tathā | Nārāyaṇir Naraś chānyo Viśvāmitrasya dhīmataḥ | ṛishy-antara-vivāhyāś cha Kauśikāḥ bahavaḥ smṛitāḥ | Pauravasya mahārāja brahmarsheḥ Kauśikasya cha | sambandho 'py asya vaṁśe 'smin brahma-kshattrasya viśrutaḥ |

"Thus was the renowned Jamadagni, the most excellent of those possessed of sacred knowledge, born by the power of austere fervour to Ṛichīka, the son of Ūrva, by Satyavatī. Their second son was S'unaśśepha[147] and the youngest S'unaḥpuchha. And Gādhi, son of Kuśika, begot as his son and inheritor Viśvāmitra, distinguished for austere fervour, science, and quietude; who attained an equality with Brahman-rishis, and became one of the seven rishis. The righteous Viśvāmitra, who was known by name as Viśvaratha,[148] was by the favour of a Bhṛigu born to the son of Kuśika, an augmenter (of the glory) of his race. The sons of Viśvāmitra are related to have been Devarāta and the rest, renowned in the three worlds. Hear their names: Devaśravas, Kati (from whom the Kātyāyanas had their name); Hiraṇyāksha, born of S'ālāvatī, and Reṇumat of Reṇu; Sānkṛiti, Gālava, Mudgala, Madhuchhanda, Jaya, Devala, Ashṭaka, Kachhapa, Hārita — these were the

[147] The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, as we shall shortly see, makes 'S'unaśśepa' a son of Ajīgartta. The Mahābhārata Anuśāsanap. verse 186, coincides with the Harivaṁśa.

[148] In another passage of the Harivaṁśa (verses 1764 ff.), which repeats the particulars given in this passage, it appears to be differently stated, verse 1766, that besides a daughter Satyavatī, and his son Viśvāmitra, Gādhi had three other sons, Viśvaratha, Viśvakṛit, and Viśvajit (*Viśvāmitras tu Gādheyo rājā Viśvarathas tadā | Viśvakṛid Viśvajich chaiva tathā Satyavatī nṛipa*).

sons of Viśvāmitra. From them the families of the great Kauśikas are said to have sprung: the Pāṇins, Babhrus, Dhānajapyas, Pārthivas, Devarātas, Śālankāyanas, Vāskalas, Lohitas, Yāmadūtas, Kārīshis, Sauśrutas, Kauśikas, Saindhavāyanas, Devalas, Reṇus, Yājnavalkyas, Aghamarshaṇas, Audumbaras, Abhishṇātas, Tārakayaṇas, Chunchulas, Śālāvatyas, Hiraṇyākshas, Sānkṛityas, and Gālavas.[149] Nārāyaṇi and Nara were also (descendants) of the wise Viśvāmitra. Many Kauśikas are recorded who intermarried with the families of other rishis. In this race of the Paurava and Kauśika Brahman-rishi, there is well known to have been a connection of the Brāhmans and Kshattriyas. Śunaśśepha, who was a descendant of Bhṛigu, and obtained the position of a Kauśika, is recorded to have been the eldest of Viśvāmitra's sons."

It will be observed that in this passage, Devaśravas is given as one of Viśvāmitra's sons. A Devaśravas, as we have already seen, is mentioned in R.V. iii. 23, 2, as a Bhārata, along with Devavāta. Here however in the Harivaṁśa we have no Devavāta, but a Devarāta, who is identified with Śunaśśepha. This, as we shall find, is also the case in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

In the genealogy given in both of the preceding passages, from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and the 27th chapter of the Harivaṁśa respectively, Viśvāmitra is declared to be the descendant of Amāvasu the third son of Purūravas. In the 32nd chapter of the Harivaṁśa, however, we find a different account. Viśvāmitra's lineage is there traced up to a Jahnu, as in the former case; but Jahnu is no longer represented as a descendant of Amāvasu, the third son of Purūravas; but (as appears from the preceding narrative) of Āyus, the eldest son of that prince, and of Puru, the great-grandson of Āyus. Professor Wilson (Vishṇu Purāṇa, 4to. ed. p. 451, note 23) is of opinion that this confusion originated in the recurrence of the name of Suhotra in different genealogical lists, and in the ascription to one king of this name of descendants who were

[149] Professor Wilson (V.P. 4to. ed. p. 405, note) gives these names, and remarks that the authorities add "an infinity of others, multiplied by intermarriages with other tribes, and who, according to the Vāyu, were originally of the regal caste like Viśvāmitra; but like him obtained Brahmanhood through devotion. Now these gotras, or some of them at least, no doubt existed, partaking more of the character of schools of doctrine, but in which teachers and scholars were very likely to have become of one family by intermarrying; and the whole, as well as their original founder, imply the interference of the Kshattriya caste with the Brahmanical monopoly of religious instruction and composition."

really sprung from another. It is not, however, clear that the genealogy of Viśvāmitra given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa is the right one. For in the Rig-veda, as we have seen, he is connected with the Bharatas, and in the passage about to be quoted from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, he is called a Bharata and his sons Kuśikas; and Bharata is said both in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (Wilson's V.P. 4to. ed. p. 449) and in the Harivaṁśa (sect. 32, v. 1723, and preceding narrative) to be a descendant of Āyus and of Puru. Accordingly we have seen that the Harivaṁśa styles Viśvāmitra at once a Paurava and a Kauśika.

A similar genealogy to that in the 32nd section of the Harivaṁśa is given in the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparvan, verses 201 ff., where it is said that in the line of Bharata there was a king called Ajamīḍha who was also a priest (*Bharatasyānvaye chaivājamīḍho nāma pārthivaḥ | babhūva Bharata-śreshṭha yajvā dharma-bhṛitāṁ varaḥ*), from whom Viśvāmitra was descended through (1) Jahnu, (2) Sindhudvīpa, (3) Balākaśva, (4) Kuśika, (5) Gādhi.

One of the names applied to Viśvāmitra and his race, as I have just noticed, is Bharata.[150] The last of the four verses at the close of the 53rd hymn of the third Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda, which are supposed to contain a malediction directed by Viśvāmitra against Vaśishṭha (see above) is as follows: iii. 53, 24. *Ime Indra Bharatasya putrāḥ apapitvaṁ chikitur na prapitvam* | "These sons of Bharata, o Indra, desire to avoid (the Vasishṭhas), not to approach them." These words are thus explained by Sāyaṇa: *Bharatasya putrāḥ Bharata-vaṁśyāḥ ime Viśvāmitrāḥ apapitvam apagamanaṁ Vasishṭhebhyaś chikitur na prapitvam* | [*Va*]*sishṭaiḥ saha teshāṁ sangatir nāsti* | *brāhmaṇāḥ eva ity arthaḥ* | "These sons of Bharata, persons of his race, know departure from, and not approach to, the Vasishṭhas. They do not associate with the Vasishṭhas. This means they are Brāhmans."

The persons who accompanied Viśvāmitra when he wished to cross the Vipāś and the Śutudrī are, as we have seen above, called Bhărătas; and Devaśravas and Devavāta are designated in R.V. iii. 23, 2, as Bhărătas. On the other hand in one of the hymns ascribed to Vasishṭha (R.V. vii. 33, 6) the Bhărătas are alluded to as a tribe hostile to the Tṛitsus, the race to which Vasishṭha belonged.

150 See Roth's Lexicon, *s.v. Bharata*, (7) "the name of a hero, the forefather of a tribe. His sons are called Viśvāmitras and the members of his family Bharatas."

In the legend of Sunaśśepa, told in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vii. 13–18,[121] Viśvāmitra is alluded to as being the hotṛi-priest of king Hariśchandra, and as belonging to the tribe of the Bharatas. He is also addressed as *rājaputra*, and his sons are called Kuśikas. The outlines of the story are as follows: King Hariśchandra of the family of Ikshvāku having no son, promised to Varuṇa, by the advice of Nārada, that if a son should be born to him he would sacrifice him to that god. A son was accordingly born to the king, who received the name of Rohita; but Hariśchandra, though called upon by Varuṇa, put off from time to time, on various pleas, the fulfilment of his promise. When the father at length consented, the youth himself refused to be sacrificed and went into the forest. After passing six years there he met a poor Brāhman rishi called Ajīgartta who had three sons, the second of whom, S'unaśśepa, he sold for a hundred cows to Rohita, who brought the young Brāhman to be sacrificed instead of himself. Varuṇa accepted the vicarious victim, and arrangements were made accordingly, "Viśvāmitra being the hotṛi-priest, Jamadagni the adhvaryu, Vasishṭha the brāhmăn, and Ayāsya the udgātṛi (*tasya ha Viśvāmitro hotā āsīj Jamadagnir adhvaryur Vasishṭho brahmā Ayāsyaḥ udgātā*)." The sacrifice was not, however, completed, although the father received a hundred more cows for binding his son to the sacrificial post, and a third hundred for agreeing to slaughter him. By reciting verses in honour of different deities in succession S'unaśśepa was delivered; and at the request of the priests took part in the ceremonial of the day. I shall quote the remainder of the story at length:

17. *Atha ha S'unaḥśepo Viśvāmitrasyānkam āsasāda* | *sa ha uvācha Ajīgarttaḥ Sauyavasir "rishe punar me puttraṁ dehi" iti* | *"Na" iti ha uvācha Viśvāmitro "devāḥ vai imam mahyam arāsata" iti* | *sa ha Devarāto Vaiśvāmitraḥ āsa* | *tasya ete Kāpileya-Bābhravāḥ* | *sa ha uvācha Ajīgarttaḥ Sauyavasis "tvaṁ vehi vihvayāvahai" iti* | *sa ha uvācha Ajīgarttaḥ Sauyavasir "Āngiraso janmanā 'sy Ājīgarttiḥ śrutaḥ kaviḥ* | *rishe paitāmahāt tantor mā 'pagāḥ punar ehi mām" iti* | *sa*

[121] This legend is translated into German by Prof. Roth in Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 457 ff., into English by Prof. Wilson, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. vol. xiii. for 1851, pp. 96 ff., by Dr. Haug in his Ait. Brāhmaṇa, vol. ii. 460 ff., by Prof. Müller in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 408 ff., and into Latin by Dr. Streiter in his "Diss. de Sunaḥsepo."

ha uvācha S'unaḥśepaḥ "adarśus tvā śāsa-hastaṁ na yach chhūdreshv alapsata | gavāṁ trīṇi śatāni tvam avṛiṇīthāḥ mad Angiraḥ" iti | sa ha uvācha Ajīgarttaḥ Sauyavasis "tad vai mā tāta tapati pāpaṁ karma mayā kṛitam | tad ahaṁ nihnave tubhyam pratiyantu śatā gavām" iti | sa ha uvācha S'unaḥśepaḥ "yaḥ sakṛit pāpakaṁ kuryāt kuryād enat tato 'param | nāpāgāḥ śaudrānyāyād asandheyaṁ tvayā kṛitam" iti | "asandheyam" iti ha Viśvāmitraḥ upapapāda | sa ha uvācha Viśvāmitraḥ "Bhīmaḥ eva Sauyavasiḥ śāsena viśiśāsishuḥ | asthād maitasya putro bhūr mamaivopehi putratām" iti | sa ha uvācha S'unaḥśepaḥ "sa vai yathā no jnāpayā rājaputra tathā vada | yathaivāngirasaḥ sann upeyāṁ tava putratām" iti | sa ha uvācha Viśvāmitro "Jyeshṭho me tvam putrāṇāṁ syās tava śreshṭhā prajā syāt | upeyāḥ daivam me dāyaṁ tena vai tvopamantraye" iti | sa ha uvācha S'unaḥśepaḥ "sanjnānāneshu vai brūyāt sauhārdyāya me śriyai | yathā 'ham Bharata-ṛishabha upeyāṁ tava putratām" iti | atha ha Viśvāmitraḥ putrān āmantrayāmāsa "Madhuchhandāḥ śṛiṇotana Ṛishabho Reṇur Ashṭakaḥ | ye ke cha bhrātaraḥ sthana asmai jyaishṭhyāya kalpadhvam" iti | 18. *Tasya ha Viśvāmitrasya eka-śatam putrāḥ āsuḥ panchāśad eva jyāyāṁso Madhuchhandasaḥ panchāśat kanīyāṁsaḥ | tad ye jyāyāṁso na te kuśalam menire | tān anuvyājahāra "antān vaḥ prajā bhakshīshṭa" iti | te ete 'ndhrāḥ Puṇḍrāḥ S'abarāḥ Pulindāḥ Mūtībāḥ ity udantyāḥ bahavo bhavanti | Vaiśvāmitrāḥ Dasyūnām bhūyishṭhāḥ | sa ha uvācha Madhuchhandāḥ panchāśatā sardham "yad naḥ pitā sanjānīte tasmiṁs tishṭhāmahe vayam | puras tvā sarve kurmahe tvām anvancho vayaṁ smasi" iti | atha ha Viśvāmitraḥ pratītaḥ putrāṁs tushṭāva "te vai putrāḥ paśumanto vīravanto bhavishyatha | ye mānam me 'nugṛihṇanto vīravantam akartta mā | pura-etrā vīravanto Devarātena Gāthināḥ | sarve rādhyāḥ stha putrāḥ esha vaḥ sadvivāchanam | esha vaḥ Kuśikāḥ vīro Devarātas tam anvita | yushmāṁs dāyam me upetā vidyāṁ yām u cha vidmasi | te samyancho Vaiśvāmitrāḥ sarve sākaṁ sarātayaḥ | Devarātāya tasthire dhṛityai śraishṭhyāya Gāthināḥ | adhīyata Devarāto rikthayor ubhyayor ṛishiḥ | Jahnūnāṁ chādhipatye daive vede cha Gāthinām |*

"S'unaśśepa came to the side of Viśvāmitra. Ajīgartta, the son of Suyavasa, said, 'Rishi, give me back my son.' 'No,' said Viśvāmitra, 'the gods have given him to me' (*devāḥ arāsata*); hence he became Devarāta the son of Viśvāmitra. The Kāpileyas and Bābhravas are his descendants. Ajīgartta said to Viśvāmitra, 'Come; let us both call

(him) to us.'[152] He (again) said (to his son), 'Thou art an Ângirasa, the son of Ajîgartta, reputed a sage; do not, o rishi, depart from the line of thy ancestors; come back to me.' S'unaśśepa replied, 'They have seen thee with the sacrificial knife in thy hand—a thing which men have not found even among the S'ûdras; thou didst prefer three hundred cows to me, o Angiras.' Ajîgartta rejoined, 'That sinful deed which I have done distresses me, my son; I abjure it to thee. Let the [three] hundreds of cows revert (to him who gave them).'[153] S'unaśśepa answered, 'He who once does a sinful deed, will add to it another; thou hast not freed thyself from that iniquity, fit only for a S'ûdra. Thou hast done what cannot be rectified.' 'What cannot be rectified,' interposed Viśvâmitra; who continued, 'Terrible was the son of Suyavasa as he stood about to immolate (thee) with the knife: continue not to be his son; become mine.' S'unaśśepa replied, 'Speak, o king's son (*râja-putra*), whatever thou hast to explain to us, in order that I, though an Ângirasa, may become thy son.' Viśvâmitra rejoined, 'Thou shalt be the eldest of my sons, and thy offspring shall be the most eminent. Thou shalt receive my divine inheritance; with this (invitation) I address thee.' S'unaśśepa answered, 'If (thy sons) agree, then for my welfare enjoin on them to be friendly, that so, o chief of the Bharatas, I may enter on thy sonship.' Viśvâmitra then addressed his sons, 'Do ye, Madhuchhandas, Ṛishabha, Reṉu, Ashṭaka, and all ye who are brothers, listen to me, and concede to him the seniority.' 18. Now Viśvâmitra had a hundred sons, fifty of whom were older than Madhuchhandas and fifty younger. Then those who were older did not approve (their father's proposal). Against them he pronounced (this

[152] I follow here the tenor of the interpretation (which is that of the Commentator on the S'ânkhâyana Brâhmaṇa) given by Prof. Weber in his review of Dr. Haug's Aitareya Brâhmaṇa, in Indische Studien, ix. 316. Prof. Weber remarks that in the Brâhmaṇas the root *hu* + *vi* is employed to denote the opposing invitations of two persons who are seeking to bring over a third person to their own side; in proof of which he quotes Taitt. S. 6, 1, 6, 6, and S'. P. Br. 3, 2, 4, 4, and 22. Profs. Roth, Wilson, and Müller, as well as Dr. Haug, understand the words to be addressed to S'unaśśepa by his father, and to signify "we, too (I and thy mother), call, or will call (thee to return to us).' But it does not appear that S'unaśśepa's mother was present. And it is to be observed that the next words uttered by Ajîgartta, which are addressed to S'unaśśepa, are preceded by the usual formula *sa ha uvâcha Ajîgarttaḥ Sauyavasiḥ*, "Ajîgartta the son of S. said," which perhaps would not have been the case if both sentences had been addressed to the same person.

[153] Here too I follow Weber, Ind. St. ix. p. 317.

doom), 'Let your progeny possess the furthest ends (of the country).' These are the numerous border-tribes, the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Sabaras, Pulindas, Mūtibas. Most of the Dasyus are sprung from Viśvāmitra.[154] Madhuchhandas with the (other) fifty said, 'Whatever our father determines, by that we abide. We all place thee in our front, and follow after thee.' Then Viśvāmitra was pleased, and said to his sons, 'Ye, my children who, shewing deference to me, have conferred upon me a (new) son, shall abound in cattle and in sons. Ye, my sons, the offspring of Gāthin, who possess in Devarāta a man who shall go before you, are all destined to be prosperous; he is your wise instructor. This Devarāta, o Kuśikas, is your chief; follow him. He will receive you as my inheritance, and obtain all the knowledge which we possess.' All these sons of Viśvāmitra, descendants of Gāthin, submitted together in harmony and with good will to Devarāta's control and superiority. The rishi Devarāta was invested with both possessions, with the lordly authority of the Jahnus, and with the divine Veda of the Gāthins."[155]

On this legend Professor Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 415 f.) remarks, amongst other things, as follows: "So revolting, indeed, is the descrip-

[154] See Weber, Ind. St. ix. p. 317 f., and Roth in his Lexicon, *s.vv. anta* and *udantya*.

[155] This legend is perhaps alluded to in the Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa, 19, 11, quoted by Prof. Weber, Ind. St. iii. 478: *S'unaśśepo vai etām Ājīgarttir Varuṇa-gṛihīto'paśyat | tayā sa vai Varuṇa-pāśād amuchyata* | "S'unaśśepa the son of Ajīgartta, when seized by Varuṇa, saw this (verse); and by it he was released from the bonds of Varuṇa." Manu also mentions the story, x. 105: *Ajīgarttaḥ sutaṁ hantum upāsarpad bubhukshitaḥ | na chālipyata pāpena khut-pratīkāram ācharan* | "Ajīgartta, when famished, approached to slay his son; and (by so doing) was not contaminated by sin, as he was seeking the means of escape from hunger." On this Kullūka annotates: *Ṛishir Ajīgarttākhyo bubhukshitaḥ san puttraṁ S'unaśśepha-nāmānaṁ svayaṁ vikrītavān yajne go-śata-lābhāya yajna-yūpe baddhvā viśasitā bhūtvā hantum prachakrame | na cha khut-pratīkārārthaṁ tathā kurvan pāpena liptaḥ | etach cha Bahvṛicha-brāhmaṇe S'unaśśephākhyāneshu vyaktam uktam* | "A rishi called Ajīgartta, having, when famished, himself sold his son called S'unaśśepha, in order to obtain a hundred cows at a sacrifice, bound him to the sacrificial stake, and in the capacity of immolator was about to slay him. By doing so, as a means of escape from hunger, he did not incur sin. This is distinctly recorded in the Bahvṛicha (Aitareya) Brāhmaṇa in the legend of S'unaśśepa." The speakers in the Brāhmaṇa, however, do not take by any means so lenient a view of Ajīgartta's conduct as Manu. (See Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 415.) The compiler of the latter work lived in an age when it was perhaps thought that a rishi could do no wrong. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. sect. 7, and sect. 16, verses 30–37 follows the Ait. Br. in the version it gives of the story; but, as we shall see in a subsequent section, the Rāmāyaṇa relates some of the circumstances quite differently.

tion given of Ajīgartta's behaviour in the Brāhmaṇa, that we should rather recognize in him a specimen of the un-Āryan population of India. Such a supposition, however, would be in contradiction with several of the most essential points of the legend, particularly in what regards the adoption of S'unaḥśepha by Viśvāmitra. Viśvāmitra, though arrived at the dignity of a Brāhman, clearly considers the adoption of S'unaḥśepha Devarāta, of the famous Brahmanic family of the Āngirasas, as an advantage for himself and his descendants; and the Devarātas are indeed mentioned as a famous branch of the Viśvāmitras (V.P. p. 405, 23). S'unaḥśepha is made his eldest son, and the leader of his brothers, evidently as the defender and voucher of their Brahmahood, which must have been then of very recent date, because Viśvāmitra himself is still addressed by S'unaḥśepha as *Rāja-putra* and *Bharata-ṛishabha*." It must, however, be recollected that the story, as told in the Brāhmaṇa, can scarcely be regarded as historical, and that it is not unreasonable to suppose that the incidents related, even if founded on fact, may have been coloured by the Brahmanical prepossessions of the narrator. But if so, the legend can give us no true idea of the light in which Viśvāmitra's exercise of priestly functions was looked upon either by himself or by his contemporaries.

In Indische Studien, ii. 112–123, this story forms the subject of an interesting dissertation by Professor Roth, who arrives at the following conclusions:

"(i.) The oldest legend about S'unaḥśepa (alluded to in R.V. i. 24, 11–13,[156] and R.V. v. 2, 7) knows only of his miraculous deliverance by divine help from the peril of death.

"(ii.) This story becomes expanded in the sequel into a narrative of S'unaḥśepa's threatened slaughter as a sacrificial victim, and of his deliverance through Viśvāmitra.

"(iii.) This immolation-legend becomes severed into two essentially distinct versions, the oldest forms of which are respectively represented by the stories in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and the Rāmāyaṇa.

"(iv.) The latter becomes eventually the predominant one; but its proper central-point is no longer the deliverance from immolation, but

[156] Compare also Rosen's remarks on the hymns ascribed to S'unaś'śepa; Rig-veda Sanhita, Annotationes, p. lv. He thinks they contain nothing which would lead to the belief that they have any connection with the legend in the Rāmāyaṇa and Ait. Br.

the incorporation of S'unaḥśepa, or (with a change of persons) of Ṛichīka, into the family of the Kuśikas. It thus becomes in the end a family-legend of the race of Viśvāmitra.

"There is thus no historical, perhaps not even a genealogical, result to be gained here. On the other hand the story obtains an important place in the circle of those narratives in which the sacerdotal literature expressed its views regarding the character and agency of Viśvāmitra."

In a passage of the Mahābhārata, Ādip. verses 3694 ff.,[157] where the descendants of Pūru are recorded, we find among them Bharata the son of Dushyanta (verse 3709) from whom (1) Bhumanyu, (2) Suhotra, (3) Ajamīḍha, and (4) Jahnu are said to have sprung in succession (verses 3712–3722); and the last-named king and his brothers Vrajana and Rūpin are said to have been the ancestors of the Kuśikas (verse 3723: *anvayāḥ Kuśikāḥ rājan Jahnor amita-tejasaḥ | Vrajana-Rūpiṇoḥ*), who were therefore, according to this passage also, descended from Bharata (see above, p. 354). The Mahābhārata then goes on to relate that during the reign of Samvaraṇa, son of Jahnu's eldest brother Ṛiksha, the country over which he ruled was desolated by various calamities (verses 3725 f.). The narrative proceeds, verse 3727:

Abhyaghnan Bhāratāṁś chaiva sapatnānām balāni cha | chālayan vasudhāṁ chemām balena chaturangiṇā | abhyayāt taṁ cha Pānchālyo vijitya tarasā mahīm | akshauhiṇībhir daśabhiḥ sa enaṁ samare 'jayat | tataḥ sa-dāraḥ sāmātyaḥ sa-puttraḥ sa-suhṛijjanaḥ | rājā Saṁvaraṇas tasmāt palāyata mahābhayāt | 3730. *Sindhor nadasya mahato nikunje nyavasat tadā | nadī-vishaya-paryyante parvatasya samīpataḥ | tattrāvasan bahūn kālān Bhāratāḥ durgam āśritāḥ | teshāṁ nivasatāṁ tattra sahasram parivatsarān | athābhyagachhad Bhāratan Vaśishṭho bhagavān ṛishiḥ | tam āgatam prayatnena pratyudgamyābhivādya cha | arghyam abhyāharaṁs tasmai te sarve Bhāratās tadā | nivedya sarvam ṛishaye satkāreṇa suvarchchase | tam āsane chopavishṭaṁ rājā vavre svayaṁ tadā | "purohito bhavān no 'stu rājyāya prayatemahi"* | 3735. "*Om*" *ity evaṁ Vaśishṭho 'pi Bhāratān pratyapadyata | athābhyasinchat sāmrājye sarva-kshattrasya Pauravam | vishāṇa-bhūtaṁ sarvasyām pṛithivyām iti naḥ śrutam | Bharatādhyushitam pūrvaṁ so 'dhyatishṭhat purottamam | punar balībhṛitaś chaiva chakre sarva-mahīkshitaḥ* |

[157] Referred to by Roth, Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, pp. 142 ff., and Wilson, Rig-veda, iii. p. 86.

"3727. And the hosts of their enemies also smote the Bhāratas. Shaking the earth with an army of four kinds of forces, the Pānchālya chief assailed him, having rapidly conquered the earth, and vanquished him with ten complete hosts. Then king Samvaraṇa with his wives, ministers, sons, and friends, fled from that great cause of alarm; (3730) and dwelt in the thickets of the great river Sindhu (Indus), in the country bordering on the stream, and near a mountain. There the Bhāratas abode for a long time, taking refuge in a fortress. As they were dwelling there, for a thousand years, the venerable rishi Vasishṭha came to them. Going out to meet him on his arrival, and making obeisance, the Bhāratas all presented him with the *arghya* offering, shewing every honour to the glorious rishi. When he was seated the king himself solicited him, 'Be thou our priest; let us strive to regain my kingdom.' 3735. Vasishṭha consented to attach himself to the Bhāratas, and, as we have heard, invested the descendant of Pūru with the sovereignty of the entire Kshattriya race, to be a horn (to have mastery) over the whole earth. He occupied the splendid city formerly inhabited by Bhārata, and made all kings again tributary to himself."

It is remarkable that in this passage the Bhāratas, who, as we have seen, are elsewhere represented as being so closely connected with Viśvāmitra, and are in one text of the Rig-veda (vii. 33, 6) alluded to as the enemies of Vasishṭha's friends, should be here declared to have adopted the latter rishi as their priest. The account, however, need not be received as historical, or even based on any ancient tradition; and the part referring to Vasishṭha in particular may have been invented for the glorification of that rishi, or for the honour of the Bhāratas.

The 11th and 12th khandas of the second adhyāya of the Sarvasāra Upanishad (as we learn from Professor Weber's analysis in Ind. St. i. 390) relate that Viśvāmitra was instructed on the identity of breath (*prāṇa*) with Indra, by the god himself, who had been celebrated by the sage on the occasion of a sacrifice, at which he officiated as hotṛi-priest, in a thousand Bṛihatī verses, and was in consequence favourably disposed towards him.

It is abundantly clear, from the details supplied in this section, that Viśvāmitra, who was a rājanya of the Bhārata and Kuśika families (Ait. Br. vii. 17 and 18), is represented by ancient Indian tradition as

the author of numerous Vedic hymns, as the domestic priest (purohita) of king Sudās (Nir. ii. 24), and as officiating as a hotṛi at a sacrifice of king Hariśchandra (Ait. Br. vii. 16). The Rāmāyaṇa also, as we shall see in a future section, connects him with Triśanku, the father of Hariśchandra, and makes him also contemporary with Ambarīsha; and in the first book of the same poem he is said to have visited king Daśaratha, the father of Rāma (Bālakanda, i. 20, 1ff.). As these kings were separated from each other by very long intervals, Triśanku being a descendant of Ikshvāku in the 28th, Ambarīsha in the 44th,[158] Sudās in the 49th, and Daśaratha in the 60th generation (see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. pp. 284, 303, 304, 313), it is manifest that the authors of these legends either intentionally or through oversight represented Viśvāmitra, like Vasishṭha (see above), as a personage of miraculous longevity; and on either supposition a great deal that is related of him must be purely fabulous. All the authorities describe him as the son of Gāthin or Gādhi, the Anukramaṇī, the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and the Harivaṁśa declaring also that Gāthin was an incarnation of Indra, and thus asserting Viśvāmitra to be of divine descent. It is not clear whether this fable is referred to in R.V. iii. 53, 9, where Viśvāmitra is styled *deva-jāḥ*, "born of a god," or whether this verse may not have led to the invention of the story. In either case the verse can scarcely have emanated from the rishi himself; but it is more likely to be the production of one of his descendants.[159]

[158] According to the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 70, 41; ii. 110, 32, Ambarīsha was only 28th from Ikshvāku. Compare Prof. Wilson's note on these genealogies, V.P. iii. 313 ff.

[159] The word *devajāḥ*, which, following Roth, *s.v.*, I have translated "god-born," is taken by Sāyaṇa as = *dyotamānānāṁ tejasāṁ janayitā*, "generator of shining lights," and appears to be regarded by him as referring to the creation of constellations by Viśvāmitra, mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 60, 21. Prof. Wilson renders the phrase by "generator of the gods;" and remarks that "the compound is not *devajā*, 'god-born,' nor was Viśvāmitra of divine parentage" (R.V. iii. p. 85, note 4). This last remark overlooks the fact above alluded to of his father Gādhi being represented as an incarnation of Indra, and the circumstance that Prof. Wilson himself (following Sāyaṇa) had shortly before translated the words *prathama-jāḥ brahmaṇaḥ* in R.V. iii. 29, 15, as applied to the Kuśikas, by "the first-born of Brahmā," although from the accent *brahman* here must be neuter, and the phrase seems to mean, as I have rendered above, "the first-born of prayer." The word *jā* is given in the Nighaṇṭu as one of the synonymes of *apatya*, "offspring;" and in R.V. i. 164, 15, where it is coupled with *ṛishayaḥ*, the compound *devajāḥ* is explained by Sāyaṇa as "born of the god," *i.e.* the sun, and by Prof. Wilson as "born of the gods." See

This verse (R.V. iii. 53, 9) which claims a superhuman origin for Viśvāmitra, and the following verses 11–13 of the same hymn, which assert the efficacy of his prayers, form a sort of parallel to the contents of R.V. vii. 33, where the supernatural birth of Vasishṭha (vv. 10 ff.), the potency of his intercession (vv. 2–5), and the sacred knowledge of his descendants (vv. 7 and 8), are celebrated.

As the hymns of Viśvāmitra and his descendants occupy so prominent a place in the Rig-veda Sanhitā, and as he is the alleged author of the text reputed the holiest in the entire Veda (iii. 62, 10), the Gāyatrī *par excellence*, there is no reason to doubt that, although he was a *rājanya*, he was unreservedly acknowledged by his contemporaries to be both a rishi and a priest. Nothing less than the uniform recognition and employment of the hymns handed down under his name as the productions of a genuine "seer," could have sufficed to gain for them a place in the sacred canon.[160] It is true we possess little authentic information regarding the process by which the hymns of different families were admitted to this honour; but at least there is no tradition, so far as I am aware, that those of Viśvāmitra and his family were ever treated as *antilegomena*. And if we find that later works consider it necessary to represent his priestly character as a purely exceptional one, explicable only on the ground of supernatural merit acquired by ardent devotion, we must recollect that the course of ages had brought about a most material change in Indian society, that the sacerdotal function had at length become confined to the members of an exclusive caste, and that the exercise of such an office in ancient times by persons of the regal or mercantile classes had ceased to be intelligible, except upon the supposition of such extraordinary sanctity as was alleged in the case of Viśvāmitra.

It is worthy of remark that although the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (see above) declares that Śunaśśepa, as belonging to a priestly family, was called on to exercise the sacerdotal office immediately after his release, yet the anterior possession of divine knowledge is also ascribed to Viśvāmitra and the Gāthins, and that Śunaśśepa is represented as suc-

also R.V. ix. 93, 1 = S.V. i. 538. (Compare Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1866, p. 387 ff.)

[160] That many at least of these compositions were really the work of Viśvāmitra, or his descendants, is proved, as we have seen, by the fact that their names are mentioned in them.

ceeding to this sacred lore, as well as to the regal dignity of the race on which he became engrafted.

The fact of Viśvāmitra having been both a rishi and an officiating priest, is thus, as we have seen, and if ancient tradition is to be believed, undoubted. In fact, if we look to the number of Vedic hymns ascribed to him and to his family, to the long devotion to sacerdotal functions which this fact implies, and to the apparent improbability that a person who had himself stood in the position of a king should afterwards have become a professional priest, we may find it difficult to believe that although (as he certainly was) a scion of a royal stock, he had ever himself exercised regal functions. Professor Roth remarks (Litt. u. Gesch. p. 125) that there is nothing either in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, or in the hymns of the Rig-veda to shew that he had ever been a king.[161] But on the other hand, as the same writer observes (p. 126), and as we shall hereafter see, there are numerous passages in the later authorities in which the fact of his being a king is distinctly, but perhaps untruly, recorded.

It is so well known, that I need scarcely adduce any proof of the fact, that in later ages Rājanyas and Vaiśyas, though entitled to sacrifice and to study the Vedas, were no longer considered to have any right to officiate as priests on behalf of others. I may, however, cite a few texts on this subject. Manu says, i. 88:

Adhyāpanam adhyayanaṁ yajanaṁ yājanaṁ tathā | dānam pratigrahaṁ chaiva Brāhmaṇānām akalpayat | 89. *Prajānāṁ rakshaṇaṁ dānam ijyā 'dhyayanam eva cha | vishayeshv aprasaktiṁ cha kshattriyasya samāsataḥ* | 90. *Paśūnāṁ rakshaṇaṁ dānam ijyā 'dhyayanam eva cha | vaṇikpathaṁ kusīdaṁ cha Vaiśyasya kṛishim eva cha* | 91. *Ekam eva tu Sūdrasya prabhuḥ karma samādiśat | eteshām eva varṇānāṁ śuśrūshām anasūyayā* | 88. He (Brahmā) ordained teaching, study, sacrificing, officiating for others at sacrifices, and the giving and receiving of gifts, to be the functions of Brāhmans. 89. Protection of the people, the giving of gifts, sacrifice, study, and non-addiction to objects of sense he assigned as the duties of the Kshattriya. 90. The tending of cattle, giving of gifts, sacrifice, study, commerce, the taking of usury, and agriculture he appointed to be the occupations of the Vaiśya. 91. But the

[161] May not R.V. iii. 43, 5 (quoted above), however, be understood to point to something of this kind?

lord assigned only one duty to the Sūdra, that of serving these other three classes without grudging."

Similarly it is said in the second of the Yajna-paribhāshā Sūtras, translated by Professor M. Müller (at the end of the ninth volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, p. xliii.), "that sacrifice is proper to the three classes, the Brāhman, Rājanya, and also the Vaiśya."[162] Prof. Müller also refers to Kātyāyana's Srauta Sūtras, of which i. 1, 5 and 6 are as follows:

5. *Angahīnāśrotriya-shanda-śūdra-varjam* | 6. *Brāhmaṇa-rājanya-vaiśyānām śruteḥ* | "Men,[163] with the exception of those whose members

[162] Prof. Müller does not give the original text.

[163] In one of these Sutras of Kātyāyana (i. 1, 4) and its commentary a curious question (one of those which the Indian authors often think it necessary to raise and to settle, in order that their treatment of a subject may be complete and exhaustive) is argued, viz. whether the lower animals and the gods have any share in the practice of Vedic observances; or whether it is confined to men. The conclusion is that the gods cannot practise these rites, as they are themselves the objects of them, and as they have already obtained heaven and the other objects of desire with a view to which they are practised (*tatra devānām devatāntarābhāvād anadhikāraḥ | na hy ātmānam uddiśya tyāgaḥ sambhavati | kincha | devāś cha prāpta-svargādi-kāmāḥ | na cha teshām kinchid avāptavyam asti yad-artham karmāṇi kurvate |*). As regards the right of the lower animals to sacrifice, although the point is decided against them on the ground of their only "looking to what is near at hand, and not to the rewards of a future world" (*te hy āsannam eva chelayante na pāralaukikam phalam*); still it is considered necessary seriously to obviate a presumption in their favour that they seek to enjoy pleasure and avoid pain, and even appear to indicate their desire for the happiness of another world by seeming to observe some of the Vedic prescriptions: "*Nanu uktam śunaś chaturdaśyām upavāsa-darśanāt śyenasya cha ashṭamyām upavāsa-darśanāch cha te 'pi pāralaukikam jānanti" iti | tat katham avagamyate "te dharmārtham upavasanti" iti | ye hi veda-smṛiti-purāṇādikam paṭhanti te eva jānanti yad "anena karmaṇā idam phalam amutra prāpsyate" iti | na cha ete vedādikam paṭhanti nāpy anyebhyaḥ āgamayanti | tena śāstrārtham avidvāmsaḥ phalam āmushmikam akāmayantaḥ katham tat-sādhanam karma kuryuḥ | tasmād na dharmārtham upavasanti iti | kimartham tarhy eteshām upavāsaḥ | uchyate | rogād aruchir eshām | tarhi niyata-kāle katham rogaḥ | uchyate | niyata-kālāḥ api rogāḥ bhavanti yathā tṛitīyaka-chāturthikādi-jvarāḥ | adhanāś cha ete* | "But do not some say that 'from a dog having been noticed to fast on the fourteenth day of the month, and a hawk on the eighth, they also have a knowledge of matters connected with a future life?' But how is it known that these dogs and hawks fast from religious motives? For it is only those who read the Vedas, Smṛitis, Purāṇas, etc., who are aware that by means of such and such observances, such and such rewards will be obtained in another world. But these animals neither read the sacred books for themselves, nor ascertain their contents from others. How then, ignorant as they are of the contents of the scriptures, and devoid of any desire for future rewards, can they perform those rites which are the means of attaining them? It is therefore to be concluded that they do not fast from religious motives. But why, then, do they fast? We reply, because from sickness they have a disinclin-

are defective, those who have not read the Veda, eunuchs, and S'ūdras, have a right to sacrifice. 6. It is Brāhmans, Rājanyas, and Vaiśyas (only who) according to the Veda (possess this privilege)." [164]

ation for food. But how do they happen to be sick on certain fixed days? We answer, there are also certain diseases which occur on fixed days, as tertian and quartan agues. Another reason why the lower animals cannot sacrifice is that they are destitute of wealth (and so unable to provide the necessary materials)."

[164] "And yet," Prof. Müller remarks (ibid), "concessions were made (to other and lower classes) at an early period. One of the best known cases is that of the Rathakāra. Then the Nishādasthapati, though a Nishāda chief and not belonging to the three highest classes was admitted to great sacrifices, *e.g.* to the gāvedhukacharu." The S'atap. Br. i. 1, 4, 12, has the following words: *Tāni vai etāni chatvāri vāchaḥ "ehi" iti brāhmaṇasya "āgahi" "ādrava" vaiśyasya cha rājanyabandhoś cha "ādhāva" iti śūdrasya* | "[In the formula, *havishkṛid ehi*, 'come, o oblation-maker,' referred to in the previous paragraph, and its modifications] these four (different) words are employed to express 'come:' *ehi*, 'come,' in the case of a Brāhman; *āgahi*, 'come hither,' in the case of a Vaiśya; *ādrava*, 'hasten hither,' in the case of a Rājanyabandhu, and *ādhāva*, 'run hither,' in the case of a S'ūdra." On this Prof. Weber remarks, in a note on his translation of the first adhyāya of the first book of the S'. P. Br. (Journ. Germ. Or. Soc. iv. p. 301): "The entire passage is of great importance, as it shews (in opposition to what Roth says in the first vol. of this Journal, p. 83) that the S'ūdras were then admitted to the holy sacrifices of the Arians, and understood their speech, even if they did not speak it. The latter point cannot certainly be assumed as a necessary consequence, but it is highly probable; and I consequently incline to the view of those who regard the S'ūdras as an Arian tribe which immigrated into India before the others." See above, p. 141, note 251, and Ind. Stud. ii. 194, note, where Prof. Weber refers to the Mahābhārata, S'āntip. verses 2804 ff. which are as follows: *Svāhākāra-vashaṭkārau mantraḥ śūdre na vidyate* | *tasmāch chhūdraḥ pākayajnair yajetāvratavān svayam* | *pūrṇapātramayīm āhuḥ pākayajnasya dakshiṇām* | *śūdraḥ Paijavano nāma sahasrāṇām śatam dadau* | *Aindrāgnyena vidhānena dakshiṇām iti naḥ śrutam* | "The svāhākāra, and the vashaṭkāra, and the mantras do not belong to a S'ūdra. Wherefore let a man of this class sacrifice with pākayajnas, being incapacitated for (Vedic) rites (*śrauta-vratopāya-hīnaḥ* | Comm.). They say that the gift (*dakshiṇā*) proper for a pākayajna consists of a full dish (*pūrṇapātramayī*). A S'ūdra called Paijavana gave as a present a hundred thousand (of these pūrṇapātras) after the Aindrāgnya rule." Here, says Prof. Weber, "the remarkable tradition is recorded that Paijavana, *i.e.* Sudās, who was so famous for his sacrifices, and who is celebrated in the Rig-veda as the patron of Viśvāmitra and enemy of Vasishṭha, was a S'ūdra." In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, vii. 11, 24, the duties of a S'ūdra are described to be "submissiveness, purity, honest service to his master, sacrifice without mantras, abstinence from theft, truth, and the protection of cows and Brāhmans" (*śūdrasya sannatiḥ śaucham sevā svāminy amāyayā* | *amantra-yajno hy asteyam satyam go-vipra-rakshaṇam* |). The Commentator defines *amantra-yajnaḥ* thus: *namaskāreṇaiva pancha-yajnānushṭhānam*, "the practice of the five sacrifices with obeisance," and quotes Yājnavalkya. See also Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. p. 87, and notes; Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 203; the same author's Essay, at the end of the ninth vol. of the Journ. Germ. Or. Soc. p. lxxiii.; and Bohtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* *pākayajna*.

According to the Ait. Br. vii. 19, "the Brāhman alone of the four castes has the right of consuming things offered in sacrifice" (*etāḥ vai prajāḥ hutādo yad brāhmaṇāḥ | atha etāḥ ahutādo yad rājanyo vaiśyaḥ śūdraḥ*). And yet, as Prof. Müller observes, it is said in the S'atap. Br. v. 5, 4, 9: *Chatvāro vai varṇāḥ brāhmaṇo rājanyo vaiśyaḥ śūdro na ha eteshām ekaśchana bhavati yaḥ somaṁ vamati | sa yad ha eteshām ekaśchit syāt syād ha eva prāyaśchittiḥ* | "There are four classes, the Brāhman, Rājanya, Vaiśya, and S'ūdra. There is no one of these who vomits (*i.e.*, I suppose, dislikes) the soma. If anyone of them however should do so, let there be an atonement."

Professor Weber, by whom also these words are quoted (Ind. St. x. 12), remarks that "they leave open the possibility of Rājanyas, Vaiśyas, and even S'ūdras partaking of the soma, the only consequence being that they must as an expiation perform the Sautramaṇī rite."

In the twenty-first of the Yajna-paribhāshā Sūtras, translated by Müller, p. xlvii., it is declared that the priestly dignity belongs to the Brāhmans; and it is laid down by the Indian authorities that even when the sacrifice is of a kind intended exclusively for Kshattriyas, the priest must still be a Brāhman and not a Kshattriya, the reason being that men of the former class only can eat the remains of the sacrifice (see Kātyāyana's S'r. Sūtras, i. 2, 8): *Brāhmaṇāḥ ṛitvijo bhaksha-pratishedhād itarayoḥ*, "the Brāhmans only are priests, because the other two castes are forbidden to eat (the remains of the sacrifice"). See also Weber, Ind. St. x. pp. 17 and 31, and the passages of the Ait. Br. viii. 24 and 27, referred to in pages 30 and 31: 24. *Na ha vai apurohitasya rājno devāḥ annam adanti | tasmād rājā 'yakshamāṇo brāhmaṇam puro dadhīta |* "The gods do not eat the food offered by a king who has no purohita. Wherefore (even) when not about to sacrifice, the king should put forward a Brāhman (as his domestic priest)." 27. *Yo ha vai trīn purohitāṁs trīn purodhātṝīn veda sa brāhmaṇaḥ purohitāḥ | sa vadeta purodhāyai | Agnir vāva purohitaḥ pṛithivī purodhātā vāyur vāva purohito 'ntariksham purodhātā ādityo vāva purohito dyauḥ purodhātā | esha ha vai purohito yaḥ evaṁ veda atha sa tirohito yaḥ evaṁ na veda | tasya rājā mitraṁ bhavati dvishantam apabādhate | yasyaivaṁ vidvān brāhmaṇo rāshṭra-gopaḥ purohitaḥ | kshattreṇa kshattraṁ jayati balena balam aśnute | yasyaivaṁ vidvān brāhmaṇo rāshṭra-gopaḥ purohitaḥ | tasmai viśaḥ sanjānate sammukhāḥ ekamanasaḥ | yasyaivaṁ vidvān brāhmaṇo

rāshṭra-gopaḥ purohitaḥ | "The Brāhman who knows the three purohitas, and their three appointers, is a (proper) purohita, and should be nominated to this office. Agni is one purohita, and the earth appoints him; Vāyu another, and the air appoints him; the Sun is a third, and the sky appoints him. He who knows this is a (proper) purohita; and he who does not know this is to be rejected. (Another) king becomes the friend of the prince who has a Brāhman possessing such knowledge for his purohita and the protector of his realm; and he vanquishes his enemy. He who has a Brāhman possessing etc. (as above) conquers (another's) regal power by (his own) regal power, and acquires another's force by (his own) force. With him who has a Brāhman etc. (as above) the people are openly united and in harmony."

I add another passage from the same Brāhmaṇa, which might also have been properly introduced in an earlier chapter of this work (chapt. i. sect. iii.) as it relates to the creation of the four castes:

Ait. Br. vii. 19. *Prajāpatir yajnam asṛijata* | *yajnaṁ sṛishṭam anu brahma-kshattre asṛijyetām* | *brahma-kshattre anu dvayyaḥ prajāḥ asṛijyanta hutādaś cha ahutādaś cha brahma eva anu hutādaḥ kshattram anv ahutādaḥ* | *etāḥ vai prajāḥ hutādo yad brāhmaṇāḥ* | *atha etāḥ ahutādo yad rājanyo vaiśyaḥ śūdraḥ* | *tābhyo yajnaḥ udakrāmat* | *tam brahma-kshattre anvaitāṁ yāny eva brahmaṇaḥ āyudhāni tair brahma anvait yāni kshattrasya taṁ* (? *taiḥ*) *kshattram* | *etāni vai brahmaṇaḥ āyudhāni yad yajnāyudhāni* | *atha etāni kshattrasya āyudhani yad aśva-rathaḥ kavachaḥ ishu-dhanva* | *taṁ kshattram ananvāpya nyavartlata* | *āyudhebhyo ha sma asya vijamānaḥ parāṅ eva eti* | *atha enam brahma anvait* | *tam āpnot* | *tam āptvā parastād nirudhya atishṭhat* | *sa āptaḥ parastād niruddhas tishṭhan jnātvā svāny āyudhāni brahma upāvarttata* | *tasmād ha apy etarhi yajno brahmaṇy eva brāhmaṇeshu pratishṭhitaḥ* | *atha enat kshattram anvāgachhat tad abravīd "upa mā asmin yajne hvayasva" iti* | *tat "tathā" ity abravīt "tad vai nidhāya svāny āyudhāni brahmaṇaḥ eva āyudhair brahmaṇo rūpeṇa brahma bhūtvā yajnam upavārttasva" iti* | *"tathā" iti tat kshattraṁ nidhāya svāny āyudhāni brahmaṇah eva āyudhair brahmaṇo rūpeṇa brahma bhūtvā yajnam upāvarttata* | *tasmād ha apy etarhi kshattriyo yajamāno nidhāya eva svāny āyudhāni brahmaṇaḥ eva āyudhair brahmaṇo rūpeṇa brahma bhūtvā yajnam upāvarttate* |

"Prajāpati created sacrifice. After sacrifice, Brāhmăn (sacred know-

ledge) and Kshăttra (regal power)[165] were created. After these, two kinds of creatures were formed, viz. those who eat, and those who do not eat, oblations. After Brăhmăn came the eaters of oblations, and after Kshăttra those who do not eat them. These are the eaters of oblations, viz. the Brāhmans. Those who do not eat them are the Rājanya, the Vaiśya, and the S'ūdra. From these creatures sacrifice departed. Brăhmăn and Kshăttra followed it, Brăhmăn with the implements proper to itself, and Kshăttra with those which are proper to itself. The implements of Brăhmăn are the same as those of sacrifice, while those of Kshăttra are a horse-chariot,[166] armour, and a bow and arrows. Kshăttra turned back, not having found the sacrifice; which turns aside afraid of the implements of Kshăttra. Brăhmăn followed after it, and reached it; and having done so, stood beyond, and intercepting it. Being thus found and intercepted, sacrifice, standing still and recognizing its own implements, approached to Brăhmăn. Wherefore now also sacrifice depends upon Brăhmăn, upon the Brāhmans. Kshăttra then followed Brăhmăn, and said, 'invite me[167] (too to participate) in this sacrifice.' Brăhmăn replied, 'so be it: then laying aside thy own implements, approach the sacrifice with the implements of Brăhmăn, in the form of Brăhmăn, and having become Brăhmăn.[168]

[165] The two principles or functions represented by the Brāhmans and Kshattriyas respectively.

[166] See Weber, Indische Studien, ix. p. 318.

[167] See Weber, in the same page as last quoted.

[168] This idea may be further illustrated by a reference to several passages adduced by Professor Weber, Ind. St. x. 17, who remarks: "Hence every Rājanya and Vaiśya becomes through the consecration for sacrifice (*dīkshā*) a Brāhman during its continuance, and is to be addressed as such in the formula employed," and cites S'. P. Br. iii. 2, 1, 39 f., part of which has been already quoted above, in p. 136, note; and also Ait. Br. vii. 23: *Sa ha dīkshamāṇaḥ eva brāhmaṇatām abhyupaiti* | "He a king, when consecrated, enters into the condition of a Brāhman." See the rest of the section and sections 24, 25, and 31 in Dr. Haug's translation. The S'.P.Br. xiii. 4, 1, 3, says, in opposition to the opinion of some, that an as'vamedha, which is a sacrifice proper to Rājanyas, should be begun in summer, which is their season: *tad vai vasante eva abhyārabheta* | *vasanto vai brāhmaṇasya ṛituḥ* | *yaḥ u vai kaś cha yajate brāhmaṇībhūya iva eva yajate* | "Let him commence in spring, which is the Brāhman's season. Whosoever sacrifices does so after having as it were become a Brāhman." So too Kātyāyana says in his S'rauta Sūtras vii. 4, 12: "*Brāhmaṇa*" *ity eva vaiśya-rājanyayor api* | "The word Brāhmaṇa is to be addressed to a Vaiśya and a Rājanya also." On which the Commentator annotates: *Vaiśya-rājanyayor api yajne* "*dīkshito 'yam brāhmaṇaḥ*" *ity eva vaktavyam* | *na* "*dīkshito 'yam kshattriyo vaiśyo vā*" *iti* | "The formula 'This Brāhman has been consecrated' is to be used at the sacrifice of a Vaiśya

Kshăttra rejoined, 'Be it so,' and, laying aside its own implements, approached the sacrifice with those of Brăhmăn, in the form of Brăhmăn, and having become Brăhmăn. Wherefore now also a Kshattriya when sacrificing, laying aside his own implements, approaches the sacrifice with those of Brăhmăn, in the form of Brăhmăn, and having become Brăhmăn."

The Mahābhārata, Śāntip. verses 2280 f. distinctly defines the duty of a Kshattriya in reference to sacrifice and sacred study: *Kshattriyasyāpi yo dharmas taṁ te vakshyāmi Bhārata | dadyād rājan na yācheta yajeta na cha yājayet | nādhyāpayed adhīyīta prajāś cha paripālayet |* "I will tell thee also the duties of a Kshattriya. Let him give, and not ask (gifts); let him sacrifice, but not officiate for others at sacrifices; let him not teach, but study; and let him protect the people."

It is clear that these passages which restrict the right of officiating ministerially at sacrifices to the members of the Brahmanical order,[169] represent a very different state of opinion and practice from that which prevailed in the earlier Vedic age, when Viśvāmitra, a Rājanya, and his relatives, were highly esteemed as the authors of sacred poetry, and were considered as perfectly authorized to exercise sacerdotal functions.

The result of the conflict between the opposing interests represented by Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra respectively, is thus described by Professor

and a Rājanya also; and not the words 'this Rājanya, or this Vais'ya, has been consecrated.'"

[169] It appears from Arrian that the Greeks were correctly informed of this prerogative of the Brāhmans. He says, Indica, ch. xi.: Καὶ ὅστις δὲ ἰδίᾳ θύει, ἐξηγητὴς ἀυτῷ τῆς θυσίης τῶν τις σοφιστῶν τούτων γίνεται, ὡς δυκ ἂν ἄλλως κεχαρισμένα τοῖς θεοῖς θύσαντας. "And whosoever sacrifices in private has one of these sophists" (so the highest of the classes, here said to be seven in number, is designated) "as director of the ceremony, since sacrifice could not otherwise be offered acceptably to the gods." Arrian makes another assertion (ibid. xii.) which, if applied to the time when he wrote (in the second Christian century), is not equally correct. After observing that the several classes were not allowed to intermarry, nor to practice two professions, nor to pass from one class into another, he adds: Μοῦνον σφίσιν ανεῖται σοφιστὴν ἐκ παντὸς γένεος γενέσθαι· ὅτι οὐ μαλθακὰ τοῖσι σοφιστῇσιν ἐισὶ τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλὰ πάντων ταλαιπωρότατα. "Only it is permitted to a person of any class among them to become a sophist; for the life of that class is not luxurious, but the most toilsome of all." However indubitably true the first part of this sentence may have been in the age of Vis'vāmitra, it cannot be correctly predicated of the age of Arrian, or even of the period when India was invaded by Alexander the Great. The mistake may have arisen from confounding the Buddhists with the Brāhmans, or from supposing that all the Brahmanical Indians, who adopted an ascetic life, were regarded as "sophists."

Roth at the close of his work on the literature and history of the Veda, which has been so often quoted, p. 141: "Vasishṭha, in whom the future position of the Brahmans is principally foreshadowed, occupies also a far higher place in the recollections of the succeeding centuries than his martial rival; and the latter succumbs in the conflict out of which the holy race of Brahmâvartta was to emerge. Vasishṭha is the sacerdotal hero of the new order of things. In Viśvāmitra the ancient condition of military shepherd-life in the Punjab is thrown back for ever into the distance. This is the general historical signification of the contest between the two Vedic families, of which the literature of all the succeeding periods has preserved the recollection."

SECT. VII.—*Do the details in the last two sections enable us to decide in what relation Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra stood to each other as priests of Sudās?*

It appears from the data supplied in the two preceding sections that both Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra are represented as priests of a king called Sudās. This is shewn, as regards the former rishi (see pp. 319 ff., above), by R.V. vii. 18, 4, 5, and 21–25; and vii. 33, 1–6, where he is said to have interceded with Indra for Sudās, who, as appears from verse 25 of the second of these hymns, was the son of Pijavana. A similar relation is shewn by R.V. iii. 53, 9–13 to have subsisted between Viśvāmitra and Sudās (see above, p. 342); and although Sudās is not in that passage identified with the king who was Vasishṭha's patron, by the addition of his patronymic, we are told in the Nirukta, ii. 24, that he was the same person, the son of Pijavana. There is therefore no doubt that, according to ancient tradition, the two rishis were both priests of the same prince. It further appears that the Bharatas, with whom, as we have seen, Viśvāmitra was connected, are in R.V. vii. 33, 6 referred to as in hostility with Sudās and his priest. Are we then to conclude that the one set of facts excludes the other—that the two rishis could not both have been the family-priests of Sudās?

There is no reason to arrive at such an inference. Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra could not, indeed, have been the domestic priests of Sudās at one and the same period. But they may have been so at different

times; and the one may have supplanted the other. It is, however, very difficult to derive from the imperfect materials supplied in the passages to which I have referred any clear conception of the shape and course which the contest between these two rivals took, or to fix the periods at which they respectively enjoyed their patron's favour. Prof. Roth thinks[170] that some light is thrown on this obscure subject by the different parts of the 53rd hymn of the third mandala of the Rig-veda. This composition, as it stands, contains, as he considers, fragments of hymns by Viśvāmitra or his descendants, of different dates; and the verses (9–13), in which that rishi represents himself and the Kauśikas as being the priests of Sudās, are, in his opinion, earlier than the concluding verses (21–24),[171] which consist of imprecations directed against Vasishṭha. These last verses, he remarks, contain an expression of wounded pride, and threaten vengeance against an enemy who had come into possession of some power or dignity which Viśvāmitra himself had previously enjoyed. And as we find from one of his hymns (the 53rd) that he and his adherents had at one time led Sudās to victory, and enjoyed a corresponding consideration;—while from Vasishṭha's hymns it is clear that he and his family had also been elevated in consequence of similar claims to a like position;—it would seem to result that Viśvāmitra had cursed Vasishṭha for this very reason that he had been supplanted by him. The former with his Kuśikas had through the growing influence of his rival been driven away by Sudās to the Bharatas the enemies of that prince and of the Tṛitsus; and then

[170] See Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, pp. 121 ff.

[171] I have (above, p. 343) characterized these verses as obscure and have left them untranslated. The portions of the following version which are printed in italics are doubtful: verse 22. "He (or, it) vexes (*turns the edge of*) even an axe; and breaks even a *sword*. A *seething* cauldron, even, o Indra, when *over-heated*, casts out foam. 23. O men, no notice is taken of the arrow. They lead away the *intelligent* (*lodha*) looking upon him as a beast. Men do not, however, pit a hack to run against a racer; they do not lead an ass before horses. 24. These sons of Bharata, o Indra, desire separation, not vicinity. They constantly urge the horse *as if to a distance*; they carry about the *bow* in the battle." The reader may consult Prof. Wilson's translation R.V. vol. iii. p. 89 f., as well as Roth's Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 109 f. In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 42, Roth conjectures that both *lodha* and *paśu*, in verse 23, may denote animals of different natures, and that the clause may mean something to the same effect as "they look on the wolf as if it were a hare." In his Lexicon, *s.v.* *paśu*, he takes that word to denote a head of cattle (ein Stück Vieh) as a term of contempt. He takes *jyāvāja*, in verse 24, to mean "having the impulsive force (?) (*Schnell-Kraft*) of a bow-string."

vowed vengeance against their enemies. Roth remarks that if this conjecture appears too bold, which he does not allow, there is no alternative but to regard verses 9–11 of R.V. iii. 53, as interpolated, and to hold that Viśvāmitra had always been allied with the Bharatas. But, as he urges, in a period such as that which the hymns of the Veda represent to us—a time of feud and foray among the small neighbouring tribes, when the power of the leaders of families and petty chiefs was unlimited, when we observe that the ten kings were allied against Sudās—in a period of subdivided dominion like this it would be far more surprising to find a family so favoured by the gods as that of Viśvāmitra or Vasishṭha in continued and undisturbed possession of influence over any one of these chieftains, than to see mutual aggression, hostility, and vindictiveness, prevailing even among families and clans united to one another by community of language and manners. It is further evident from later tradition, as Roth remarks, that Vasishṭha and his family had not always been the objects of Sudās's favour; but had, on the contrary, been at some time or other sufferers from his enmity or that of his house; and in proof of this he refers to the passage which has been cited above (p. 328) from Sāyaṇa's note on R.V. vii. 32, and the S'āṭyāyana and Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇas, as there quoted; and also to the 176th adhyāya of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 6696 ff., which will be adduced in a future section.

According to Roth's view (p. 124) the alienation between Sudās and Vasishṭha fomented by Viśvāmitra was only of temporary duration, and we must, therefore, understand that according to his view, the former rishi and his family remained eventually victors in the contest for influence between themselves and their rivals.

Professor Weber, in a note appended to an article by Dr. A. Kuhn in page 120 of the first volume of his Indische Studien, expresses a different opinion. "The testimonies," he says, "adduced by Roth, pp. 122 ff., according to which Sudās appears in the Epic age as hostile to Brahmanical interests, stand in opposition to his assertion that Vasishṭha's family finally banished Viśvāmitra and the Kuśikas from the court of that prince. The enmity between the latter and Vasishṭha, the prototype of Brahmanhood, is thus by no means of temporary duration (Roth, p. 124), but the very contrary." The passages cited by Roth, which Weber here claims as supporting his

own view, are Manu, vii. 41 (see above, p. 296), the Anukramaṇī with the Śāṭyāyana and Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇas quoted in p. 328, and the 126th and following sections of the Ādip. of the M. Bh. which will be adduced hereafter. To these may be added the text from the Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa, cited in p. 328. If Sudās became ultimately reconciled to Vasishṭha, and re-instated him and his relatives in their position of court priests, to the exclusion of the rival family of Viśvāmitra, it seems hard to understand, according to Professor Weber's argument, how that prince's name should have been handed down by tradition as one of the most prominent examples of impiety displayed in resistance to Brahmanical pretensions. It is, however, to be observed that, except in the text of Manu, it is the descendants of Sudās, and not the king himself, who are charged with the outrages committed against Vasishṭha's family; and that in the passage of the M. Bh. above referred to (Ādip. vv. 7669 ff.) the son of Sudās is represented as becoming ultimately reconciled to Vasishṭha.[173] And if the passages, which have been cited above from the Rig-veda (pp. 330 f.) in allusion to Sudās's deliverance by the gods, refer to a real person, and to the

[173] It is also worthy of remark that the Anuśāsanap. of the M.Bh. contains a conversation between Vasishṭha and Saudāsa (the son, or one of the descendants of, Sudās) about the pre-eminent purity and excellence of cows, verse 3732: *Etasminn eva kāle tu Vaśishṭham ṛishi-sattamam | Ikshvāku-vamśajo rājā Saudāso vadatām varaḥ | sarva-loka-charaṁ siddham brahma-kośaṁ sanātanam | purohitam abhiprashṭum abhivādyopachakrame | Saudāsa uvācha | trailokye bhagavan kiṁsvit pavitraṁ kathyate 'nagha | yat kīrttayan sadā marttyaḥ prāpnuyāt puṇyam uttamam |* "At this time the eloquent king Saudāsa, sprung from the race of Ikshvāku, proceeded, after salutation, to make an enquiry of his family-priest Vaśishṭha, the eternal saint, the most excellent of rishis, who was able to traverse all the world, and was a treasure of sacred knowledge: 'What, o venerable and sinless man, is declared to be the purest thing in the three worlds, by constantly celebrating which one may acquire the highest merit?" Vaśishṭha in reply expatiates at great length on the merit resulting from bestowing cows, and ascribes to these animals some wonderful properties, as that they are the "support of all beings" (*pratishṭhā bhūtānām*, verse 3736), "the present and the future" (*gāvo bhūtaṁ cha bhavyaṁ cha*, 3737), and describes the cow as "pervading the universe, mother of the past and future" (*yayā sarvam idaṁ vyāptaṁ jagat sthāvara-jangamam | tām dhenuṁ śirasā vande bhūta-bhavyasya mātaram*, 3799). The sequel is thus told in verse 3801: *Varam idam iti bhūmido* (*bhūmipo?*) *vichintya pravaram ṛisher vachanaṁ tato mahātmā | vyasṛijata niyatātmavān dvijebhyo subahu cha go-dhanam āptavāṁś lokān |* "The great, self-subduing king, considering that these words of the rishi were most excellent, lavished on the Brāhmans very great wealth in the shape of cows, and obtained the worlds."—So here we find the son of Saudāsa extolled as a saint.

same individual with whom we are at present concerned, they are difficult to reconcile with these traditions in the Brāhmaṇas, Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas; inasmuch as they are not said to be the productions of Viśvāmitra or his descendants, and as they necessarily imply that Sudās was a pious prince who worshipped the popular deities in the way prescribed by the rishis by whom he was commemorated, since the latter would not otherwise have celebrated him in their hymns as a conspicuous object of divine favour. Tradition, too, as we have seen (p. 268) represents Sudās to have been the author of a Vedic hymn. The verses of the 104th hymn of the seventh book which I have quoted (above, p. 327) do not appear to contribute any further aid towards the solution of the question under consideration. Assuming that they contain a curse aimed at Viśvāmitra we have no means of ascertaining when they were uttered; whether the charge preferred against Vasishṭha preceded or followed the ascendancy of his rival.

We seem, therefore, to possess no sufficient data for settling the question of the relations in which Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra respectively stood to king Sudās, further than that they both appear, from the hymns of the Rig-veda, to have been, at one period or another, his family priests; but which of the two was the first, and which the last, to enjoy the king's favour, must, according to all appearance, remain a mystery.

Sect. VIII.—*Story of Triśanku.*

I shall now proceed to adduce the different legends in the Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Mahābhārata, in which Vaśishṭha and Viśvāmitra are represented as coming into conflict.

In the third chapter of the fourth book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa (Wilson, vol. iii. pp. 284 ff.) we find a story about a king Satyavrata, called also Triśanku, the 26th in descent from Ikshvāku, who had become degraded to the condition of a Chaṇḍāla, about whom it is briefly related, iv. 3, 13: *Dvādaśa-vārshikyām anāvṛishṭyām Viśvāmitra-kalatrāpatya-poshaṇārthaṁ chaṇḍāla-pratigraha-parihāraṇāya cha Jāhnavī-tīra-nyagrodhe mṛiga-māṁsam anudinam babandha* | 14. *Paritushṭena cha Viśvāmitreṇa sa-śarīraḥ svargam āropitaḥ* | "During a twelve years' drought he daily suspended deer's flesh for the support of Viśvāmitra's wife and children

on a nyagrodha-tree on the banks of the Ganges, intending by this means to spare them the (humiliation of) receiving a gift from a Chaṇḍāla; and was in consequence raised bodily to heaven by Viśvāmitra, who was gratified (with his conduct)."[173]

This story is told at greater length in the Harivaṁśa (sections 12 and 13) where Vasishṭha also is introduced. I have already (p. 337) remarked on the super-human longevity ascribed to this sage, who is represented as contemporary both with Ikshvāku, and with his descendants down to the sixty-first generation. But Indian mythology, with its boundless resources in supernatural machinery, and in the doctrine of transmigration, can reconcile all discrepancies, and explain away all anachronisms, making any sage re-appear at any juncture when his presence may be required, another and yet the same.

The Harivaṁśa states that Satyavrata (Triśanku) had been expelled from his home by his father for the offence of carrying off the young wife of one of the citizens under the influence of a criminal passion (verse 718: *Yena bhāryyā hṛitā pūrvaṁ kṛitodvāhā parasya vai* | 720. *Jahāra kāmāt kanyāṁ sa kasyachit puravāsinaḥ*); and that Vasishṭha did not interfere to prevent his banishment. His father retired to the woods to live as a hermit. In consequence of the wickedness which had been committed, Indra did not rain for a period of twelve years. At that time Viśvāmitra had left his wife and children and gone to practice austerities on the sea-shore. His wife, driven to extremity by want, was on the point of selling her second son for a hundred cows, in order to support the others; but this arrangement was stopped by the intervention of Satyavrata, who liberated the son when bound,[174] and

[173] In the Mahābh. S'āntip. verses 5330 ff. (referred to by Weber, Ind. St. i. 475, note) there is a story of Viśvāmitra determining to eat dog's flesh in a period of famine between the end of the the Tretā-age and the beginning of the Dvāpara; and holding a conversation on this subject with a Chaṇḍāla. The circumstance is referred to in Manu, x. 108: *Kshudhārttaś chāttum abhyāgād Viśvāmitraḥ śva-jāghanīm* | *chaṇḍāla-hastād ādāya dharmādharma-vichakshaṇaḥ* | "And Viśvāmitra, who knew right and wrong, resolved to eat a dog's thigh, taking it from the hand of a Chaṇḍāla."

[174] See in Ind. Stud. ii. 121 ff. Professor Roth's remarks on the peculiar relation in which he regards this story as standing to that of S'unaśśepa, as given in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The various incidents in the one present in many respects a curious parallel to those of the other, which he considers can hardly be accidental; and he thinks this version of the legend of Triśanku may have arisen out of a transformation and distortion of that of S'unaśśepa.

maintained the family by providing them with the flesh of wild animals: and according to his father's injunction, consecrated himself for the performance of a silent penance for twelve years (verse 732. *Upāṁśa-vratam āsthāya dīkshāṁ dvādaśa-vārshikīm | pitur niyogād avahat tasmin vana-gate nṛipe*). The story proceeds thus:

Verse 733. *Ayodhyāṁ chaiva rāshṭraṁ cha tathaivāntaḥpuram muniḥ | yājyopādhyāya-sambandhād Vaśishṭhaḥ paryarakshata | Satyavratas tu bālyād vai bhāvino 'rthasya vā balāt | Vaśishṭhe 'bhyadhikam manyuṁ dhārayāmāsa nityadā* | 735. *Pitrā hi taṁ tadā rājyāt tyajyamānaṁ svam ātmajam | na vārayāmāsa munir Vaśishṭhaḥ kāraṇena ha | pāṇi-grahaṇa-mantrāṇām nishṭhā syāt saptame pade | na cha Satyavratas tasmād dhṛitavān saptame pade | jānan dharmān Vaśishṭhas tu na māṁ trātīti Bhārata | Satyavratas tadā roshaṁ Vaśishṭhe manasā 'karot | guṇa-buddhyā tu bhagavān Vaśishṭhaḥ kṛitavāṁs tadā | na cha Satya-vratas tasya tam upāṁśum abudhyata* | . . . . 740. *Tena tv idānīṁ vahatā dīkshāṁ tāṁ durvahām bhuvi | "kulasya nishkṛitis tāta kṛitā sā vai bhaved" iti | na taṁ Vaśishṭho bhagavān pitrā tyaktaṁ nyavārayat | abhishekshyāmy aham putram asyety evam matir muneḥ | sa tu dvādaśa-varshāṇi tāṁ dīkshām udvahan balī | avidyamāne māṁse tu Vaśishṭhasya mahātmanaḥ | sarva-kāma-dughāṁ dogdhrīṁ dadarśa sa nṛipātmajaḥ | tāṁ vai krodhāch cha mohāch cha śramāch chaiva kshudhārditaḥ | daśa-dharma-gato rājā jaghāna Janamejaya* | . . . . 745. *Tach cha māṁ-saṁ svayaṁ chaiva Viśvāmitrasya chātmajān | bhojayāmāsa tach chhrutvā Vaśishṭho 'py asya chukrudhe* | . . . . 750. *Viśvāmitras tu dārāṇām āgato bharaṇe kṛite | sa tu tasmai varam prādād muniḥ prītas Triśankave | chhandyamāno vareṇātha varaṁ vavre nṛipātmajaḥ | saśarīro vraje svargam ity evaṁ yāchito varaḥ | anāvṛishṭi-bhaye tasmin gate dvā-daśa-vārshike | pitrye 'bhishichya rājye tu yājayāmāsa tam muniḥ | mi-shatāṁ devatānāṁ cha Vaśishṭhasya cha Kauśikaḥ | saśarīraṁ tadā taṁ tu divam āropayat prabhuḥ* |

733. "Meanwhile Vaśishṭha, from the relation subsisting between the king (Satyavrata's father) and himself, as disciple[178] and spiritual preceptor, governed the city of Ayodhyā, the country, and the interior apartments of the royal palace. But Satyavrata, whether through folly or the force of destiny, cherished constantly an increased indignation against Vaśishṭha, who for a (proper) reason had not interposed to pre-

[178] Literally "the person in whose behalf sacrifice was to be performed."

vent his exclusion from the royal power by his father. 'The formulas of the marriage ceremonial are only binding,' said Satyavrata, 'when the seventh step has been taken,[178] and this had not been done when I seized the damsel: still Vaśishṭha, who knows the precepts of the law, does not come to my aid.' Thus Satyavrata was incensed in his mind against Vaśishṭha, who, however, had acted from a sense of what was right. Nor did Satyavrata understand (the propriety of) that silent penance imposed upon him by his father. . . . . 740. When he had supported this arduous rite, (he supposed that) he had redeemed his family position. The venerable muni Vaśishṭha did not, however, (as has been said) prevent his father from setting him aside, but resolved to install his son as king. When the powerful prince Satyavrata had endured the penance for twelve years, he beheld, when he was without flesh to eat, the milch cow of Vaśishṭha which yielded all objects of desire; and under the influence of anger, delusion, and exhaustion, distressed by hunger, and failing in the ten duties [the opposites of which are then enumerated] he slew her . . . . (745) and both partook of her flesh himself, and gave it to Viśvāmitra's sons to eat. Vaśishṭha hearing of this, became incensed against him," and imposed on him the name of Triśanku as he had committed three sins (verses 747–749). "750. On his return home, Viśvāmitra was gratified by the support which his wife had received, and offered Triśanku the choice of a boon. When this proposal was made, Triśanku chose the boon of ascending bodily to heaven. All apprehension from the twelve years' drought being now at an end, the muni (Viśvāmitra) installed Triśanku in his father's kingdom, and offered sacrifice on his behalf. The mighty Kauśika then, in spite of the resistance of the gods and of Vaśishṭha, exalted the king alive to heaven."

The legend of Triśanku is also related, though differently, in the Bālakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa; but as it is there introduced as a portion of the history of Viśvāmitra's various contests with Vaśishṭha recorded in the 51st to 65th sections of that book, I shall reserve it till I take up that narrative.

[178] "The next ceremony is the bride's stepping seven steps. It is the most material of all the nuptial rites; for the marriage is complete and irrevocable so soon as she has taken the seventh step, and no sooner." Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. 218, where further details will be found.

SECT. IX.—*Legend of Hariśchandra.*

The son of Triśanku, the subject of the preceding story, was Hariśchandra, whose name is mentioned in the Vishṇu P., but without any allusion to the events of his life. According to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,[177] however, he gave up his whole country, and sold his wife and son, and finally himself, in satisfaction of Viśvāmitra's demands for money. The following is a summary of the story as there told, book i. sections 7–9. We may perhaps regard it as having in part a polemical import, and as intended to represent Viśvāmitra, the Kshattriya rival of the Brāhmans, in the most unfavourable colours. The sufferings of Hariśchandra, his wife, and son, are very pathetically depicted, and the effect of the various incidents is heightened with great artistic skill. The story, in fact, appears to me one of the most touching to be found in Indian literature. Hariśchandra, the Purāṇa tells us, was a royal rishi (*rājarshi*) who lived in the Tretā age, and was renowned for his virtues, and the universal prosperity, moral and physical, which prevailed during his reign. On one occasion, when hunting, the king heard a sound of female lamentation which proceeded, it appears, from the Sciences who were becoming mastered by the austerely-fervid sage Viśvāmitra, in a way they had never been before by anyone else; and were consequently crying out in alarm at his superiority. In fulfilment of his duty as a Kshattriya to defend the weak, and inspired by the god Ganeśa, who had entered into him, Hariśchandra exclaimed (i. 7, 12) "'What sinner is this who is binding fire in the hem of his garment, while I, his lord, am present, resplendent with force and fiery vigour?' He shall to-day enter on his long sleep, pierced in all his limbs by arrows, which, by their discharge from my bow, illuminate all the quarters of the firmament" (12. *Ko 'yam badhnāti vastrānte pāvakam pāpa-krin naraḥ* | *baloshṇa-tejasā dīpte mayi patyāv upasthite* | 13. *So 'dya mat-kārmukākshepa-vidīpita-digantaraiḥ* | *śarair vibhinna-sarvāngo dīrghanidrām pravekshyati* |). Viśvāmitra was provoked by this address. In consequence of his wrath the Sciences instantly perished, and Hariśchandra, trembling like the leaf of an aśvattha tree, submissively represented that

[177] The same story is told in the Padma Purāṇa also. See Wilson's V.P. vol. iii. p. 287, and note. The glory of Hariśchandra is described in the M.Bh. Sabhāp. verses 489 ff.

he had merely done his duty as a king, which he defined as consisting in the bestowal of gifts on eminent Brāhmans and other persons of slender means, the protection of the timid, and war against enemies. Viśvāmitra hereupon demands a gift as a Brāhman intent upon receiving one. The king offers him whatever he may ask: Gold, his own son, wife, body, life, kingdom, good fortune (*hiranyam vā suvarnam vā putraḥ patnī kalevaram | prāṇāḥ rājyam puram lakshmīr yad abhipretam ātmanaḥ |*). The saint first requires the present for the Rājasūya sacrifice. On this being promised, and still more offered, he asks for the empire of the whole earth, including everything but Hariśchandra himself, his wife and son, and his virtue which follows its possessor wherever he goes[178] (i. 7, 28. *Vinā bhāryyām cha putram cha śarīram cha tavānagha | 29. Dharmam cha sarva-dharma-jna yo yāntam anugachhati*). Hariśchandra joyfully agrees. Viśvāmitra then requires him to strip off all his ornaments, to clothe himself in the bark of trees, and to quit the kingdom with his wife Śaivyā and his son. When he is departing the sage stops him and demands payment of his yet unpaid sacrificial fee. The king replies that he has only the persons of his wife, his son, and himself left. Viśvāmitra insists that he must nevertheless pay; and that "unfulfilled promises of gifts to Brāhmans bring destruction" (i. 7. 35. *Viśeshato brāhmaṇānām hanty adattam pratiśrutam*). The unfortunate prince, after being threatened with a curse, engages to make the payment in a month; and commences his journey with a wife unused to such fatigues, amid the universal lamentations of his subjects. While he lingers, listening to their affectionate remonstrances against his desertion of his kingdom, Viśvāmitra comes up, and being

[178] Compare Manu's very striking verses, viii. 17, and iv. 239 ff., which may be freely rendered as follows:

"Our virtue is the only friend that follows us in death;
All other ties and friendships end with our departing breath.
Nor father, mother, wife, nor son beside us then can stay,
Nor kinsfolk:—virtue is the one companion of our way.
Alone each creature sees the light, alone the world he leaves;
Alone of actions, wrong or right, the recompence receives.
Like log or clod, beneath the sod their lifeless kinsman laid,
His friends turn round and quit the ground; but virtue tends the dead.
Be then a hoard of virtue stored, to help in day of doom;
By virtue led, we cross the dread, immeasurable gloom."

See the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xix. for 1862, p. 303 f.

incensed at the delay and the king's apparent hesitation, strikes the queen with his staff, as she is dragged on by her husband. All this Hariśchandra endures with patience, uttering no complaint. Then the five Viśvedevas, merciful gods, exclaimed, "'To what worlds shall this sinner Viśvāmitra go, who has thrust down this most excellent of sacrificers from the royal dignity? Whose faith shall now sanctify the soma-juice poured out with recitation of texts at the great sacrifice, that we may drink it, and become exhilarated'" (i. 7, 62. *Atha viśve tadā devāḥ pancha prāhuḥ kṛipālavaḥ | Viśvāmitraḥ supāpo 'yaṁ lokān kān samavāpsyati | 63. Yenāyaṁ yajvanāṁ śreshṭhaḥ sva-rājyād avaropitaḥ | kasya vā śraddhayā pūtaṁ sutaṁ somam mahādhvare | pītvā vayam prayāsyāmo mudam mantra-purassaram |*). Viśvāmitra heard what they said, and by a curse doomed them to become men; he relented, however, so far as to exempt them from having offspring, and from other family ties and human weaknesses, and promised that they should eventually be restored to their pristine position as gods. They in consequence became partially incarnate as the five Pāṇḍus, the sons of Draupadī. Resuming the story of Hariśchandra, the writer tells us that he then proceeded with his wife and little son to Benares, imagining that this divine city, as the special property of Śiva, could not be possessed by any mortal. Here he found the relentless Viśvāmitra waiting for him, and ready to press his demand for the payment of his sacrificial gift, even before the expiration of the full period of grace. In this extremity Śaivyā the queen suggests with a sobbing voice that her husband should sell her. On hearing this proposal Hariśchandra swoons, then recovers, utters lamentations, and swoons again, and his wife, seeing his sad condition, swoons also. While they are in a state of unconsciousness, their famished child exclaims in distress, "O father, father, give me bread; O mother, mother, give me food: hunger overpowers me; and my tongue is parched" (i. 8, 35. *Tāta tāta dadasvānnam ambāmba bhojanaṁ dada | kshud me balavatī jātā jihvāgraṁ śushyate tathā*). At this moment Viśvāmitra returns, and after recalling Hariśchandra to consciousness by sprinkling water over him, again urges payment of the present. The king again swoons, and is again restored. The sage threatens to curse him if his engagement is not fulfilled by sunset. Being now pressed by his wife, the king agrees to sell her, adding, however, "If my voice can utter such a wicked word, I do

what the most inhuman wretches cannot perpetrate" (i. 8, 48 f. *Nṛiśaṁsair api yat kartuṁ na śakyaṁ tat karomy aham | yadi me śakyate vāṇī vaktum īdṛik sudurvachaḥ*). He then goes into the city, and in self-accusing language offers his queen for sale as a slave. A rich old Brāhman offers to buy her at a price corresponding to her value, to do his household work. Hariśchandra's heart was torn, and he could make no reply. The Brāhman paid down the money, and was dragging away the queen by the hair of her head, when her little son Rohitāśva, seeing his mother about to be taken away from him, began to cry, and laid hold of her skirts. The mother then exclaims: i. 8, 59, "*Munchāryya muncha māṁ tāvad yāvat paśyāmy ahaṁ śiśum | durlabhaṁ darśanaṁ tāta punar asya bhavishyati* | 60. *Paśyaihi vatsa mām evam mātaraṁ dāsyatāṁ gatām | māṁ mā sprākshīḥ rāja-puttra aspṛiśyā 'haṁ tavādhunā*" | 61. *Tataḥ sa bālaḥ sahasā dṛishṭvā kṛishṭāṁ tu mātaram | samabhyadhāvad ambeti rudan sāsrāvilekshaṇaḥ* | 62. *Tam āgataṁ dvijaḥ kretā bālam abhyāhanat padā | vadaṁs tathāpi so 'mbeti naivāmunchata mātaram* | 63. *Rājapatny uvācha* | "*prasādaṁ kuru me nātha krīṇīshvemaṁ cha bālakam | krītā 'pi nāham bhavato vinainaṁ kāryya-sādhikā* | 64. *Ittham mamālpa-bhāgyāyāḥ prasāda-sumukho bhava | māṁ saṁyojaya bālena vatsenева payasvinīm*" | 65. *Brāhmaṇaḥ uvācha* | "*gṛihyatām vittam etat te dīyatām bālako mama*" | "'Let me go, let me go, venerable sir, till I look upon my son. I shall hardly ever behold him again. Come, my darling, see thy mother now become a slave. Touch me not, young prince; I may no longer be handled by thee.' Seeing his mother dragged away, the child ran after her, his eyes dimmed with tears, and crying 'mother.' The Brāhman purchaser kicked him when he came up; but he would not let his mother go, and continued crying 'mother, mother.' The queen then said to the Brāhman, 'Be so kind, my master, as to buy also this child, as without him I shall prove to thee but a useless purchase. 64. Be thus merciful to me in my wretchedness; unite me with my son, like a cow to her calf.'[179] The Brāhman agrees: 'Take this money and give me the boy.'" When his wife and son were being carried away, Hariśchandra broke out into lamentations: i. 8, 68. *Yāṁ na vāyur na chādityo nendur na cha pṛithag-janaḥ | dṛishṭavantaḥ purā patnīṁ seyaṁ dāsītvam āgatā* | 69. *Sūrya-vaṁśa-prasūto 'yaṁ sukumāra-karāngulīḥ | samprāpto vikrayam*

[179] The whole of this reads like a scene from "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

bālo dhik mām astu sudurmatim | "'She, my spouse, whom neither air, nor sun, nor moon, nor stranger had beheld, is now gone into slavery. This my son, a scion of the solar race, with his delicate hands and fingers, has been sold. Woe to me, wicked wretch that I am.'" After the Brāhman had gone out of sight with his purchases, Viśvāmitra again appeared and renewed his demands; and when the afflicted Hariśchandra offered him the small sum he had obtained by the sale of his wife and son, he angrily replied, i. 8, 74: *Kshattrabandho mamemām tvaṁ sadṛiśīṁ yajna-dakshiṇām* | *manyase yadi tat kshipram paśya tvam me balam param* | 75. *Tapaso 'tra sutaptasya brāhmaṇyasyāmalasya cha* | *mat-prabhāvasya chograsya śuddhasyādhyayanasya cha* | "'If, miserable Kshattriya, thou thinkest this a sacrificial gift befitting my deserts, thou shalt soon behold the transcendent power of my ardent austere-fervour, of my spotless Brāhmanhood, of my terrible majesty, and of my holy study.'" Hariśchandra promises an additional gift, and Viśvāmitra allows him the remaining quarter of the day for its liquidation. On the terrified and afflicted prince offering himself for sale, in order to gain the means of meeting this cruel demand, Dharma (Righteousness) appears in the form of a hideous and offensive Chaṇḍāla, and agrees to buy him at his own price, large or small. Hariśchandra declines such a degrading servitude, and declares that he would rather be consumed by the fire of his persecutor's curse than submit to such a fate. Viśvāmitra however again comes on the scene, asks why he does not accept the large sum offered by the Chaṇḍāla; and, when he pleads in excuse his descent from the solar race, threatens to fulminate a curse against him if he does not accept that method of meeting his liability. Hariśchandra implores that he may be spared this extreme of degradation, and offers to become Viśvāmitra's slave in payment of the residue of his debt; whereupon the sage rejoins, "If thou art my slave, then I sell thee as such to the Chaṇḍāla for a hundred millions of money" (i. 8, 95. *Yadi preshyo mama bhavān chaṇḍālāya tato mayā* | *dāsa-bhāvam anuprāpto datto vittārbudena vai* |). The Chaṇḍāla, delighted, pays down the money, and carries off Hariśchandra, bound, beaten, confused, and afflicted, to his own place of abode. Morning, noon, and evening the unfortunate prince repeats these words: i. 8, 99. *Bālā dīna-mukhī dṛishṭvā bālaṁ dīna-mukham puraḥ* | *māṁ smaraty asukhāvishṭā "mochayishyati nau nṛipaḥ* | 100. *Upātta-vitto*

viprāya dattvā vittam ato 'dhikam" | *na sā mām mṛiga-śāvākshī vetti pāpataraṁ kṛitam* | 101. *Rājya-nāśaḥ suhṛit-tyāgo bhāryyā-tanaya-vikrayaḥ* | *prāptā chaṇḍālatā cheyam aho duḥkha-paramparā* | "My tender wife, dejected, looking upon my dejected boy, calls me to mind while she says, 'The king will ransom us (100) after he has gained money, and paid the Brāhman a larger sum than he gave for us.' But my fawn-eyed spouse is ignorant that I have become yet more wretched than before. 101. Loss of my kingdom, abandonment of friends, sale of my wife and son, and this fall into the condition of a Chaṇḍāla,—what a succession of miseries!" Hariśchandra is sent by the Chaṇḍāla to steal grave-clothes in a cemetery (which is described at tedious length, with all its horrors and repulsive features), and is told that he will receive two-sixths of the value for his hire; three-sixths going to his master, and one-sixth to the king. In this horrid spot, and in this degrading occupation, he spent, in great misery, twelve months, which seemed to him like a hundred years (i. 8, 127. *Evaṁ dvādaśa-māsās tu nītāḥ śata-samopamāḥ*). He then falls asleep and has a series of dreams suggested by the life he had been leading (*śmaśānābhyāsa-yogena*, verse 129). After he awoke, his wife came to the cemetery to perform the obsequies of their son, who had died from the bite of a serpent (verses 171 ff.). At first the husband and wife did not recognize each other, from the change in appearance which had been wrought upon them both by their miseries. Hariśchandra, however, soon discovers from the tenor of her lamentations that it is his wife, and falls into a swoon; as the queen does also when she recognizes her husband. When consciousness returns, they both break out into lamentations, the father bewailing in a touching strain the loss of his son, and the wife the degradation of the king. She then falls on his neck, embraces him, and asks "whether all this is a dream, or a reality, as she is utterly bewildered;" and adds, that "if it be a reality, then righteousness is unavailing to those who practise it" (verse 210. *Rājan svapno 'tha tathyaṁ vā yad etad manyate bhavān* | *tat kathyatām mahābhāga mano vai muhyate mama* | 211. *Yady etad evaṁ dharmajna nāsti dharme sahāyatā* |). After hesitating to devote himself to death on his son's funeral pyre without receiving his master's leave, (as such an act of insubordination might send him to hell) (verses 215 ff.), Hariśchandra resolves to do so, braving all the consequences, and consoling himself with the hopeful

anticipation: verse 224. *Yadi dattaṁ yadi hutaṁ guravo yadi toshitāḥ* | *paratra sangamo bhūyāt puttreṇa saha cha tvayā* | "If I have given gifts, and offered sacrifices, and gratified my religious teachers, then may I be reunited with my son and with thee (my wife) in another world."[180] The queen determines to die in the same manner. When Hariśchandra, after placing his son's body on the funeral pile, is meditating on the lord Hari Nārāyaṇa Kṛishṇa, the supreme spirit, all the gods arrive, headed by Dharma (Righteousness), and accompanied by Viśvāmitra.[181] Dharma entreats the king to desist from his rash in-

[180] In the following verses of the Atharva-veda a hope is expressed that families may be re-united in the next world: vi. 120, 3. *Yattra suhārddaḥ suhṛido madanti vihāya rogaṁ tanvaḥ svāyāḥ* | *aślonāḥ angair ahrutāḥ svarge tattra paśyema pitarau cha putrān* | "In heaven, where our friends, and intimates live in blessedness, having left behind them the infirmities of their bodies, free from lameness or distortion of limb,—may we behold our parents and our children." ix. 5, 27. *Yā pūrvam patiṁ vittvā athānyaṁ vindate 'param* | *panchaudanaṁ cha tāv ajaṁ dadāto na vi yoshataḥ* | 28. *Samānaloko bhavati punarbhuvā 'paraḥ patiḥ* | *yo 'jam panchaudanaṁ dakshiṇā-jyotishaṁ dadāti* | "When a woman has had one husband before, and takes another, if they present the *aja panchaudana* offering they shall not be separated. 28. A second husband dwells in the same (future) world with his re-wedded wife, if he offers the *aja panchaudana*, illuminated by presents." xii. 3, 17. *Svargaṁ lokam abhi no nayāsi saṁ jāyayā saha puttraiḥ syāma* | "Mayest thou conduct us to heaven; may we be with our wives and children." xviii. 3, 23. *Svān gachhatu te mano adha pitṝn upa drava* | "May thy soul go to its own (its kindred) and hasten to the fathers." From the texts cited by Mr. Colebrooke "on the duties of a faithful Hindu widow," (Misc. Ess. 115 ff.) it appears that the widow who becomes a satī (*i.e.* burns herself with her husband's corpse, or, in certain cases, afterwards) has the promise of rejoining her lord in another life, and enjoying celestial felicity in his society. In order to ensure such a result in all cases it was necessary either that both husband and wife should have by their lives merited equal rewards in another existence, or that the heroism of the wife, in sacrificing herself on her husband's funeral-pile should have the vicarious effect of expiating his offences, and raising him to the same heavenly region with herself. And it is indeed the doctrine of the authorities cited by Mr. Colebrooke that the self-immolation of the wife had this atoning effect. But in other cases where the different members of a family had by their actions during life merited different kinds of retribution, they might, according to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls current in later ages, be re-born in the shape of different animals, and so rendered incapable of any mutual communication after death. In regard to the absence of any traces of the tenet of metempsychosis from the earliest Indian writings, see Professor Weber's remarks in the Journ. of the Germ. Or. Soc. ix. 327 ff. and the abstract of them given in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1865, pp. 305 ff.

[181] An attempt is here made, verses 234 f., to give the etymology of Viśvāmitra: *Viśva-trayeṇa yo mitram karttuṁ na śakitāḥ purā* | *Viśvāmitras tu te māittrīm ishṭaṁ chāharttum ichhati* | "That Viśvāmitra, whom the three Viśvas formerly could not induce to be their friend, wishes to offer thee his friendship, and whatsoever thou desirest."

tention; and Indra announces to him that he, his wife, and son have conquered heaven by their good works. Ambrosia, the antidote of death, and flowers, are rained by the god from the sky; and the king's son is restored to life and the bloom of youth. The king, adorned with celestial clothing and garlands, and the queen, embrace their son. Harischandra, however, declares that he cannot go to heaven till he has received his master the Chaṇḍāla's permission, and has paid him a ransom. Dharma then reveals to the king that it was he himself who had miraculously assumed the form of a Chaṇḍāla. The king next objects that he cannot depart unless his faithful subjects, who are sharers in his merits, are allowed to accompany him to heaven, at least for one day. This request is granted by Indra; and after Visvāmitra has inaugurated Rohitāśva the king's son to be his successor, Hariśchandra, his friends and followers, all ascend in company to heaven. Even after this great consummation, however, Vaśishṭha, the family-priest of Harischandra, hearing, at the end of a twelve years' abode in the waters of the Ganges, an account of all that has occurred, becomes vehemently incensed at the humiliation inflicted on the excellent monarch, whose virtues and devotion to the gods and Brāhmans he celebrates, declares that his indignation had not been so greatly roused even when his own hundred sons had been slain by Viśvāmitra, and in the following words dooms the latter to be transformed into a crane: i. 9, 9. *Tasmād durātmā brahma-dviṭ prājnānām avaropitaḥ | mach-chhāpopahato mūḍhaḥ sa vakatvam avāpsyati* | "Wherefore that wicked man, enemy of the Brāhmans, smitten by my curse, shall be expelled from the society of intelligent beings, and losing his understanding shall be transformed into a Vaka." Visvāmitra reciprocates the curse, and changes Vasishṭha into a bird of the species called Āṛi. In their new shapes the two have a furious fight,[183] the Āṛi being of the portentous height of two thousand yojanas (= 18000 miles), and the Vaka of 3090 yojanas. They first assail each other with their wings; then the Vaka smites his antagonist in the same manner, while the Āṛi strikes with his talons. Falling mountains, overturned by the blasts of wind raised by the

[183] On the subject of this fight the Bhāgavata Purāna has the following verse: ix. 7, 6. *Traiśankavo Hariśchandro Viśvāmitra-Vaśishṭhayoḥ | yan-nimittam abhūd yuddham pakshiṇor bahu-vārshikam* | "The son of Triśanku was Hariśchandra, on whose account Visvāmitra and Vaśishṭha in the form of birds had a battle of many

flapping of their wings, shake the whole earth, the waters of the ocean overflow, the earth itself, thrown off its perpendicular, slopes downwards towards Pātāla, the lower regions. Many creatures perish by these various convulsions. Attracted by the dire disorder, Brahmā arrives, attended by all the gods, on the spot, and commands the combatants to desist from their fray. They were too fiercely infuriated to regard this injunction: but Brahmā put an end to the conflict by restoring them to their natural forms, and counselling them to be reconciled: i. 9, 28. *Na chāpi Kauśika-śreshṭhas tasya rājno 'parādhyate | svarga-prāptikaro brahmann upakāra-pade sthitaḥ* | 29. *Tapo-vighnasya karttārau kāma-krodha-vaśaṁ gatau | parityajata bhadraṁ no brahma hi prachuram balam* | 'The son of Kuśika has not inflicted any wrong on Hariśchandra: inasmuch as he has caused the king's elevation to heaven he stands in the position of a benefactor. 29. Since ye have yielded to the influence of desire and anger ye have obstructed your austere fervour; leave off, bless you; the Brahmanical power is transcendent.' The sages were accordingly pacified, and embraced each other."

This interesting legend may be held to have had a double object, viz. first to portray in lively colours the heroic fortitude and sense of duty exhibited by Hariśchandra and his wife in enduring the long series of severe trials to which they were subjected; and secondly, to represent Viśvāmitra in an unamiable light, as an oppressive assertor of those sacerdotal prerogatives, which he had conquered for himself by his austerities,[183] to place him in striking contrast with the genuine Brāhman Vaśishṭha who expresses strong indignation at the harsh procedure of his rival, and to recall the memory of those conflicts between

years duration." On this the Commentator remarks: *Viśvāmitro rājasūya-dakshiṇā-chhalena Hariśchandrasya sarva-svam apahṛitya yātayāmāsa | tach chhrutvā kupito Vaśishṭho'pi Viśvāmitraṁ "tvam āṛī bhava" iti śaśāpa | so 'pi "tvaṁ vako bhava" iti Vaśishṭham śaśāpa | tayoś cha yuddham abhūd iti prasiddam* | "Viśvāmitra under pretence of taking a present for a rajasūya sacrifice, stripped Hariśchandra of all his property, and afflicted him. Vaśishṭha hearing of this, became incensed, and by an imprecation turned him into an Āṛī. Viśvāmitra retorted the curse and changed Vaśishṭha into a Vāka. And then a battle took place between them, as is well known." Here it will be seen that the Commentator changes the birds into which the rishis were transformed, making Viśvāmitra the Āṛī and Vaśishṭha the Vāka.

[183] It is true that the Brāhman rishi Durvāsas also is represented as a very irascible personage. See vol. iv. of this work, pp. 166, 169, 208, 407; and Weber's Ind. St. iii. 398.

the Brāhmans and Kshattriyas, which were exemplified in the persons of these two sages, of whom the one is said to have been made the "lord of Brāhmans" (*Vaśishṭham īśaṁ viprāṇām*, M.Bh. Śāntip. v. 4499), and the other is declared in the story before us to have been the "enemy of the priests."

SECT. X.—*Contest of Vaśishṭha and Viśvāmitra according to the Mahābhārata.*

In the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 6638 ff., we find another legend, in the Brahmanical interest, regarding the same two great personages, which begins with a panegyric on Vaśishṭha, at the expense of the rival rishi:

6638. *Brahmaṇo mānasaḥ putro Vaśishṭho 'rundhatī-patiḥ* | *tāpasā nirjitau śaśvad ajeyāv amarair api* | *kāma-krodhāv ubhau yasya charaṇau saṁvavāhatuḥ* | *yas tu nochchhedanaṁ chakre Kuśikānām udāra-dhīḥ* | *Viśvāmitrāparādhena dhārayan manyum uttamam* | 6640. *Putra-vyasana-santaptaḥ śaktimān apy aśakta-vat* | *Viśvāmitra-vināśāya na chakre karma dāruṇam* | *mṛitāṁś cha punar āharttum yaḥ sa putrān Yama-kshayāt* | *kṛitāntaṁ nātichakrāma velām iva mahodadhiḥ* | *yam prāpya vijitātmānam mahātmānaṁ narādhipāḥ* | *Ikshvākavo mahīpālāḥ lebhire pṛithivīm imām* | *purohitam imam prāpya Vaśishṭham ṛishi-sattamam* | *ījire kratubhiś chaiva nṛipās te Kuru-nandana* | *sa hi tān yājayāmāsa sarvān nṛipati-sattamān* | *brahmarshiḥ Pāṇḍava-śreshṭha Vṛihaspatir ivāmarān* | 6645. *Tasmād dharma-pradhānātmā veda-dharma-vid īpsitaḥ* | *brāhmaṇo guṇavān kaśchit purodhāḥ paridṛiśyatām* | *kshattriyeṇābhijātena pṛithivīṁ jetum ichhatā* | *pūrvam purohitaḥ kāryyaḥ pārtha rājyābhisiddhaye* | *mahīm jigīshatā rājnā brahma kāryam purassaram* | . . . 6666. *Kshattriyo 'ham bhavān vipras tapaḥ-svādhyāya-sādhanaḥ* | *brāhmaṇeshu kuto vīryam praśānteshu dhṛitātmasu* | *arbudena gavāṁ yas tvaṁ na dadāsi mamepsitam* | *sva-dharmaṁ na prahāsyāmi neshyāmi cha balena gām* | . . . . 6679. "*Sthīyatām*" *iti tach chhrutvā Vaśishṭhasya payasvinī* | *ūrdhvānchita-śiro-grīvā prababhau raudra-darśanā* | 6680. *Krodha-raktekshaṇā sā gaur hambhā-rava-ghana-svanā* | *Viśvāmitrasya tat sainyaṁ vyadrāvayata sarvaśaḥ* | *kaśāgra-daṇḍābhihatā kālyamānā tatastataḥ* | *krodha-raktekshaṇā krodham bhūya eva samādadhe* | *āditya iva madhyāhne krodha-dīpta-vapur babhau* | *angāra-varsham munchantī muhur bāladhito*

mahat | *asrijat Pahlavān puchhāt prasravād Drāviḍān Sakān* | *yoni-deśāch cha Yavanān śakritaḥ S'avarān bahūn* | .... 6691. *Drishṭvā tad mahad āścharyam brahma-tejo-bhavam tadā* | *Viśvāmitraḥ kshattra-bhāvād nirviṇṇo vākyam abravīt* | "*dhig balaṁ kshattriya-balam brahma-tejo-balam balam* | *balābalaṁ viniśchitya tapaḥ eva param balam*" | *sa rājyaṁ sphītam utsrijya tāṁ cha dīptāṁ nripa-śriyam* | *bhogāṁś cha prishṭhataḥ kritvā tapasy eva mano dadhe* | *sa gatvā tapasā siddhim lokān vishṭabhya tejasā* | 6695. *Tatāpa sarvān dīptaujāḥ brāhmaṇatvam avāptavān* | *api-bach cha tataḥ somam Indreṇa saha Kauśikaḥ* |

6638. "Vaśishṭha," a Gandharva informs Arjuna, "was the mind-born son of Brahmā and husband of Arundhatī.[184] By his austere fervour, lust and anger, invincible even by the immortals, were constantly vanquished and embraced his feet. Restraining his indignation at the wrong done by Viśvāmitra, he magnanimously abstained from exterminating the Kuśikas.[185] 6640. Distressed by the loss of his sons, he acted, although powerful, like one who was powerless, and took no

[184] Arundhatī is again mentioned as the wife of Vasishṭha, in the following lines of the M. Bh. Ādip. 7351 f. addressed to Draupadī: *Yathendrāṇī Harihaye Svāhā chaiva Vibhāvasau* | *Rohiṇī cha yathā Some Damayantī yathā Nale* | *yathā Vaiśravaṇe Bhadrā Vaśishṭhe chāpy Arundhatī* | *yathā Nārāyaṇe Lakshmīs tathā tvam bhava bharttrishu* | "What Indrāṇī is to Indra, Svāhā to the Sun, Rohiṇī to the Moon, Damayantī to Nala, Bhadrā to Kuvera, Arundhatī to Vaśishṭha, and Lakshmī to Nārāyaṇa, that be thou to thy husbands." She is again noticed in verses 8455 ff.: *Suvratā chāpi kalyāṇī sarva-bhūteshu viśrutā* | *Arundhatī mahātmānaṁ Vaśishṭham paryaśankata* | *viśuddha-bhāvam atyantaṁ sadā priya-hite ratam* | *saptarshi-madhya-gaṁ vīram avamene cha tam munim* | *apadhyānena sā tena dhūmāruṇa-sama-prabhā* | *lakshyā 'lakshyā nābhirūpā nimittam iva paśyati* | "The faithful and beautiful Arundhatī, renowned among all creatures, was suspicious about the great Vaśishṭha, whose nature was eminently pure, who was devoted to the welfare of those he loved, who was one of the seven rishis, and heroic; and she despised the muni. In consequence of these evil surmises, becoming of the dusky colour of smoke, both to be seen and not to be seen, devoid of beauty, she looks like a (bad) omen." This version of the last line is suggested by Prof. Aufrecht. The Commentator explains it thus: "*Nimittam*" *bharttur lakshmaṇām* "*iva paśyati*" *kapaṭena* | *ataḥ eva* "*nābhirūpā prachhanna-veshā* | *tena hetunā* "*lakshyā 'lakshyā cha*" | "'She regards as it were' *i.e.* by guile 'the omen' afforded by her husband's (bodily) marks, hence she assumed a disguise, and was 'both to be seen and not to be seen.'"

[185] As regards the magnanimous character here assigned to Vasishṭha, I quote a passage from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 9, 15 ff., where the irascible Durvāsas (to whom I lately referred, and who is said, in verse 2, to be a partial incarnation of S'iva, *S'ankarasyāṁśah*), addressing Indra, who, he conceived, had insulted him, thus speaks of that sage's amiable temper, as contrasted with his own fierce and revengeful disposition: 15. *Nāhaṁ kripālu-hridayo na cha māṁ bhajate kshamā* | *anye te mun-*

dreadful measures for the destruction of Viśvāmitra. To recover those sons from the abode of Yama, he would not overstep fate, as the ocean respects its shores. Having gained this great self-mastering personage, the kings of Ikshvāku's race acquired (the dominion of) this earth. Obtaining this most excellent of rishis for their family-priest, they offered sacrifices. This Brāhman-rishi officiated as priest for all those monarchs, as Vṛihaspati does for the gods. 6645. Wherefore let some desirable, virtuous Brāhman, with whom righteousness is the chief thing, and skilled in Vedic observances, be selected for this office. Let a well-born Kshattriya, who wishes to subdue the earth, first of all appoint a family-priest in order that he may augment his dominion. Let a king, who desires to conquer the earth, give precedence to the Brahmanical power." The Gandharva then, at Arjuna's request, goes on (verses 6650 ff.) to relate the "ancient story of Vaśishṭha" (*vāśishṭham ākhyānam purāṇam*) and to describe the cause of enmity between that rishi and Viśvāmitra. It happened that the latter, who was son of Gādhi, king of Kānyakubja (Kanouj), and grandson of Kuśika, when out hunting, came to the hermitage of Vaśishṭha, where he was received with all honour, entertained together with his attendants with delicious food and drink, and presented with precious jewels and dresses obtained by the sage from his wonder-working cow, the fulfiller of all his desires. The cupidity of Viśvāmitra is aroused by the sight of this beautiful animal (all of whose fine points are enumerated in the legend), and he offers Vaśishṭha a hundred million cows, or his kingdom, in exchange for her. Vaśishṭha, however, replies that he is unable to part with her even in return for the kingdom. Viśvāmitra then tells him that he will enforce the law of the stronger: 6665. "I am a Kshattriya, thou art a Brāhman, whose functions are austere fervour, and sacred study. How can there be any vigour in Brāhmans who are calm and self-restrained? Since thou doest not give up to me, in exchange for a

ayaḥ S'akra Durvāsasam avehi mām | Gautamādibhir anyais tvaṁ garvam āpādito mudhā | akshānti-sāra-sarvasvaṁ Durvāsasam avehi mām | 17. *Vaśishṭhādyair dayā-sāraiḥ stotraṁ kurvadbhir uchchakaiḥ | garvaṁ gato 'si yenaivam mām athādyāvamanyase* | 15. "I am not tender-hearted: patience lodges not in me. Those munis are different: know me to be Durvāsas. 16. In vain hast thou been rendered proud by Gautama and others: know me to be Durvāsas, whose nature and whose entire substance is irascibility. 17. Thou hast become proud through the loud praises of Vaśishṭha and other merciful saints, since thou thus contemnest me to-day."

hundred million of cows, that which I desire, I shall not abandon my own class-characteristic; I will carry away the cow by force." Vaśishṭha, confident, no doubt, of his own superior power, tells him to do as he proposes without loss of time. Viśvāmitra accordingly seizes the wonder-working cow; but she will not move from the hermitage, though beaten with whip and stick, and pushed hither and thither. Witnessing this, Vaśishṭha asks her what he, a patient Brāhman, can do? She demands of him why he overlooks the violence to which she is subjected. Vaśishṭha replies: "Force is the strength of Kshattriyas, patience that of Brāhmans. As patience possesses me, go, if thou pleasest" (6676. *Kshattriyāṇām balaṁ tejo brāhmaṇānāṁ kshamā balam | kshamā mām bhajate yasmāt gamyatāṁ yadi rochate*). The cow enquires if he means to abandon her; as, unless he forsakes her, she can never be carried off by force. She is assured by Vaśishṭha that he does not forsake her, and that she should remain if she could. "Hearing these words of her master, the cow tosses her head aloft, assumes a terrific aspect, (6680) her eyes become red with rage, she utters a deep bellowing sound, and puts to flight the entire army of Viśvāmitra. Being (again) beaten with whip and stick, and pushed hither and thither, she becomes more incensed, her eyes are red with anger, her whole body, kindled by her indignation, glows like the noonday sun, she discharges showers of firebrands from her tail, creates Pahlavas from the same member, Drāviḍas and Śakas, Yavanas, Śabaras," Kānchis, Śarabhas, Pauṇḍras, Kirātas, Sinhalas, Vaśas, and other tribes of armed warriors from her sweat, urine, excrement, etc., who assail Viśvāmitra's army, and put it to a complete rout. 6692. "Beholding this great miracle, the product of Brahmanical might, Viśvāmitra was humbled at (the impotence of) a Kshattriya's nature, and exclaimed, 'Shame on a Kshattriya's force; it is the force of a Brāhman's might that is force indeed.' Examining what was and was not force, and (ascertaining) that austere fervour is the supreme force, he abandoned his prosperous kingdom and all its brilliant regal splendour; and casting all enjoyments behind its back, he devoted himself to austerity. Having by this means attained perfection, and Brāhmanhood, he arrested the worlds by his fiery vigour, and disturbed them all by the blaze of his glory; and at length the Kauśika drank soma with Indra."[186]

[186] See above, p. 342, and note 134.

The same legend is repeated in the Salyaparvan, verses 2295 ff.:

Tathā cha Kauśikas tāta tapo-nityo jitendriyaḥ | tapasā vai sutaptena brāhmaṇatvam avāptavān | Gādhir nāma mahān āsīt kshattriyaḥ prathito 'bhuvi | tasya puttro 'bhavad rājan Viśvāmitraḥ pratāpavān | sa rājā Kauśikas tāta mahāyogy abhavat kila | sa puttram abhishichyātha Viśvāmitram mahātapāḥ | deha-nyāse manaś chakre tam ūchuḥ praṇatāḥ prajāḥ | "na gantavyam mahāprājna trāhi chāsmān mahābhayāt" | evam uktaḥ pratyuvācha tato Gādhiḥ prajās tataḥ | "viśvasya jagato goptā bhavishyati suto mama" | 2300. *Ity uktvā tu tato Gādhir Viśvāmitraṁ niveśya cha | jagāma tridivaṁ rājan Viśvāmitro 'bhavad nṛipaḥ | na sa śaknoti pṛithivīṁ yatnavān api rakshitum | tataḥ śuśrāva rājā sa rākshasebhyo mahābhayam | niryayau nagarāch chāpi chatur-anga-balānvitaḥ | sa yātvā dūram adhvānam Vaśishṭhāśramam abhyagāt | tasya te sainikāḥ rājaṁs chakrus tattrālayān bahūn | tatas tu bhagavān vipro Vaśishṭho Brahmaṇaḥ sutaḥ | dadṛiśe 'tha tataḥ sarvam bhajyamānam mahāvanam | tasya kruddho mahārāja Vaśishṭho muni-sattamaḥ* | 2305. *"Sṛijasva Savarān ghorān" iti svāṁ gām uvācha ha | tathoktā sā 'sṛijad dhenuḥ purushān ghora-darśanān | te cha tad balam āsādya babhanjuḥ sarvato diśam | tach chhrutvā vidrutaṁ sainyaṁ Viśvāmitras tu Gādhijaḥ | tapaḥ param manyamānas tapasy eva mano dadhe | so 'smiṁs tīrtha-vare rājan Sarasvatyāḥ samāhitaḥ | niyamaiś chopavāsaiś cha karshayan deham ātmanaḥ | jalāhāro vāyubhakshaḥ parṇāhāraś cha so 'bhavat | tathā sthaṇḍila-śāyī cha ye chānye niyamāḥ pṛithak | asakṛit tasya devās tu vrata-vighnam prachakrire* | 2310. *Na chāsya niyamād buddhir apayāti mahātmanaḥ | tataḥ pareṇa yatnena taptvā bahu-vidhaṁ tapaḥ | tejasā bhāskarākāro Gādhijaḥ samapadyata | tapasā tu tathā yuktaṁ Viśvāmitram Pitāmahaḥ | amanyata mahātejāḥ vara-do varam asya tat | sa tu vavre varaṁ rājan "syām aham brāhmaṇas tv" iti | tatheti chābravīd Brahmā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ | sa labdhvā tapasogreṇa brāhmaṇatvam mahāyaśāḥ | vichachāra mahīṁ kṛitsnāṁ kṛitakāmaḥ suropamaḥ* |

"2295. So too the Kauśika, constant in austerities, and subduing his senses, acquired Brāhmanhood by the severity of his exercises. There was a great Kshattriya named Gādhi, renowned in the world, whose son was the powerful Viśvāmitra. This Kauśika prince (Gādhi) was greatly addicted to contemplation (*mahāyogī*): and after having installed his son as king, he resolved to abandon his corporeal existence. His subjects, however, submissively said to him, 'Do not go, o great sage, but deliver

us from our great alarm.' He replied, 'My son shall become the protector of the whole world.' 2300. Having accordingly installed Viśvāmitra, Gādhi went to heaven, and his son became king. Viśvāmitra, however, though energetic, was unable to protect the earth. He then heard that there was great cause of apprehension from the Rākshasas, and issued forth from the city, with an army consisting of four kinds of forces. Having performed a long journey, he arrived at the hermitage of Vaśishṭha. There his soldiers constructed many dwellings. In consequence the divine Brāhman Vaśishṭha, son of Brahmā, beheld the whole forest being cut up; and becoming enraged, he said to his cow, (2305) 'Create terrible Śavaras.' The cow, so addressed, created men of dreadful aspect, who broke and scattered in all directions the army of Viśvāmitra. Hearing of this rout of his army, the son of Gādhi devoted himself to austerities, which he regarded as the highest (resource). In this sacred spot on the Sarasvatī he macerated his body with acts of self-restraint and fastings, absorbed in contemplation, and living on water, air, and leaves, sleeping on the sacrificial ground, and practising all the other rites. Several times the gods threw impediments in his way; (2310) but his attention was never distracted from his observances. Having thus with strenuous effort undergone manifold austerities, the son of Gādhi became luminous as the sun; and Brahmā regarded his achievements as most eminent. The boon which Viśvāmitra chose was to become a Brāhman; and Brahmā replied, 'So be it.' Having attained Brāhmanhood, the object of his desire, by his severe austerities, the renowned sage traversed the whole earth, like a god."

We have already seen how the power of austere fervour (*tapas*) is exemplified in the legend of Nahusha (above, pp. 308 ff.). In regard to the sense of this word *tapas*, and the potency of the exercise which it denotes, I may refer to my articles in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, p. 348 f., and for 1864, p. 63, as well as to the fourth volume of this work, pp. 20 ff. and 288; and to pp. 23 and 28 of the present volume. In further illustration of the same subject I quote the following panegyric upon *tapas* from Manu, xi. 234 ff. where, however, the word cannot have the same sense in all the verses:

Tapo-mūlam idaṁ sarvaṁ daiva-mānushakaṁ sukham | tapo-madhyam budhaiḥ proktaṁ tapo 'ntaṁ veda-darśibhiḥ | 235. *Brāhmaṇasya tapo jnānaṁ tapaḥ kshattrasya rakshaṇam | vaiśyasya tu tapo vārttā tapaḥ śūdra-*

sya sevanam | 236. *Ṛishayaḥ saṁyatātmānaḥ phala-mūlānilāśanāḥ* | *tapasaiva prapaśyanti trailokyaṁ sa-charācharam* | 237. *Aushadhāny agado vidyā daivī cha vividhā sthitiḥ* | *tapasaiva prasiddhyanti tapas teshāṁ hi sādhanam* | 238. *Yad dustaraṁ yad durāpaṁ yad durgaṁ yach cha dushkaram* | *sarvaṁ tu tapasā sādhyaṁ tapo hi duratikramam* | 239. *Mahāpātakinaś chaiva śeshāś chākāryya-kāriṇaḥ* | *tapasaiva sutaptena muchyante kilvishāt tataḥ* | 240. *Kīṭāś chāhi-patangāś cha paśavaś cha vayāṁsi cha* | *sthāvarāṇi cha bhūtāni divaṁ yānti tapo-balāt* | 241. *Yat kinchid enaḥ kurvanti mano-vāñ-mūrttibhir janāḥ* | *tat sarvaṁ nirdahanty āśu tapasaiva tapodhanāḥ* | 242. *Tapasaiva viśuddhasya brāhmaṇasya divaukasaḥ* | *ijyāś cha pratigṛihṇanti kāmān saṁvarddhayanti cha* | 243. *Prajāpatir idaṁ śāstraṁ tapasaivāsṛijat prabhuḥ* | *tathaiva vedān ṛishayas tapasā pratipedire* | 244. *Ity etat tapaso devāḥ mahābhāgyam prachakshate* | *sarvasyāsya prapaśyantas tapasaḥ puṇyam uttamam* |

"234. All the enjoyment, whether of gods or men, has its root, its centre, and its end in *tapas;* so it is declared by the wise who have studied the Veda. 235. Knowledge is a Brāhman's *tapas;* protection that of a Kshattriya; traffic that of Vaiśya; and service that of a Śūdra. 236. It is by *tapas* that rishis of subdued souls, subsisting on fruits, roots, and air obtain a vision of the three worlds with all things moving and stationary. 237. Medicines, health, science, and the various divine conditions are attained by *tapas* alone as their instrument of acquisition. 238. Whatever is hard to be traversed, or obtained, or reached, or effected, is all to be accomplished through *tapas*, of which the potency is irresistible. 239. Both those who are guilty of the great sins, and all other transgressors, are freed from sin by fervid *tapas.* 240. Worms, serpents, insects, beasts, birds, and beings without motion attain to heaven through the force of *tapas.* 241. Whatever sin men commit by thought, word, or bodily acts, by *tapas* they speedily consume it all, when they become rich in devotion. 242. The gods both accept the sacrifices and augment the enjoyments of the Brāhman who has been purified by *tapas.* 243. It was by *tapas* that Prajāpati the lord created this scripture; and through it that the rishis obtained the Vedas. 244. Such is the great dignity which the gods ascribe to *tapas*, beholding its transcendent merit."

I return for a moment to the story of Vasishṭha and his cow.

Lassen remarks (Ind. Alt. 2nd ed. i. 631, note) that Atharvan is given

in the Lexicons as a name of Vasishṭha (see Wilson's Dictionry, *s.v.*). Weber (Ind. St. i. 289) quotes from Mallinātha's Commentary on the the Kirātārjunīya the following words: *Atharvaṇas tu mantroddhāro Vaśishṭhena kṛitaḥ ity āgamaḥ* | "There is a passage of scripture to the effect that the mantras of the Atharvan were selected by Vasishṭha." In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* Atharvan, it is noticed that the eleventh hymn of the fifth book of the Atharva-veda contains a conversation between Atharvan and Varuṇa about the possession of a wonderful cow bestowed by the latter on the former; and it is remarked that this circumstance may explain the subsequent identification of Atharvan with Vasishṭha. Prof. Roth, however (Diss. on the A.V., Tübingen, 1865, p. 9), thinks the two sages are distinct. The cow is spoken of in A.V. vii. 104, as the "brindled cow given by Varuṇa to Atharvan which never lacked a calf" (*pṛiśniṁ dhenuṁ Varuṇena dattām Atharvaṇe nitya-vatsām*). The following is the curious hymn referred to:

A.V. v. 11, 1. *Katham mahe asurāya abravīr iha katham pitre haraye tvesha-nṛimṇaḥ* | *pṛiśniṁ Varuṇa dakshiṇāṁ dadāvān punarmaghatvam*[187] *manasā 'chikitsīḥ* | 2. *Na kāmena punarmagho bhavāmi saṁ chakshe kam pṛiśnim etām upāje* | *kena nu tvam Atharvan kāvyena kena jātena asi jāta-vedāḥ* | 3. *Satyam ahaṁ gabhīraḥ kāvyena satyaṁ jātena asmi jāta-vedāḥ* | *na me dāso na āryyo mahitvā vratam mīmāya yad ahaṁ dharishye* | 4. *Na tvad anyaḥ kavitaro na medhayā dhīrataro Varuṇa svadhāvan* | *tvaṁ tā viśvā bhuvanāni vettha sa chid nu tvaj jano māyī bibhāya* | 5. *Tvaṁ hi anga Varuṇa svadhāvan viśvā vettha janimā supraṇīte* | *kiṁ rajasaḥ enā paro anyad asti enā kim pareṇa avaram amūra* | 6. *Ekaṁ rajasaḥ enā paro anyad asti enā paraḥ ekena durṇaśaṁ chid arvāk* | *tat te vidvān Varuṇa pra bravīmi adhovarchasaḥ paṇayo bhavantu* | *nīchair dāsāḥ upa sarpantu bhūmim* | 7. *Tvaṁ hi anga Varuṇa bravīshi punarmagheshu avadyāni bhūri* | *mo shu paṇīr abhi etāvato bhūr mā tvā vochann arādhasaṁ janāsaḥ* | 8. *Mā mā vochann arādhasaṁ janāsaḥ punas te pṛiśniṁ jaritar dadāmi* | *stotram me viśvam ā yāhi śachībhir antar viśvāsu mānushīshu vikshu* | 9. *Ā te stotrāṇi udyatāni yantu antar viśvāsu mānushīshu vikshu* | *dehi nu me yad me ādatto asi yujyo me sapta-padaḥ sakhā 'si* | 10. *Samāno bandhur Varuṇa samā jā vedāhaṁ tad yad nāv eshā samā jā* | *dadāmi tad yat te ādatto asmi yujyas*

[187] This is the reading proposed by Professor Aufrecht instead of *punarmagha tvam*, which is found in Roth and Whitney's edition of the A.V.

te sapta-padaḥ sakhā 'smi | 11. *Devo devāya griṇate vayodāḥ vipro viprāya stuvate sumedhāḥ* | *ajījano hi Varuṇa svadhāvann Atharvāṇam pitaraṁ deva-bandhum* | *tasmai u rādhaḥ kriṇuhi supraśastaṁ sakhā no asi paramaś cha bandhuḥ* |

1. (Atharvan speaks) "How hast thou, who art mighty in energy, declared before the great deity, how before the shining father (that the cow was mine)?[188] Having bestowed a brindled cow (on me) as a sacrificial gift, thou hast resolved in thy mind to take her back. 2. (Varuṇa replies) It is not through desire that I revoke the gift; I drive hither this brindled cow that I may contemplate her. But by what wisdom, o Atharvan, in virtue of what nature, doest thou know the nature of beings? 3. (Atharvan answers) In truth I am profound in wisdom; in truth by my nature I know the nature of beings. Neither Dāsa nor Āryya can hinder the design which I shall undertake. 4. There is none other wiser or sager in understanding than thou, o self-dependent Varuṇa. Thou knowest all creatures; even the man of deep devices is afraid of thee. 5. Thou, o self-dependent Varuṇa, o wise director, knowest all creatures. What other thing is beyond this atmosphere? and what is nearer than that remotest thing, o thou unerring? 6. (Varuṇa replies) There is one thing beyond this atmosphere; and on this side of that one there is that which is near though inaccessible. Knowing that thing I declare it to thee. Let the glory of the niggards be cast down; let the Dāsas sink downward into the earth. 7. (Atharvan rejoins) Thou, o Varuṇa, sayest many evil things of those who revoke their gifts. Be not thou numbered among so many niggards; let not men call thee illiberal. 8. (Varuṇa replies) Let not men call me illiberal; I restore to thee, o worshipper, the brindled cow. Attend with all thy powers at every hymn in my honour among all the tribes of men. 9. (Atharvan answers) Let hymns ascend to thee among all the tribes of men. Give me that which thou hast taken from me; thou art to me an intimate friend of seven-fold value. 10. We two have a common bond, o Varuṇa, a common descent. I know what this common descent of ours is. (Varuṇa answers) I give thee that which I

[188] Professor Aufrecht thinks that *Dyaus*, 'the Heaven,' is denoted by *mahe asurāya*, and that *pitre haraye*, if the correct reading, can only mean the Sun, the word *hari* being several times applied to that great luminary. I am otherwise indebted to Prof. A. for the correct sense of this line, and for other suggestions.

have taken from thee. I am thy intimate friend of seven-fold value, who, myself a god, confer life on thee a god [or priest, *devāya*] who praisest me, an intelligent sage on thee a sage. (The poet says) Thou, o self-dependent Varuṇa, hast begotten our father Atharvan, a kinsman of the gods. Grant to him most excellent wealth; thou art our friend and most eminent kinsman."

SECT. XI.—*The same, and other legends, according to the Rāmāyaṇa.*

The story told in the preceding section is related at greater length in chapters 51–65 [189] of the Bālakāṇḍa, or first book, of the Rāmāyaṇa, of which I shall furnish an outline, noting any important variations from, or aditions to, the account in the Mahābhārata, and at the same time giving an abstract of the other legends which are interwoven with the narrative. There was formerly, we are told, a king called Kuśa, son of Prajāpati, who had a son called Kuśanābha, who was father of Gādhi, the father of Viśvāmitra. The latter ruled the earth for many thousand years. On one occasion, when he was making a circuit of the earth, he came to Vaśishṭha's hermitage, the pleasant abode of many saints, sages, and holy devotees (chapter 51, verses 11–29), where, after at first declining, he allowed himself to be hospitably entertained with his followers by the son of Brahmā (ch. 52). Viśvāmitra (ch. 53), however, coveting the wondrous cow, which had supplied all the dainties of the feast, first of all asked that she should be given to him in exchange for a hundred thousand common cows, adding that "she was a gem, that gems were the property of the king, and that, therefore, the cow was his by right" (53, 9. *Ratnaṁ hi bhagavann etad ratna-hārī cha pārthivaḥ* | 10. *Tasmād me śabalāṁ dehi mamaishā dharmato dvija*). On this price being refused, the king advances immensely in his offers, but all without effect. He then proceeds (ch. 54)—very ungratefully and tyrannically, it must be allowed—to have the cow removed by force, but she breaks away from his attendants, and rushes back to her master, complaining that he was deserting her. He replies that he was not deserting her, but that the king was

[189] These are the sections of Schlegel's and the Bombay editions, which correspond to sections 52–67 of Gorresio's edition.

much more powerful than he. She answers, 54, 14: *Na balam kshattriyasyāhur brāhmaṇāḥ balavattarāḥ | brahman brahma-balaṁ divyaṁ kshāttrāch cha balabattaram | aprameyam balaṁ tubhyaṁ na tvayā balavattaraḥ | Viśvāmitro mahāvīryo tejas tava durāsadam | niyunkshva māṁ mahātejas tvam brahma-bala-sambhṛitām | tasya darpam balam yatnaṁ nāśayāmi durātmanaḥ* | "Men do not ascribe strength to a Kshattriya: the Brāhmans are stronger. The strength of Brāhmans is divine, and superior to that of Kshattriyas. 15. Thy strength is immeasurable. Viśvāmitra, though of great vigour, is not more powerful than thou. Thy energy is invincible. Commission me, who have been acquired by thy Brahmanical power, and I will destroy the pride, and force, and attempt of this wicked prince."[190] She accordingly by her bellowing creates hundreds of Pahlavas, who destroy the entire host (*nāśayanti balaṁ sarvam*, verse 19) of Viśvāmitra, but are slain by him in their turn. Śakas and Yavanas, of great power and valour, and well armed, were then produced, who consumed the king's soldiers,[191] but were routed by him. The cow then (ch. 55) calls into existence by her bellowing, and from different parts of her body, other warriors of various tribes, who again destroyed Viśvāmitra's entire army, foot soldiers, elephants, horses, chariots, and all. A hundred of the monarch's sons, armed with various weapons, then rushed in great fury on Vaśishṭha, but were all reduced to ashes in a moment by the blast of that sage's mouth.[192] Viśvāmitra, being thus utterly vanquished and humbled, appointed one of his sons to be regent, and travelled to the Himālaya, where he betook himself to austerities, and thereby obtained a vision of Mahādeva, who at his desire revealed to him the science of arms in all its branches, and gave him celestial weapons with which, elated and full of pride, he consumed the hermitage of Vaśishṭha, and put its inhabitants to flight. Vaśishṭha then threatens Viśvāmitra and

[190] Compare Manu, xi. 32: *Sva-vīryād rāja-vīryāch cha sva-vīryam balavattaram | tasmāt svenaiva vīryeṇa nigrihṇīyād arīn dvijaḥ* | "Of the two, his own, and a king's might, let a Brāhman know that his own is superior. By his own might alone, therefore, let him restrain his enemies."

[191] We had been before told that they had been killed, so that this looks like a slaying of the slain, as no resuscitation of the army is alluded to.

[192] On this the Commentator remarks that "though these princes were Kshattriyas, they were not actual kings, and had acted tyrannically; so that a very slight expiation was required for killing them" (*kshattriyatve 'pi prithivī-patitvābhāvāt tad-badhe alpa-prāyaśchittam ātatāyitvāch cha* |).

uplifts his Brahmanical mace. Viśvāmitra, too, raises his fiery weapon and calls out to his adversary to stand. Vaśishṭha bids him to show his strength, and boasts that he will soon humble his pride. He asks: (56, 4) *Kva cha te kshattriya-balam kva cha brahma-balam mahat | paśya brahma-balaṁ divyam mama kshattriya-pāṁśana | tasyāstram Gādhiputrasya ghoram āgneyam udyatam | brahma-daṇḍena tach chhāntam agner vegaḥ ivāmbhasā |* "'What comparison is there between a Kshattriya's might, and the great might of a Brāhman? Behold, thou contemptible Kshattriya, my divine Brahmanical power.' The dreadful fiery weapon uplifted by the son of Gādhi was then quenched by the rod of the Brāhman, as fire is by water." Many and various other celestial missiles, as the nooses of Brahmā, Kāla (Time), and Varuṇa, the discus of Vishṇu, and the trident of S'iva, were hurled by Viśvāmitra at his antagonist, but the son of Brahmā swallowed them up in his all-devouring mace. Finally, to the intense consternation of all the gods, the warrior shot off the terrific weapon of Brāhmā (*brāhmāstra*); but this was equally ineffectual against the Brahmanical sage. Vaśishṭha had now assumed a direful appearance: (58, 18) *Roma-kūpeshu sarveshu Vaśishṭhasya mahātmanaḥ | marīchyaḥ iva nishpetur agner dhūmākulārchishaḥ | prājvalad brahma-daṇḍaś cha Vaśishṭhasya karodyataḥ | vidhūmaḥ iva kālāgnir Yama-daṇḍaḥ ivāparaḥ |* "Jets of fire mingled with smoke darted from the pores of his body; (19) the Brahmanical mace blazed in his hand like a smokeless[193] mundane conflagration, or a second sceptre of Yāma." Being appeased, however, by the munis, who proclaimed his superiority to his rival, the sage stayed his vengeance; and Viśvāmitra exclaimed with a groan: (56, 23) *Dhig balam kshattriya-balam brahma-tejo-balam balam | ekena brahma-daṇḍena sarvāstrāṇi hatāni me |* "'Shame on a Kshattriya's strength: the strength of a Brahman's might alone is strength: by the single Brahmanical mace all my weapons have been destroyed.'" No alternative now remains to the humiliated monarch, but either to acquiesce in this helpless inferiority, or to work out his own elevation to the Brahmanical order. He embraces the latter alternative: (56, 24) *Tad etat prasamīkshyāham prasannendriya-mānasaḥ | tapo mahat samāsthāsye yad vai brahmatva-kāraṇam |* "Having pondered well this defeat, I shall betake myself, with composed senses and mind,

[193] The Bombay edition has *vidhūmaḥ*. Schlegel's and Gorresio's editions have *sadhūmaḥ*, "enveloped in smoke."

to strenuous austere fervour, which shall exalt me to the rank of a Brāhman." Intensely vexed and mortified, groaning and full of hatred against his enemy, he travelled with his queen to the south, and carried his resolution into effect; (ch. 57) and we are first of all told that three sons Havishyanda, Madhusyanda, and Dṛiḍhanetra were born to him. At the end of a thousand years Brahmā appeared, and announced that he had conquered the heaven of royal sages (*rājarshis*); and, in consequence of his austere fervour, he was recognised as having attained that rank. Viśvāmitra, however, was ashamed, grieved, and incensed at the offer of so very inadequate a reward, and exclaimed: "'I have practised intense austerity, and the gods and ṛishis regard me only as a rājarshi![194] Austerities, it appears, are altogether fruitless'" (57, 5. *Jitāḥ rājarshi-lokās te tapasā Kuśikātmaja* | 6. *Anena tapasā tvaṁ hi rājarshir iti vidmahe* | . . . . 7. *Viśvāmitro 'pi tach chhrutvā hriyā kiṉchid avāṅ-mukhaḥ* | *duḥkhena mahatā "vishṭaḥ samanyur idam abravīt* | *tapaś cha sumahat taptaṁ rājarshir iti māṁ viduḥ* | *devāḥ sarshi-gaṇāḥ sarve nāsti manye tapaḥ-phalam* |). Notwithstanding

[194] The Vishṇu Purāṇa, iii. 6, 21, says: "There are three kinds of rishis: Brāhmārshis, after them Dēvarshis, and after them Rājarshis" (*jneyāḥ brahmarshayaḥ pūrvaṁ tebhyo devarshayaḥ punaḥ* | *rājarshayaḥ punas tebhyaḥ ṛishi-prakṛitayas trayaḥ* |). Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.* *ṛishi*, mention also (on the authority of the vocabulary called Trikāṇḍaśesha) the words *mǎharshi* (great rishi), *pǎrǎmarshi* (most eminent rishi), *śrutarshi* (secondary rishi), and *kāṇḍarshi*, who is explained *s.v.* to be a teacher of a particular portion (*kāṇḍa*) of the Veda. *Devarshis* are explained by Professor Wilson (V.P. iii. p. 68, paraphrasing the text of the Vishṇu Purāṇa), to be "sages who are demi-gods also;" *Brǎhmǎrshis* to be "sages who are sons of Brahmā or Brahmans;" and *Rājarshis* to be "princes who have adopted a life of devotion." In a note he adds: "A similar enumeration is given in the Vāyu, with some additions: Rishi is derived from *ṛish*, 'to go to,' or 'approach;' the Brahmarshis, it is said, are descendants of the five patriarchs, who were the founders of races or gotras of Brahmans, or Kaśyapa, Vaśishṭha, Angiras, Atri, and Bhṛigu; the Devarshis are Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the sons of Dharma; the Bālakhilyas, who sprang from Kratu; Kardama, the son of Pulaha; Kuvēra, the son of Pulastya; Achala, the son of Pratyūsha; Nārada and Parvata, the sons of Kaśyapa. Rājarshis are Ikshvāku and other princes. The Brahmarshis dwell in the sphere of Brahmā; the Devarshis in the region of the gods; and the Rājarshis in the heaven of Indra." Brahmarshis are evidently rishis who were priests; and Rājarshis, rishis of kingly extraction. If so, a Devarshi, having a divine character, should be something higher than either. Professor Roth, following apparently the Trikaṇḍaśesha, defines them as "rishis dwelling among the gods." I am not aware how far back this classification of rishis goes in Indian literature. Roth, *s.vv.* *ṛishi*, *brahmarshi* and *devarshi* does not give any references to these words as occurring in the Brāhmaṇas; and they are not found in the hymns of the R.V. where, however, the "seven rishis" are mentioned. Regarding *rājarshis* see pp. 266 ff. above.

this disappointment, he had ascended one grade, and forthwith recommenced his work of mortification.

At this point of time his austerities were interrupted by the following occurrences: King Triśanku, one of Ikshvāku's descendants, had conceived the design of celebrating a sacrifice by virtue of which he should ascend bodily to heaven. As Vaśishṭha, on being summoned, declared that the thing was impossible (*aśakyam*), Triśanku travelled to the south, where the sage's hundred sons were engaged in austerities, and applied to them to do what their father had declined. Though he addressed them with the greatest reverence and humility, and added that "the Ikshvākus regarded their family-priests as their highest resource in difficulties, and that, after their father, he himself looked to them as his tutelary deities" (57, 22. *Ikshvākūṇām hi sarveshām purodhaḥ paramā gatiḥ | tasmād anantaram sarve bhavanto daivatam mama*), he received from the haughty priests the following rebuke for his presumption: (58, 2) *Pratyākhyāto 'si durbuddhe guruṇā satyavādinā | tam katham samatikramya śākhāntaram upeyivān* | 3. *Ikshvākūṇām hi sarveshām purodhāḥ paramā gatiḥ | na chātikramitum śakyam vachanam satyavādinaḥ* | 4. "*Aśakyam*" *iti chovācha Vaśishṭho bhagavān ṛishiḥ | tam vayam vai samāhartum kratum śaktāḥ katham tava* | 5. *Bāliśas tvam nara-śreshṭha gamyatām sva-puram punaḥ | yājane bhagavān śaktas trailokyasyāpi pārthiva | avamānam katham kartum tasya śakshyāmahe vayam* | "Fool, thou hast been refused by thy truth-speaking preceptor. How is it that, disregarding his authority, thou hast resorted to another school (*śākhā*)?[196] 3. The family-priest is the highest oracle of all the Ikshvākus; and the command of that veracious personage cannot be transgressed. 4. Vaśishṭha, the divine rishi, has declared that 'the thing cannot be;' and how can we undertake thy sacrifice? 5. Thou art foolish, king; return to thy capital. The divine (Vaśishṭha) is competent to

[196] It does not appear how Triśanku, in asking the aid of Vaśishṭha's sons after applying in vain to their father, could be charged with resorting to another *śākhā* (school), in the ordinary sense of that word: as it is not conceivable that the sons should have been of another S'ākhā from the father, whose cause they espouse with so much warmth. The Commentator in the Bombay edition explains the word *śākhāntaram* as $=$ *yājanādinā rakshakāntaram*, "one who by sacrificing for thee, etc., will be another protector." Gorresio's Gauḍa text, which may often be used as a commentary on the older one, has the following paraphrase of the words in question, ch. 60, 3: *Mūlam utsṛijya kasmāt tvam śākhāsv ichhasi lambitum* | "Why, forsaking the root, dost thou desire to hang upon the branches."

act as priest of the three worlds; how can we shew him disrespect?" Triśanku then gave them to understand, that as his preceptor and "his preceptor's sons had declined compliance with his requests, he should think of some other expedient." In consequence of his venturing to express this presumptuous intention, they condemned him by their imprecation to become a Chaṇḍāla (58, 7. "*Pratyākhyāto bhagavatā guru-putrais tathaiva cha* | *anyām gatim gamishyāmi svasti vo 'stu tapodhanāḥ*" | *ṛishi-putrās tu tach chhrutvā vākyaṁ ghorābhisaṁhitam* | *śepuḥ parama-sankruddhāś* "*chāṇḍālatvaṁ gamishyasi*" |). As this curse soon took effect, and the unhappy king's form was changed into that of a degraded outcast, he resorted to Viśvāmitra (who, as we have seen, was also dwelling at this period in the south), enlarging on his own virtues and piety, and bewailing his fate. Viśvāmitra commiserated his condition (ch. 59), and promised to sacrifice on his behalf, and exalt him to heaven in the same Chaṇḍāla-form to which he had been condemned by his preceptors' curse. "Heaven is now as good as in thy possession, since thou hast resorted to the son of Kuśika" (59, 4. *Guru-śāpa-kṛitaṁ rūpaṁ yad idaṁ tvayi varttate* | *anena saha rūpeṇa saśarīro gamishyasi* | *hasta-prāptam aham manye svargaṁ tava narādhipa* | *yas tvaṁ Kauśikam āgamya śaraṇyaḥ śaraṇaṁ gataḥ* |). He then directed that preparations should be made for the sacrifice, and that all the rishis, including the family of Vaśishṭha, should be invited to the ceremony. The disciples of Viśvāmitra, who had conveyed his message, reported the result on their return in these words: (59, 11) *Srutvā te vachanaṁ sarve samāyānti dvijātayaḥ* | *sarva-deśeshu chāgachhan varjayitvā Mahodayam* | *Vāśishṭhaṁ tach chhataṁ sarvaṁ krodha-paryākulāksharam* | *yad uvācha vacho ghoraṁ śriṇu tvam muni-pungava* | "*kshattriyo yājako yasya chaṇḍālasya viśeshataḥ* ; *kathaṁ sadasi bhoktāro havis tasya surarshayaḥ* | *brāhmaṇāḥ vā mahātmāno bhuktvā chaṇḍāla-bhojanam* | *kathaṁ svargaṁ gamishyanti Viśvāmitreṇa pālitāḥ*" | *etad vachana-naishṭhuryyam ūchuḥ saṁrakta-lochanāḥ* | *Vaśishṭhāḥ muni-śārdūla sarve saha-mahodayāḥ* | "Having heard your message, all the Brāhmans are assembling in all the countries, and have arrived, excepting Mahodaya (Vaśishṭha?). Hear what dreadful words those hundred Vaśishṭhas, their voices quivering with rage, have uttered: 'How can the gods and rishis[196] con-

[196] The rishis as priests (*ṛitvik*) would be entitled to eat the remains of the sacrifice, according to the Commentator.

sume the oblation at the sacrifice of that man, especially if he be a Chaṇḍāla, for whom a Kshattriya is officiating-priest? How can illustrious Brāhmans ascend to heaven, after eating the food of a Chaṇḍāla, and being entertained by Viśvāmitra?' These ruthless words all the Vaśishṭhas, together with Mahodaya, uttered, their eyes inflamed with anger." Viśvāmitra, who was greatly incensed on receiving this message, by a curse doomed the sons of Vaśishṭha to be reduced to ashes, and reborn as degraded outcasts (*mṛitapāḥ*) for seven hundred births, and Mahodaya to become a Nishāda. Knowing that this curse had taken effect (ch. 60), Viśvāmitra then, after eulogizing Triśanku, proposed to the assembled rishis that the sacrifice should be celebrated. To this they assented, being actuated by fear of the terrible sage's wrath. Viśvāmitra himself officiated at the sacrifice as *yājaka*;[197] and the other rishis as priests (*ṛitvijaḥ*) (with other functions) performed all the ceremonies. Viśvāmitra next invited the gods to partake of the oblations: (60, 11) *Nābhyagaman yadā tattra bhāgārthaṁ sarva-devatāḥ | tataḥ kopa-samāvishṭo Viśvāmitro mahāmuniḥ | sruvam udyamya sakrodhas Triśankum idam abravīt | "paśya me tapaso vīryaṁ svārjitasya nareśvara | esha tvām svaśarīreṇa nayāmi svargam ojasā | dushprāpyaṁ svaśarīreṇa svargaṁ gachchha nareśvara | svārjitaṁ kinchid apy asti mayā hi tapasaḥ phalam* | "When, however, the deities did not come to receive their portions, Viśvāmitra became full of wrath, and raising aloft the sacrificial ladle, thus addressed Triśanku: 'Behold, o monarch, the power of austere fervour acquired by my own efforts. I myself, by my own energy, will conduct thee to heaven. Ascend to that celestial region which is so arduous to attain in an earthly body. I have surely earned *some* reward of my austerity.'" Triśanku ascended instantly to heaven in the sight of the munis. Indra, however, ordered him to be gone, as a person who, having incurred the curse of his spiritual preceptors, was unfit for the abode of the celestials;—and to fall down headlong to earth (60, 17. *Triśanko gachha bhūyas tvaṁ nāsi svarga-kṛitālayaḥ | guru-śāpa-hato mūḍha pata bhūmim avāk-śirāḥ* |). He accordingly began to descend, invoking loudly, as he fell, the help of his spiritual patron. Viśvāmitra, greatly incensed, called out to him to stop: (60, 20) *Tato brahma-tapo-yogāt Prajāpatir ivāparaḥ | sasarjja dakshiṇe bhāge saptarshīn aparān punaḥ | dakshiṇāṁ diśam āsthāya*

[197] This means as *adhvaryu* according to the Commentator.

rishi-madhye mahāyaśāḥ | nakshattra-mālām aparām asṛijat krodha-mūrchhitaḥ | anyam Indraṁ karishyāmi loko vā syād anindrakaḥ | daivatāny api sa krodhāt srashṭuṁ samupachakrame |[198] "Then by the power of his divine knowledge and austere fervour he created, like another Prajāpati, other Seven Rishis (a constellation so called) in the southern part of the sky. Having proceeded to this quarter of the heavens, the renowned sage, in the midst of the rishis, formed another garland of stars, being overcome with fury. Exclaiming, 'I will create another Indra, or the world shall have no Indra at all,' he began, in his rage, to call gods also into being." The rishis, gods (Suras), and Asuras now became seriously alarmed and said to Viśvāmitra, in a conciliatory tone, that Triśanku, "as he had been cursed by his preceptors, should not be admitted bodily into heaven, until he had undergone some lustration" (60, 24. *Ayaṁ rājā mahābhāga guru-śāpa-parikshataḥ | saśarīro divaṁ yātuṁ nārhaty akṛita-pāvanaḥ* |).[199] The sage replied that he had given a promise to Triśanku, and appealed to the gods to permit his protegé to remain bodily in heaven, and the newly created stars to retain their places in perpetuity. The gods agreed that "these numerous stars should remain, but beyond the sun's path, and that Triśanku, like an immortal, with his head downwards, should shine among them, and be followed by them," adding "that his object would be thus attained, and his renown secured, and he would be like a dweller in heaven" (60, 29. *Evam bhavatu bhadraṁ te tishṭhantv etāni sarvaśaḥ | gagane tāny anekāni vaiśvānara-pathād vahiḥ | nakshattrāṇi muni-śreshṭha teshu jyottishshu jājvalan | avāk-śirās Triśankuś cha tishthatv amara-sannibhaḥ | anuyāsyanti chaitāni jyotīṁshi nṛipa-sattamam | kṛitārthaṁ kīrttimantaṁ cha svarga-loka-gataṁ yathā* |). Thus was this great dispute adjusted by a compromise, which Viśvāmitra accepted.

This story of Triśanku, it will have been observed, differs materially from the one quoted above (p. 375 ff.) from the Harivaṁśa; but brings out more distinctly the character of the conflict between Vaśishṭha and Viśvāmitra.

When all the gods and rishis had departed at the conclusion of the

[198] I follow Schlegel's text, which differs verbally, though not in substance, both from the Bombay edition and from Gorresio's.

[199] The last compound word *akṛitapāvanaḥ*, "without lustration," is given by Schlegel and Gorresio. The Bombay edition has instead of it *eva tapodhana*, "o sage rich in austerity."

sacrifice, Viśvāmitra said to his attendant devotees: (61, 2) *Mahān vighnaḥ pravṛitto 'yaṁ dakshiṇām āsthito diśam | diśam anyām prapatsyāmas tattra tapsyāmahe tapaḥ* | "This has been a great interruption [to our austerities] which has occurred in the southern region: we must proceed in another direction to continue our penances." He accordingly went to a forest in the west, and began his austerities anew. Here the narrative is again interrupted by the introduction of another story, that of king Ambărīsha, king of Ayodhyā, who was, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, the twenty-eighth in descent from Ikshvāku, and the twenty-second from Triśanku. (Compare the genealogy in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 70, and ii. 110, 6 ff., with that in Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. pp. 260 ff. 280, 284 ff. and 303; which is different.) Viśvāmitra is nevertheless represented as flourishing contemporaneously with both of these princes. The story relates that Ambarīsha was engaged in performing a sacrifice, when Indra carried away the victim. The priest said that this ill-omened event had occurred owing to the king's bad administration; and would call for a great expiation, unless a human victim could be produced (61, 8. *Prāyaśchittam mahad hy etad naraṁ vā purusharshabha | ānayasva paśuṁ śīghraṁ yāvat karma pravarttate* |). After a long search the royal-rishi (Ambarīsha) came upon the Brāhman-rishi Ṛichīka, a descendant of Bhṛigu, and asked him to sell one of his sons for a victim, at the price of a hundred thousand cows. Richīka answered that he would not sell his eldest son; and his wife added that she would not sell the youngest: "eldest sons," she observed, "being generally the favourites of their fathers, and youngest sons of their mothers" (61, 18. *Prāyeṇa hi nara-śreshṭha jyeshṭhāḥ pitṛishu vallabhāḥ | mātṛīṇāṁ cha kanīyāṁsas tasmād rakshe kanīyasam* |). The second son, Sunaśśepa, then said that in that case he regarded himself as the one who was to be sold, and desired the king to remove him. The hundred thousand cows, with ten millions of gold-pieces and heaps of jewels, were paid down, and Sunaśśepa carried away. As they were passing through Pushkara (ch. 62) Sunaśśepa beheld his maternal uncle Viśvāmitra (see Rāmāyaṇa, i. 34, 7,[200] and p. 352 above) who was engaged in austerities there with other rishis, threw himself into his arms,

[200] *Pūrvajā bhaginī chāpi mama Rāghava suvratā | nāmnā Satyavatī nāma Ṛichīke pratipāditā* | "And I have a religious sister older than myself called Satyavatī, who was given in marriage to Ṛichīka."

and implored his assistance, urging his orphan, friendless, and helpless state, as claims on the sage's benevolence (62, 4. *Na me 'sti mātā na pitā jnātayo bāndhavāḥ kutaḥ | trātum arhasi māṁ saumya dharmeṇa muni-pungava | .... 7. Na me nātho hy anāthasya bhava bhavyena chetasā |*). Viśvāmitra soothed him; and pressed his own sons to offer themselves as victims in the room of Śunaśśepa. This proposition met with no favour from Madhushyanda[201] and the other sons of the royal hermit, who answered with haughtiness and derision: (62, 14) *Kathaṁ ātma-sutān hitvā trāyase 'nya-sutān vibho | akāryyam iva paśyāmaḥ sva-māṁsam iva bhojane |* "How is it that thou sacrificest thine own sons, and seekest to rescue those of others? We look upon this as wrong, and like the eating of one's own flesh."[202] The sage was exceedingly wroth at this disregard of his injunction, and doomed his sons to be born in the most degraded classes, like Vaśishṭha's sons, and to eat dog's flesh,[203] for a thousand years. He then said to Śunaśśepa: (62, 19) *Pavitra-pāśair ābaddho rakta-mālyānulepanaḥ | Vaishṇavaṁ yūpam āsādya vāgbhir Agniṁ udāhara | ime cha gāthe dve divye gāyethāḥ muni-puttraka | Ambarīshasya yajne 'smiṁs tataḥ siddhim avāpsyasi |* "When thou art bound with hallowed cords, decked with a red garland, and anointed with unguents, and fastened to the sacrificial post of Vishṇu, then address thyself to Agni, and sing these two divine verses (*gāthās*), at the sacrifice of Ambarīsha; then shalt thou attain the fulfilment [of thy desire]." Being furnished with the two gāthās, Śunaśśepa proposed at once to king Ambarīsha that they should set out for their destination. When bound at the stake to be immolated, dressed in a red garment, "he celebrated the two gods, Indra and his younger brother (Vishṇu), with the excellent verses. The Thousand-eyed (Indra) was pleased with the secret hymn, and bestowed long life on Śunaśśepa" (62, 25. *Sa baddho vāgbhir agryābhir abhitushṭāva vai surau | Indram Indrānujaṁ chaiva yathāvad muni-puttrakaḥ | tasmai prītaḥ sahasrāksho*

[201] The word is written thus in Schlegel's and Gorresio's editions. The Bombay edition reads Madhuchhanda.

[202] Schlegel and Gorresio read *svamāṁsam*, "one's own flesh," which seems much more appropriate than *śva-māṁsam*, "dog's flesh," the reading of the Bombay edition.

[203] Gorresio's edition alone reads *sva-māṁsa-vṛittayaḥ*, "subsisting on your own flesh," and makes this to be allusion to what the sons had just said and a punishment for their impertinence (64, 16. *Yasmāt sva-māṁsam uddishṭaṁ yushmābhir avamanya mām*).

rahasya-stuti-toshitaḥ | dīrgham āyus tadā prādāch Chhunaśśephāya Vāsavaḥ |).[204] King Ambarīsha also received great benefits from this sacrifice. Viśvāmitra meanwhile proceeded with his austerities, which he prolonged for a thousand years.

At the end of this time (ch. 63) the gods came to allot his reward; and Brahmā announced that he had attained the rank of a rishi, thus apparently advancing an additional step. Dissatisfied, as it would seem, with this, the sage commenced his task of penance anew. After a length of time he beheld the nymph (Apsăras) Menăkā, who had come to bathe in the lake of Pushkara. She flashed on his view, unequalled in her radiant beauty, like lightning in a cloud (63, 5. *Rūpeṇāpratimām tattra vidyutaṁ jalade yathā*). He was smitten by her charms, invited her to be his companion in his hermitage, and for ten years remained a slave to her witchery, to the great prejudice of his austerities.[205] At length he became ashamed of this ignoble subjection, and full of indignation at what he believed to be a device of the gods to disturb his devotion; and, dismissing the nymph with gentle accents, he departed for the northern mountains, where he practised severe austerities for a thousand years on the banks of the Kauśikī river. The gods became alarmed at the progress he was making, and decided that he should be dignified with the appellation of great rishi (*măhărshi*); and Brahmā, giving effect to the general opinion of the deities, announced that he had conferred that rank upon him. Joining his hands and bowing his head, Viśvāmitra replied that he should consider himself to have indeed completely subdued his senses, if the incomparable title of Brāhman-rishi were conferred upon him (63, 31. *Brahmarshi-śabdam atulaṁ svārjitaiḥ karmabhiḥ śubhaiḥ | yadi me bhagavān āha tato 'haṁ vijitendriyaḥ* |). Brahmā informed him in answer, that he had not yet acquired the power of perfectly controlling his senses; but should make further efforts with that view. The sage then began to put himself through a yet more rigorous course of austerities, standing with his arms erect, without support, feeding on air, in summer exposed to five fires (*i.e.* one on each of four sides, and the sun overhead), in the rainy season remaining unsheltered from the wet, and in

[204] I have alluded above, p. 358, note, to the differences which exist between this legend of S'unaśśepa and the older one in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

[205] Compare Mr. Leckie's History of Rationalism, vol. i. p. 86.

winter lying on a watery couch night and day. This he continued for a thousand years. At last Indra and the other deities became greatly distressed at the idea of the merit he was storing up, and the power which he was thereby acquiring; and the chief of the celestials desired (ch. 64) the nymph Rāmbhā to go and bewitch him by her blandishments. She expressed great reluctance to expose herself to the wrath of the formidable muni, but obeyed the repeated injunction of Indra, who promised that he and Kandarpa (the god of love) should stand by her, and assumed her most attractive aspect with the view of overcoming the sage's impassibility. He, however, suspected this design, and becoming greatly incensed, he doomed the nymph by a curse to be turned into stone and to continue in that state for a thousand years.[206] The curse took effect, and Kandarpa and Indra slunk away. In this way, though he resisted the allurements of sensual love,[207] he lost the whole fruit of his austerities by yielding to anger; and had to begin his work over again. He resolved to check his irascibility, to remain silent, not even to breathe for hundreds of years; to dry up his body; and to fast and stop his breath till he had obtained the coveted character of a Brāhman. He then (ch. 65) left the Himālaya and travelled to the east, where he underwent a dreadful exercise, unequalled in the whole history of austerities, maintaining silence, according to a vow, for a thousand years. At the end of this time he had attained to perfection, and although thwarted by many obstacles, he remained unmoved by anger. On the expiration of this course of austerity, he prepared some food to eat; which Indra, coming in the form of a Brāhman, begged that he would give him. Viśvāmitra did so, and though he had none left for himself, and was obliged to remain fasting, he said nothing to the Brāhman, on account of his vow of silence. 65, 8. *Tasyānuchchhvasamānasya mūrdhni dhūmo vyajāyata* | 9. *Trailokyaṁ yena sambhrāntam ātāpitam ivābhavat* | . . . . 11. "*Bahubhiḥ kāraṇair deva Viśvāmitro mahāmuniḥ* | *lobhitaḥ krodhitaś chaiva tapasā chābhivardhate* | . . . . 12. *Na dṛiyate yadi tv asya manasā yad abhīpsitam* | 13. *Vināśayati trailokyaṁ tapasā sa-charācharam* | *vyākulāś*

[206] On this the Commentator remarks that this incident shews that anger is more difficult to conquer than even lust (*etena kāmād api krodho durjeyaḥ iti sūchitam*).

[207] The Commentator, however, suggests that the sudden sight of Rambhā may at first have excited in him some feelings of this kind (*āpātato Rambhā-darśana-pravrittyā kāmenāpi tapaḥ-kshayaḥ*).

cha diśaḥ sarvāḥ na cha kinchit prakāśate | 14. *Sāgaraḥ kshubhitāḥ sarve viśīryante cha parvatāḥ* | *prakampate cha vasudhā vāyur vātīha sankulaḥ* | 15. *Brahman na pratijānīmo nāstiko jāyate janaḥ* | . . . . 16. *Buddhiṁ na kurute yāvad nāśe deva mahāmuniḥ* | 17. *Tāvat prasādyo bhagavān agnirūpo mahādyutiḥ*" | . . . . 19. *Brahmarshe svāgatam te 'stu tapasā smaḥ sutoshitāḥ* | 20. *Brāhmaṇyaṁ tapasogreṇa prāptavān asi Kauśika* | *dīrgham āyuś che te brahman dadāmi sa-marud-gaṇaḥ* | 21. . . . . *svasti prāpnuhi bhadraṁ te gachha saumya yathāsukham* | . . . 22. . . . *brāhmaṇyaṁ yadi me prāptaṁ dīrgham āyus tathaiva cha* | 23. *Oṁkāro 'tha vashaṭkāro vedāś cha varayantu mām* | *kshattra-veda-vidāṁ śreshṭho brahma-veda-vidām api* | 24. *Brahma-putro Vaśishṭho mām evaṁ vadatu devatāḥ* | . . . . 25. *Tataḥ prasādito devair Vaśishṭho japatāṁ varaḥ* | *sakhyaṁ chakāra brahmarshir "evam astv" iti chābravīt* | 26. "*Brahmarshitvaṁ na sandehaḥ sarvam sampadyate tava*" | . . . . 27. *Viśvāmitro 'pi dharmātmā labdhvā brāhmaṇyam uttamam* | *pūjayāmāsa brahmarshiṁ Vaśishṭhaṁ japatāṁ varam* | "As he continued to suspend his breath, smoke issued from his head, to the great consternation and distress of the three worlds." The gods, rishis, etc., then addressed Brahmā: "The great muni Viśvāmitra has been allured and provoked in various ways, but still advances in his sanctity. If his wish is not conceded, he will destroy the three worlds by the force of his austerity. All the regions of the universe are confounded, no light anywhere shines; all the oceans are tossed, and the mountains crumble, the earth quakes, and the wind blows confusedly. 15. We cannot, o Brahmā, guarantee that mankind shall not become atheistic. . . . . 16. Before the great and glorious sage of fiery form resolves to destroy (everything) let him be propitiated." . . . . The gods, headed by Brahmā, then addressed Viśvāmitra: "'Hail Brāhman rishi, we are gratified by thy austerities; o Kauśika, thou hast, through their intensity, attained to Brāhmanhood. I, o Brāhman, associated with the Maruts, confer on thee long life. May every blessing attend thee; depart wherever thou wilt.' The sage, delighted, made his obeisance to the gods, and said: 'If I have obtained Brāhmanhood, and long life, then let the mystic monosyllable (*oṁkāra*) and the sacrificial formula (*vāshāṭkāra*) and the Vedas recognise me in that capacity. And let Vaśishṭha, the son of Brahmā, the most eminent of those who are skilled in the Kshattra-veda, and the Brāhma-veda (the knowledge of the Kshattriya and the Brahmanical disciplines), address me simi-

larly.' . . . . Accordingly Vaśishṭha, being propitiated by the gods, became reconciled to Viśvāmitra, and recognised his claim to all the prerogatives of a Brāhman rishi. . . . . Viśvāmitra, too, having attained the Brahmanical rank, paid all honour to Vaśishṭha." Such was the grand result achieved by Viśvāmitra, at the cost of many thousand years of intense mortification of the body, and discipline of the soul. During the course of the struggle he had manifested, as the story tells us, a power little, if at all, inferior to that of Indra, the king of the gods; and as in a former legend we have seen King Nahusha actually occupying the throne of that deity, we cannot doubt that—according to the recognised principles of Indian mythology—Viśvāmitra had only to recommence his career of self-mortification in order to raise himself yet higher than he had yet risen, to the rank of a devarshi, or divine rishi (if this be, indeed, a superior grade to that of brahmarshi), or to any other elevation he might desire. But, as far as the account in the Rāmāyaṇa informs us, he was content with his success. He stood on a footing of perfect equality with his rival Vaśishṭha, and became indifferent to further honours. In fact, it was not necessary for the purpose of the inventors of the legend to carry him any higher. They only wished to account for his exercising the prerogatives of a Brāhman; and this had been already accomplished to their satisfaction.

In the story of Śakuntalā, however, as narrated in the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, sixty-ninth and following sections, we are informed that, to the great alarm of Indra, Viśvāmitra renewed his austerities, even long after he had attained the position of a Brāhman, verse 2914: *Tapyamānaḥ kila purā Viśvāmitro mahat tapaḥ | subhriśaṁ tāpayāmāsa Śakraṁ sura-gaṇeśvaram | tapasā dīpta-vīryyo 'yaṁ sthānād māṁ chyāvayed iti* | "Formerly Viśvāmitra, who was practising intense austere-fervour, occasioned great distress to Śakra (Indra), the lord of the deities, lest by the fiery energy so acquired by the saint he himself should be cast down from his place." Indra accordingly resorted to the usual device of sending one of the Apsarases, Menakā, to seduce the sage by the display of her charms, and the exercise of all her allurements, "by beauty, youth, sweetness, gestures, smiles, and words" (verse 2920, *Rūpa-yauvana-mādhuryya-cheshṭita-smita-bhāshitaiḥ*), into the indulgence of sensual love; and thus put an end to his efforts after increased sanctity. Menakā urges the dangers of the mission arising from the great power

and irascibility of the sage, of whom, she remarked, even Indra himself was afraid, as a reason for excusing her from undertaking it; and refers to some incidents in Viśvāmitra's history, verse 2923: *Mahābhāgaṁ Vaśishṭhaṁ yaḥ putrair ishṭair vyayojayat | kshattra-jātaś cha yaḥ pūrvam abhavad brāhmaṇo balāt ¦ śauchārthaṁ yo nadīṁ chakre durgamām bahubhir jalaiḥ | yāṁ tām puṇyatamāṁ loke Kauśikīti vidur janāḥ |* 2925. *Babhāra yatrāsya purā kāle durge mahātmanaḥ | dārān Matango dharmātmā rājarshir vyādhatāṁ gataḥ | atīta-kāle durbhikshe abhyetya punar āśramam | muniḥ Pāreti nadyāḥ vai nāma chakre tadā prabhuḥ | Matangam yājayānchakre yatra prīta-manāḥ svayam | tvaṁ cha somam bhayād yasya gataḥ pātuṁ sureśvara | chakārānyaṁ cha lokaṁ vai kruddho nakshattra-sampadā | pratiśravaṇa-pūrvāṇi nakshatrāṇi chakāra yaḥ | guru-śāpa-hatasyāpi Triśankoḥ śaraṇaṁ dadau |* "2923. He deprived the great Vaśishṭha of his beloved sons; and though born a Kshattriya, he formerly became a Brāhman by force. For the purpose of purification he rendered the holy river, known in the world as the Kauśikī, unfordable from the mass of water. 2925. His wife was once maintained there in a time of distress by the righteous rājarshi Matanga, who had become a huntsman; and when the famine was past, the muni returned to his hermitage, gave to the river the name of Pārā, and being gratified, sacrificed for Matanga on its banks; and then thou thyself, Indra, from fear of him wentest to drink his soma. He created, too, when incensed, another world, with a garland of stars, formed agreeably to his promise, and gave his protection to Triśanku, even when smitten by his preceptor's curse." Menakā, however, ends by saying that she cannot decline the commission which has been imposed upon her; but begs that she may receive such succours as may ensure her success. She accordingly shows herself in the neighbourhood of Viśvāmitra's hermitage. The saint yields to the influence of love, invites her to become his companion, and as a result of their intercourse Śakuntalā is born. The Apsaras then returns to Indra's paradise.

SECT. XII.—*Other accounts, from the Mahābhārata, of the way in which Viśvāmitra became a Brāhman.*

In the Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata, sections 105–118, a story is told regarding Viśvāmitra and his pupil Gālava, in which a different

account is given of the manner in which Viśvāmitra attained the rank of a Brāhman; viz. by the gift of Dharma, or Righteousness, appearing in the form of his rival. M. Bh. Udyogap. 3721: *Viśvāmitraṁ tapasyantam Dharmo jijnāsayā purā | abhyāgachhat svayam bhūtvā Vaśishṭho bhagavān rishiḥ | . . . .* 3728. *Atha varsha-śate pūrṇe Dharmaḥ punar upāgamat | Vāśishṭhaṁ veśam āsthāya Kauśikam bhojanepsayā | sa drishṭvā śirasā bhaktaṁ dhriyamāṇam maharshiṇā | tishṭhatā vāyubhakshena Viśvāmitreṇa dhīmatā | pratigrihya tato Dharmas tathaivoshṇaṁ tathā navam | bhuktvā "prīto 'smi viprarshe" tam uktvā sa munir gataḥ | kshattra-bhāvād apagato brāhmaṇatvam upāgataḥ | Dharmasya vachanāt prīto Viśvāmitras tathā 'bhavat* | "Dharma, assuming the personality of the sage Vaśishṭha, once came to prove Viśvāmitra, when he was living a life of austerity;" and after consuming some food, given him by other devotees, desired Viśvāmitra, who brought him some freshly cooked charu, quite hot, to stand still for the present. Viśvāmitra accordingly stood still, nourished only by air, with the boiled rice on his head. "The same personage, Dharma, in the same disguise, reappeared after a hundred years, desiring food, and consumed the rice (still quite hot and fresh), which he saw supported upon the hermit's head, while he himself remained motionless, feeding on air. Dharma then said to him, 'I am pleased with thee, o Brāhman rishi;' and went away. Viśvāmitra, having become thus transformed from a Kshattriya into a Brāhman by the word of Dharma, was delighted."

In the Anuśāsanaparvan of the Mahābhārata, we have another reference to the story of Viśvāmitra. King Yudhishṭhira enquires of Bhīshma (verse 181) how, if Brāhmanhood is so difficult to be attained by men of the other three castes, it happened that the great Kshattriya acquired that dignity. The prince then recapitulates the chief exploits of Viśvāmitra: 183. *Tena hy amita-vīryeṇa Vaśishṭhasya mahātmanaḥ | hatam putra-śataṁ sadyas tapasā 'pi pitāmaha | yātudhānāś cha bahavo rākshasās tigma-tejasaḥ | manyunā "vishṭa-dehena sṛishṭāḥ kālāntakopamāḥ* | 185. *Mahān Kuśika-vaṁśaś cha brahmarshi-śata-sankulaḥ | sthāpito nara-loke 'smin vidvān brāhmaṇa-saṁyutaḥ | Richīkasyātmajaś chaiva Śunaḥśepho mahātapāḥ | vimokshito mahāsattrāt paśutām apy upāgataḥ | Hariśchandra-kratau devāṁs toshayitvā "tma-tejasā | putratām anusamprāpto Viśvāmitrasya dhīmataḥ | nābhivādayato jyeshṭhaṁ Devarātaṁ narā-*

dhipa | puttrāḥ panchāśad evāpi śaptāḥ śvapachatām gatāḥ | Triśankur bandhubhir muktaḥ Aikshvākuḥ prīti-pūrvakam | avāk-śirāḥ divam nīto dakshiṇām āśrito diśam | . . . . tato vighnakarī chaiva Panchachūḍā susammatā | Rambhā nāmāpsarāḥ śāpād yasya śailatvam āgatā | tathaivāsya bhayād baddhvā Vaśishṭhaḥ salile purā | ātmānam majjayan śrīmān vipāśaḥ punar utthitaḥ | "For he destroyed Vaśishṭha's hundred sons by the power of austere-fervour; when possessed by anger, he created many demons, fierce and destructive as death; he (185) established the great and wise family of the Kuśikas, which was full of Brāhmans and hundreds of Brāhman rishis; he delivered Śunaśśepha, son of Ṛichīka, who was on the point of being slaughtered as a victim, and who became his son, after he had, at Hariśchandra's sacrifice, through his own power, propitiated the gods; he cursed his fifty sons who would not do homage to Devarāta, (adopted as) the eldest, so that they became outcastes; through affection he elevated Triśanku, when forsaken by his relations, to heaven, where he remained fixed with his head downwards in the southern heavens; (191) . . . . he changed the troublesome nymph Rambhā, known as Panchachūḍā, by his curse into a form of stone; he occasioned Vaśishṭha through fear to bind and throw himself into the river, though he emerged thence unbound;" and performed other deeds calculated to excite astonishment. Yudhishṭhira ends by enquiring, "how this Kshattriya became a Brāhman without transmigrating into another body" (197. *Dehāntaram anāsādya katham sa brāhmaṇo 'bhavat* |). In answer to this question, Bhīshma (verses 200 ff.) deduces the descent of Viśvāmitra from Ajamīḍha, of the race of Bharata, who was a pious priest, or sacrificer (*yajvā dharma-bhṛitām varaḥ*), the father of Jahnu, who again was the progenitor of Kuśika, the father of Gādhi; and narrates the same legend of the birth of Viśvāmitra, which has been already extracted from the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see above, pp. 349 f.). The conclusion of the story as here given is, that the wife of Ṛichīka bore Jamadagni, while "the wife of Gādhi, by the grace of the rishi, gave birth to Viśvāmitra, who was a Brāhman rishi, and an utterer of the Veda; who, though a Kshattriya, attained to Brāhmanhood, and became afterwards also the founder of a Brāhman race" (246. *Viśvāmitram chājanayad Gādhi-bhāryyā yaśasvinī | ṛisheḥ prasādād rājendra brahmarshim brahmavādinam | tato brāhmaṇatām yāto Viśvāmitro mahātapaḥ | kshattriyaḥ so 'py atha tathā brahma-vamśasya kārakaḥ* |).

of which the members are detailed,[208] including the great rishi Kapila. In regard to the mode in which Viśvāmitra was transformed from a Kshattriya into a Brāhman, we are only told that he belonged to the former class, and that "Ṛichīka infused into him this exalted Brāhmanhood" (259. *Tathaiva kshattriyo rājan Viśvāmitro mahātapāḥ* | *Ṛichīkenāhitam brahma param etad Yudhishṭhira* |).

This version of the story is different from all those preceding ones which enter into any detail, as it makes no mention of Viśvāmitra having extorted the Brahmanical rank from the gods by force of his austerities; and ascribes his transformation to a virtue communicated by the sage Ṛichīka.

I have above (p. 296 f.) quoted a passage from Manu on the subject of submissive and refractory monarchs, in which reference is made to Viśvāmitra's elevation to the Brahmanical order. Nothing is there said of his conflict with Vaśishṭha, or of his arduous penances, endured with the view of conquering for himself an equality with his rival. On the contrary, it is to his submissiveness, *i.e.* to his dutiful recognition of the superiority of the Brāhmans, that his admission into their class is ascribed. Kullūka, indeed, explains the word submissiveness (*vinaya*) to mean virtue in general; but the contrast which is drawn between Pṛithu, Manu, and Viśvāmitra, on the one hand, and Veṇa, Nahusha, Sudās, and Nimi, the resisters of Brāhmanical prerogatives (as all the legends declare them to have been), on the other, makes it tolerably evident that the merit which Manu means to ascribe to Viśvāmitra is that of implicit submission to the spiritual authority of the Brāhmans.

SECT. XIII.—*Legend of Saudāsa.*

In the reign of Mitrasaha, also called Saudāsa, and Kalmāshapāda, the son of Sudāsa, and the descendant of Triśanku in the twenty-second generation (see p. 337, above), we still find Vaśishṭha figuring in the legend, as the priest of that monarch, and causing him, by an imprecation, to become a cannibal, because he had, under the influence of a delusion, offered the priest human flesh to eat. I shall not extract the

[208] The names in this list differ considerably from those given above, p. 352, from the Harivaṁśa.

version of the story given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa in detail (Wilson, V.P. vol. iii. pp. 304 ff.), as it does not in any way illustrate the rivalry of Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra.

The Mahābhārata gives the following variation of the history (Ādiparvan, sect. 176): "Kalmāshapāda was a king of the race of Ikshvāku. Viśvāmitra wished to be employed by him as his officiating priest; but the king preferred Vaśishṭha" (verse 6699. *Akāmayat taṁ yājyārthe Viśvāmitraḥ pratāpavān* | *sa tu rājā mahātmānaṁ Vaśishṭham ṛishi-sattamam* |). It happened, however, that the king went out to hunt, and after having killed a large quantity of game, he became very much fatigued, as well as hungry and thirsty. Meeting Śaktri, the eldest of Vaśishṭha's hundred sons, on the road, he ordered him to get out of his way. The priest civilly replied (verse 6703): *Mama panthāḥ mahārāja dharmaḥ esha sanātanaḥ* | *rājnā sarveshu dharmeshu deyaḥ panthāḥ dvijātaye* | "The path is mine, o king; this is the immemorial law; in all observances the king must cede the way to the Brāhman." Neither party would yield, and the dispute waxing warmer, the king struck the muni with his whip. The muni, resorting to the usual expedient of offended sages, by a curse doomed the king to become a man-eater. "It happened that at that time enmity existed between Viśvāmitra and Vaśishṭha on account of their respective claims to be priest to Kalmāshapāda" (verse 6710. *Tato yājya-nimittaṁ tu Viśvāmitra-Vaśishṭhayoḥ* | *vairam āsīt tadā taṁ tu Viśvāmitro 'nvapadyata* |). Viśvāmitra had followed the king; and approached while he was disputing with Śaktri. Perceiving, however, the son of his rival Vaśishṭha, Viśvāmitra made himself invisible, and passed them, watching his opportunity. The king began to implore Śaktri's clemency: but Viśvāmitra wishing to prevent their reconciliation, commanded a Rākshasa (a man-devouring demon) to enter into the king. Owing to the conjoint influence of the Brāhman-rishi's curse, and Viśvāmitra's command, the demon obeyed the injunction. Perceiving that his object was gained, Viśvāmitra left things to take their course, and absented himself from the country. The king having happened to meet a hungry Brāhman, and sent him, by the hand of his cook (who could procure nothing else), some human flesh to eat, was cursed by him also to the same effect as by Śaktri. The curse, being now augmented in force, took effect, and Śaktri himself was the first victim, being eaten up by the king. The same fate

befell all the other sons of Vaśishṭha at the instigation of Viśvāmitra: 6736. *S'aktrim tam tu mṛitam dṛishṭvā Viśvāmitraḥ punaḥ punaḥ | Vaśishṭhasyaiva putreshu tad rakshaḥ sandideśa ha | sa tān S'aktry-avarān putrān Vaśishṭhasya mahātmanaḥ | bhakshayāmāsa sankruddhaḥ siṁhaḥ kshudra-mṛigān iva | Vaśishṭho ghātitān śrutvā Viśvāmitreṇa tān sutān | dhārayāmāsa taṁ śokam mahādrir iva medinīm | chakre chātma-vināśāya buddhiṁ sa muni-sattamaḥ | na tv eva Kauśikochhedam mene matimatāṁ varaḥ* | 6740. *Sa Meru-kūṭād ātmānam mumocha bhagavān ṛishiḥ | gires tasya śilāyāṁ tu tūla-rāśāv ivāpatat | na mamāra cha pātena sa yadā tena Pāṇḍava | tadā 'gnim iddham bhagavān saṁviveśa mahāvane | taṁ tadā susamiddho 'pi na dadāha hutāśanaḥ | dīpyamāno 'py amitra-ghna śīto 'gnir abhavat tataḥ | sa samudram abhiprekshya śokāvishṭo mahāmuniḥ | baddhvā kaṇṭhe śilāṁ gurvīṁ nipapāta tadā 'mbhasi | sa samudrormi-vegena sthale nyasto mahāmuniḥ | jagāma sa tataḥ khinnaḥ punar evāśramam prati* | 6745. *Tato dṛishṭvā "śrama-padaṁ rahitaṁ taiḥ sutair muniḥ | nirjagāma suduḥkhārttaḥ punar apy āśramāt tataḥ | so 'paśyat saritam pūrṇām prāvṛit-kāle navāmbhasā | vṛikshān bahuvidhān pārtha harantīṁ tīra-jān bahūn | atha chintāṁ samāpede punaḥ kaurava-nandana | "ambhasy asyāṁ nimajjeyam" iti duḥkha-samanvitaḥ | tataḥ pāśais tadā "tmānam gāḍham baddhvā mahāmuniḥ | tasyāḥ jale mahānadyāḥ nimamajja suduḥkhitaḥ | atha chhittvā nadī pāśāṁs tasyāri-bala-sūdana | sthala-sthaṁ tam ṛishim kṛitvā vipāśaṁ samavāsṛijat* | 6750. *Uttatāra tataḥ pāśair vimuktaḥ sa mahān ṛishiḥ | Vipāśeti cha nāmāsyāḥ nadyāś chakre mahān ṛishiḥ* | . . . . 6752. *Dṛishṭvā sa punar evarshir nadīṁ haimavatīṁ tadā | chandragrāhavatīm bhīmāṁ tasyāḥ srotasy apātayat | sā tam agni-samaṁ vipram anuchintya sarid varā | śatadhā vidrutā yasmāch śatadrur iti viśrutā* | . . . . 6774. *Saudāso 'ham mahābhāga yājyas te muni-sattama | asmin kāle yad ishṭaṁ te brūhi kiṁ karavāṇi te | Vaśishṭha uvācha | vṛittam etad yathā-kālaṁ gachha rājyam praśādhi vai | brāhmaṇāṁs tu manushyendra mā 'vamaṁsthāḥ kadāchana | rājā uvācha | nāvamaṁsye mahābhāga kadāchid brāhmaṇarshabhān | tvan-nideśe sthitaḥ samyak pūjayishyāmy ahaṁ dvijān | Ikshvākūṇāṁ cha yenāham anṛiṇaḥ syāṁ dvijottama | tat tvattaḥ prāptum ichhāmi sarva-veda-vidāṁ vara | apatyam īpsitam mahyaṁ dātum arhasi sattama* | "Perceiving S'aktri to be dead, Viśvāmitra again and again incited the Rākshasa against the sons of Vaśishṭha; and accordingly the furious demon devoured those of his sons who were younger than S'aktri, as a lion eats up the small

beasts of the forest.[309] On hearing of the destruction of his sons by Viśvāmitra, Vaśishṭha supported his affliction, as the great mountain sustains the earth. He meditated his own destruction, but never thought of exterminating the Kauśikas. 6740. This divine sage hurled himself from the summit of Meru, but fell upon the rocks as if on a heap of cotton. Escaping alive from his fall, he entered a glowing fire in the forest; but the fire, though fiercely blazing, not only failed to burn him, but seemed perfectly cool. He next threw himself into the sea with a heavy stone attached to his neck; but was cast up by the waves on the dry land. He then went home to his hermitage; (6745) but seeing it empty and desolate, he was again overcome by grief and went out; and seeing the river Vipāśā which was swollen by the recent rains, and sweeping along many trees torn from its banks, he conceived the design of drowning himself into its waters: he acccordingly tied himself firmly with cords, and threw himself in; but the river severing his bonds, deposited him unbound (*vipāśa*) on dry land; whence the name of the stream, as imposed by the sage.[310] 6752. He afterwards saw and threw himself into the dreadful Śatadru (Sutlej), which was full of alligators, etc., and derived its name from rushing away in a hundred directions on seeing the Brāhman brilliant as fire. In consequence of this he was once more stranded; and seeing he could not kill himself, he went back to his hermitage. After roaming about over many mountains and countries, he was followed home by his daughter-in-law Adṛiśyāntī, Śaktri's widow, from whose womb he heard a sound of the recitation of the Vedas, as she was pregnant with a child, which, when born, received the name of Parāśara, verse 6794. Learning from her that there was

[309] See above (pp. 327 ff.), the passages quoted from the Brāhmaṇas, about the slaughter of Vasishṭha's sons. In the Panchaviṁśa Br. (cited by Prof. Weber, Ind. St. i. 32) Vasishṭha is spoken of as *puttra-hataḥ*.

[310] The Nirukta, ix. 26, after giving other etymologies of the word Vipāś, adds a verse: *Pāśāḥ asyāṁ vyapāśyanta Vasishṭhasya mumūrshataḥ* | *tasmād Vipāḍ uchyate pūrvam āsīd Urunjirā* | "In it the bonds of Vasishṭha were loosed, when he was on the point of death: hence it is called Vipāś. It formerly bore the name of Urunjirā." It does not appear whether or not this verse is older than the Mahābhārata. On this text of the Nirukta, Durga (as quoted by Prof. Müller, Rig-veda, ii. Pref. p. liv.) annotates: *Vasishṭhaḥ kila nimamajja asyām mumūrshuḥ puttra-maraṇa-śokārttaḥ pāśair ātmānam baddhvā* | *tasya kila te pāśāḥ asyāṁ vyapāśyanta vyamuchyanta udakena* | "Vasishṭha plunged into it, after binding himself with bonds, wishing to die when grieved at the death of his sons. In it (the river) his bonds were loosed by the water."

thus a hope of his line being continued, he abstained from further attempts on his own life. King Kalmāshapāda, however, whom they encountered in the forest, was about to devour them both, when Vaśishṭha stopped him by a blast from his mouth; and sprinkling him with water consecrated by a holy text, he delivered him from the curse by which he had been affected for twelve years. The king then addressed Vaśishṭha thus: "'Most excellent sage, I am Saudāsa, whose priest thou art: what can I do that would be pleasing to thee?' Vaśishṭha answered: 'This which has happened has been owing to the force of destiny: go, and rule thy kingdom; but, o monarch, never contemn the Brāhmans.' The king replied: 'Never shall I despise the most excellent Brāhmans; but submitting to thy commands I shall pay them all honour. And I must obtain from thee the means of discharging my debt to the Ikshvākus. Thou must give me the offspring which I desire.'" Vaśishṭha promised to comply with his request. They then returned to Ayodhyā. And Vaśishṭha having been solicited by the king to beget an heir to the throne[211] (verse 6787. *Rājnas tasyājnayā devī Vaśishṭham upachakrame | maharshiḥ saṁvidaṁ kritvā sambabhūva tayā saha | devyā divyena vidhinā Vaśishṭho bhagavān rishiḥ*), the queen became pregnant by him, and brought forth a son at the end of twelve years. This extraordinary proceeding, so contrary to all the recognized rules of morality, is afterwards (verses 6888–6912) explained to have been necessitated by the curse of a Brāhmaṇī, whose husband Kalmāshapāda had devoured when in the forest, and who had doomed him to die if he should attempt to become a father, and had foretold that Vaśishṭha should be the instrument of propagating his race (verse 6906: *Patnīm ritāv anuprāpya sadyas tyakshyasi jīvitam | yasya charsher Vaśishṭhasya tvayā putrāḥ vināśitāḥ | tena sangamya te bhāryyā tanayaṁ janayishyati*).[212]

[211] The same story is told in the Vishṇu Pur. iv., 4, 38 (Wilson, vol. 3, p. 310).

[212] This incident is alluded to in the Ādip., section 122. It is there stated that in the olden time women were subject to no restraint, and incurred no blame for abandoning their husbands and cohabiting with anyone they pleased (verse 4719. *Anāvritāḥ kila purā striyaḥ āsan varānane | kāma-chāra-vihāriṇyaḥ svatantrāś chāru-hāsini | tāsāṁ vyuchcharamāṇānāṁ kaumārāt subhage patīn | nādharmo 'bhūd varārohe sa hi dharmaḥ purā 'bhavat*, compare verse 4729). A stop was, however, put to this practice by Uddālaka S'vetaketu, whose indignation was on one occasion aroused by a Brāhman taking his mother by the hand, and inviting her to go away with him, although his father, in whose presence this occurred, informed him that

The Mahâbhârata has a further legend, regarding Viśvâmitra's jealousy of Vaśishṭha, which again exhibits the former in a very odious light, and as destitute of the moral dispositions befitting a saint, while Vaśishṭha is represented as manifesting a noble spirit of disinterestedness and generosity.

Śalyap. 2360. *Viśvāmitrasya viprarsher Vaśishṭhasya cha Bhārata | bhṛiśaṁ vairam abhūd rājaṁs tapaḥ-sparddhā-kṛitam mahat | āśramo vai Vaśishṭhasya sthāṇu-tīrthe 'bhavad mahān | pūrvataḥ pārśvataś chāsīd Viśvāmitrasya dhīmataḥ* | . . . . 2366. *Viśvāmitra-Vaśishṭhau tāv ahany ahani Bhārata | sparddhāṁ tapaḥ-kṛitāṁ tīvrām chakratus tau tapo-dhanau | tattrāpy adhika-santapto Viśvāmitro mahāmuniḥ | dṛishṭvā tejo Vaśishṭhasya chintām ati jagāma ha | tasya buddhir iyaṁ hy āsīd dharma-nityasya Bhārata | iyaṁ Sarasvatī tūrṇam mat-samīpaṁ tapo-dhanam | ānayishyati vegena Vaśishṭhaṁ japatāṁ varam | ihāgataṁ dvija-śreshṭhaṁ hanishyāmi na saṁśayaḥ* | 2370. *Evaṁ niśchitya bhagavān Viśvāmitro mahāmuniḥ | sasmāra saritaṁ śreshṭhāṁ krodha-saṁrakta-lochanaḥ | sā dhyātā muninā tena vyākulatvaṁ jagāma ha | jajñe chainam mahāvīryyam mahākopaṁ cha bhāvinī | tataḥ enaṁ vepamānā vivarṇā prāñjalis tadā | upatasthe muni-varaṁ Viśvāmitraṁ Sarasvatī | hata-vīrā yathā nārī sā 'bhavad duḥkhitā bhṛiśam | brūhi kiṁ karavāṇīti provācha muni-sattamam | tām uvācha muniḥ kruddho "Vaśishṭhaṁ śīghram ānaya | yāvad enaṁ nihanmy adya" tach chhrutvā vyathitā nadī* | 2375. *Prāñjaliṁ tu tataḥ kṛitvā puṇḍarīka-nibhekshaṇā* |

there was no reason for his displeasure, as the custom was one which had prevailed from time immemorial (verse 4726. *S'vetaketoḥ kila purā samaksham mātaram pituḥ | jagrāha brāhmaṇaḥ pāṇau "gachhāva" iti chābravīt | ṛishi-puttras tataḥ kopaṁ chakārāmarsha-choditaḥ | mātaraṁ tāṁ tathā dṛishṭvā nīyamānām balād iva | kruddhaṁ taṁ tu pitā dṛishṭvā S'vetaketum uvācha ha | "mā tāta kopaṁ kārshīs tvam esha dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ* | "). But S'vetaketu could not tolerate the practice, and introduced the existing rule (verse 4730. *Ṛishi-puttro 'tha taṁ dharmaṁ S'vetaketur na chakshame | chakāra chaiva maryādām imāṁ strī-puṁsayor bhuvi* |). A wife and a husband indulging in promiscuous intercourse were therefore thenceforward guilty of sin. But a wife, when appointed by her husband to raise up seed to him (by having intercourse with another man), is in like manner guilty if she refuse (4734. *Patyā niyuktā yā chaiva patnī puttrārtham eva cha | na karishyati tasyāś cha bhavishyati tad eva hi | iti tena purā bhīru maryādā sthāpitā balāt* |). Pāṇḍu, the speaker, then proceeds to give an instance of the latter procedure in the case of Madayantī, the wife of Saudâsa, who, by her husband's command, visited Vaśishṭha for the purpose in question (4736. *Saudāsena cha rambhoru niyuktā puttra-janmani | Madayantī jagāmarshiṁ Vaśishṭham iti naḥ śrutam* |). Compare what is said above, p. 224, of Angiras, and in pp. 232 and 233 of Dīrgatamas or Dīrghatapas; and see p. 423, below.

prākampata bhṛiśam bhītā vāyunevāhatā latā | . . . 2377. *Sā tasya vachanaṁ śrutvā jnātvā pāpa-chikīrshitam* | *Vaśishṭhasya prabhāvaṁ cha jānanty apratimam bhuvi* | *sā 'dhigamya Vaśishṭhaṁ cha imam artham achodayat* | *yad uktā saritām śreshṭhā Viśvāmitreṇa dhīmatā* | *ubhayoḥ śāpayor bhītā vepamānā punaḥ punaḥ* | . . . 2380. *Tāṁ kṛiśāṁ cha vivarṇāṁ cha dṛishṭvā chintā-samanvitām* | *uvācha rājan dharmātmā Vaśishṭho dvipadāṁ varaḥ* | *Vaśishṭhaḥ uvācha* | "*pāhy ātmānaṁ sarich-chhreṣṭhe vaha māṁ śīghra-gāmini* | *Viśvāmitraḥ śaped hi tvām mā kṛithās tvaṁ vichāraṇam*" | *tasya tad vachanaṁ śrutvā kṛipā-śīlasya sā sarit* | *chintayāmāsa Kauravya kiṁ kṛitvā sukṛitam bhavet* | *tasyāś chintā samutpannā* "*Vaśishṭho mayy atīva hi* | *kṛitavān hi dayāṁ nityam tasya kāryyaṁ hitam mayā*" | *atha kūle svake rājan japantam ṛishi-sattamam* | *juhvānaṁ Kauśikam prekshya sarasvaty abhyachintayat* | 2385. "*Idam antaram*" *ity eva tataḥ sā saritām varā* | *kūlāpahāram akarot svena vegena sā sarit* | *tena kūlāpahāreṇa Maitrāvaruṇir auhyata* | *ūhyamānaḥ sa tushṭāva tadā rājan Sarasvatīm* | *Pitāmahasya sarasaḥ pravṛittā 'si Sarasvati* | *vyāptaṁ chedaṁ jagat sarvaṁ tavaivambhobhir uttamaiḥ* | *tvam evākāśa-gā devi megheshūtsṛijase payaḥ* | *sarvāś chāpas tvam eveti tvatto vayam adhīmahi* | *pushṭir dyutis tathā kīrttiḥ siddhir buddhir umā tathā* | *tvam eva vāṇī svāhā tvaṁ tavāyattam idaṁ jagat* | 2390. *Tvam eva sarva-bhūteshu vasasīha chaturvidhā* | . . . . 2392. *Tam ānītaṁ Sarasvatyā dṛishṭvā kopa-samanvitāḥ* | *athānveshat praharaṇaṁ Vaśishṭhānta-karaṁ tadā* | *taṁ tu kruddham abhiprekshya brahma-badhyā-bhayād nadī* | *apovāha Vaśishṭhaṁ tu prāchīṁ diśam atandritā* | *ubhayoḥ kurvatī vākyaṁ vanchayitvā cha Gādhijam tato 'pavāhitaṁ dṛishṭvā Vaśishṭham ṛishi-sattamam* | 2395. *Abravīd duḥkha-sankruddho Viśvāmitro hy amarshaṇaḥ* | "*yasmād māṁ tvaṁ sarich-chhreshṭhe vanchayitvā punargatā* | *śoṇitaṁ vaha kalyāṇi raksho-'gra-maṇi-sammatam*" | *tataḥ Sarasvatī śaptā Viśvāmitreṇa dhīmatā* | *avahach chhoṇitonmiśraṁ toyaṁ saṁvatsaraṁ tadā* | . . . . 2401. *Athājagmus tato rājan rākshasās tattra Bhārata* | *tattra te śoṇitaṁ sarve pivantaḥ sukham āsate* | . . . . 2402. *Nṛityantaś cha hasantaś cha yathā svarga-jitas tathā* | . . . . 2407. *tān dṛishṭvā rākshasān rājan munayaḥ saṁśita-vratāḥ* | *paritrāṇe Sarasvatyāḥ paraṁ yatnam prachakrire* |

"2360. There existed a great enmity, arising from rivalry in their austerities, between Viśvāmitra and the Brāhman rishi Vaśishṭha. Vaśishṭha had an extensive hermitage in Sthāṇutīrtha, to the east of

which was Viśvāmitra's . . . . 2366. These two great ascetics were every day exhibiting intense emulation in regard to their respective austerities. But Viśvāmitra, beholding the might of Vaśishṭha, was the most chagrined; and fell into deep thought. The idea of this sage, constant in duty (!), was the following: 'This river Sarasvatī will speedily bring to me on her current the austere Vaśishṭha, the most eminent of all mutterers of prayers. When that most excellent Brāhman has come, I shall most assuredly kill him.' 2370. Having thus determined, the divine sage Viśvāmitra, his eyes reddened by anger, called to mind the chief of rivers. She being thus the subject of his thoughts, became very anxious, as she knew him to be very powerful and very irascible. Then trembling, pallid, and with joined hands, the Sarasvatī stood before the chief of munis. Like a woman whose husband has been slain, she was greatly distressed; and said to him, 'What shall I do?' The incensed muni replied, 'Bring Vaśishṭha hither speedily, that I may slay him.' 2375. The lotus-eyed goddess, joining her hands, trembled in great fear, like a creeping plant agitated by the wind." . . . . Viśvāmitra, however, although he saw her condition, repeated his command. 2377. "The Sarasvatī, who knew how sinful was his design, and that the might of Vaśishṭha was unequalled, went trembling, and in great dread of being cursed by both the sages, to Vaśishṭha, and told him what his rival had said. 2380. Vaśishṭha seeing her emaciated, pale, and anxious, spoke thus: 'Deliver thyself, o chief of rivers; carry me unhesitatingly to Viśvāmitra, lest he curse thee.' Hearing these words of the merciful sage, the Sarasvatī considered how she could act most wisely. She reflected, 'Vaśishṭha has always shown me great kindness; I must seek his welfare.' Then observing the Kauśika sage [so in the text, but does not the sense require Vaśishṭha?] praying and sacrificing on her brink, she regarded (2385) that as a good opportunity, and swept away the bank by the force of her current. In this way the son of Mitra and Varuṇa (Vaśishṭha)[113] was carried down; and while he was being borne along, he thus celebrated the river: 'Thou, o Sarasvatī, issuest from the lake of Brahmā, and pervadest the whole world with thy excellent streams. Residing in the sky, thou dischargest water into the clouds. Thou alone art all waters. By thee we study.' [Here the river Sarasvatī is identified with Saras-

[113] See above, pp. 316 and 320 f.

vatī the goddess of speech.][214] 'Thou art nourishment, radiance, fame, perfection, intellect, light. Thou art speech; thou art Svāhā; this world is subject to thee. 2390. Thou, in fourfold form, dwellest in all creatures.' . . . . 2392. Beholding Vaśishṭha brought near by the Sarasvatī, Viśvāmitra searched for a weapon with which to make an end of him. Perceiving his anger, and dreading lest Brahmanicide should ensue, the river promptly carried away Vaśishṭha in an easterly direction; thus fulfilling the commands of both sages, but eluding Viśvāmitra. Seeing Vaśishṭha so carried away, (2395) Viśvāmitra, impatient, and enraged by vexation, said to her: 'Since thou, o chief of rivers, hast eluded me, and hast receded, roll in waves of blood acceptable to the chief of demons," [which are fabled to gloat on blood]. "The Sarasvatī, being thus cursed, flowed for a year in a stream mingled with blood. . . . 2401. Rākshasas came to the place of pilgrimage, where Vaśishṭha had been swept away, and revelled in drinking to satiety the bloody stream in security, dancing and laughing, as if they had conquered heaven." Some rishis who arrived at the spot some time after were horrified to see the blood-stained water, and the Rākshasas quaffing it, and (2407) "made the most strenuous efforts to rescue the Sarasvatī." After learning from her the cause of the pollution of her waters, they propitiated Mahādeva by the most various austerities, and thus obtained the restoration of the river to her pristine purity (2413 ff.).

We have another reference to the connection of the families of Sudās and Vaśishṭha in the legend of Paraśurāma,[215] the destroyer of the Kshattriyas, in the 49th section of the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata. Sarvakarman, a descendant of Sudās, is there mentioned as one of those

[214] See the remarks on Sarasvatī in my "Contributions to a knowledge of the Vedic Theogony and Mythology No. II.," in the Journ. R. A. S., for 1866 pp. 18 ff.

[215] Paraśurāma was the son of Jamadagnī, regarding whose birth, as well as that of Viśvāmitra and the incarnation of Indra in the person of his father Gādhi, the same legend as has been already given above, p. 349 ff, is repeated at the commencement of the story referred to in the text. In discoursing with his wife Satyavatī about the exchange of her own and her mother's messes, Ṛichīka tells her, verse 1741: *Brahmabhūtaṁ hi sakalam pitus tava kulam bhavet* | "All the family of thy father (Gādhi) shall be Brahmanical;" and Vāsudeva, the narrator of the the legend, says, verse 1745: *Viśvāmitraṁ cha dāyādaṁ Gādhiḥ Kuśikanandanaḥ* | *yam prāpa brahmasammitaṁ viśvair brahmaguṇair yutam* | "And Gādhi begot a son, Viśvāmitra, whom he obtained equal to a Brāhman, and possessed of all Brahmanical qualities."

Kshattriyas who had been preserved from the general massacre by Parāśara, grandson of Vaśishṭha: verse 1792. *Tathā 'nukampamānena yajvanā 'mita-tejasā | Parāśareṇa dāyādaḥ Saudāsasyābhirakshitaḥ | sarva-karmāṇi kurute śūdra-vat tasya vai dvijaḥ | Sarvakarmety abhikhyātaḥ sa māṁ rakshatu pārthivaḥ* | "Sarvakarman, the son of Saudāsa, was preserved by the tender-hearted priest Paraśara, who performed, though a Brāhman, all menial offices for him, like a Sūdra; whence the prince's name;—may this king protect me (the earth)." The same book of the Mahābhārata, when recording a number of good deeds done to Brāhmans, has also the following allusion to Mitrasaha and Vaśishṭha: verse 8604. *Rājā Mitrasahaś chāpi Vaśishṭhāya mahātmane | Damayantīm priyām dattvā tayā saha divaṁ gataḥ* | "King Mitrasaha, having bestowed his dear Damayantī on Vaśishṭha, ascended to heaven along with her."[216]

The same passage has two further allusions to Vaśishṭha, which, though unconnected with our present subject, may be introduced here. In verse 8591 it is said: *Rantidevaś cha Sānkṛityo Vaśishthāya mahātmane | apaḥ pradāya śītoshṇāḥ nāka-pṛishṭhe mahīyate* | "Rantideva, son of Sankṛiti, who gave Vaśishṭha tepid water, is exalted to the heavenly regions." (See the Bhāg. Pur. ix. 21, 2–18, where the various acts of self-sacrifice practised by this prince are celebrated.) It is said of Vaśishṭha in verse 8601: *Avarshati cha Parjanye sarva-bhūtāni bhūtakṛit | Vaśishṭho jīvayāmāsa prajāpatir ivāparaḥ* | "When Parjanya failed to send rain, the creative Vaśishṭha, like Brahmā, gave life to all beings."

Vaśishṭha, in short, is continually reappearing in the Mahābhārata. I will here adduce but one other passage. In the Sāntiparvan, verses 10,118 ff., it is said: *Tasya Vṛittrārdditasyātha mohaḥ āsīch chhatakratoḥ | rathantareṇa taṁ . tattra Vaśishṭhaḥ samabodhayat* | *Vaśishṭhaḥ uvācha | deva-śreshṭho 'si devendra daityāsura-nibarhaṇa | trailokya-bala-*

[216] This appears to refer to the story told above, p. 418 ff., of Kalmāshapāda (who was the same as Mitrasaha), allowing Vaśishṭha to be the agent in propagating the royal race; for both there (v. 6910) and in the Vishṇu Pur. (Wilson, vol. iii., pp. 308 and 310), the name of the queen is said to have been Madayantī, which is probably the right reading here also, the first two letters only having been transposed. If so, however, it is to be observed that a quite different turn is given to the story here, where it is represented as a meritorious act on the king's part, and as a favour to Vaśishṭha, that the queen was given up to him; whilst, according to the other account, the king's sole object in what he did was to get progeny.

saṁyuktaḥ kasmāch chhakra nishīdasi | esha Brahmā cha Vishṇuś cha S'ivaś chaiva jagat-patiḥ | Somaś cha bhagavān devaḥ sarve cha paramarshayaḥ | mā kārshīḥ kaśmalaṁ S'akra kaśchid evetaro yathā | āryyāṁ yuddhe matiṁ kṛitvā jahi śatrūn surādhipa | "By reciting the Rathantāra, Vaśishṭha encouraged Indra, when he had become bewildered and distressed in his conflict with Vrittra, saying to him, 'Thou art the chief of the gods, o slayer of the Daityas and Asuras, possessing all the strength of the three worlds: wherefore, Indra, dost thou despond? There are here present Brahmā, Vishṇu, S'iva, the divine Soma, and all the chief rishis. Faint not, o Indra, like an ordinary being. Assume a heroic spirit for the fight, and slay thine enemies, etc.'" Strength was thus infused into Indra.

In a later work, the Rāja Taranginī, Book IV. verses 619–655 (pp. 188 ff. and note, pp. 521 and 522, of Troyer's edition, vol. i. and vol. ii. 189, 469, note), a curious echo of these old legends is found still reverberating. A story is there told of a king Jayāpīḍa who oppressed his people, and persecuted the Brāhmans, and was eventually destroyed by them in a miraculous manner. He is compared to Saudāsa in verse 625: *Sa Saudāsaḥ ivāneka-loka-prāṇāpahārakṛit | astutya-kṛitya-sauhityaṁ svapne 'pi na samāyayau |* "Like Saudāsa, depriving many persons of their lives, he was not satiated with wicked deeds even in his dreams." One of the Brāhmans stood up on behalf of the rest to remonstrate: *Āha sma "Viśvāmitro vā Vaśishṭho vā taponidhiḥ | tvam Agastyo 'thavā kiṁ stha" iti darpeṇa taṁ nṛipaḥ | . . . . bhavān yatra Hariśchandras Triśankur Nahusho 'pi vā | Viśvāmitra-mukhebhyo 'haṁ tatraiko bhavituṁ kshamaḥ | vihasyovācha taṁ rājā "Viśvāmitrādikopataḥ | Hariśchandrāyo nashṭās tvayi kruddhe tu kim bhavet" | pāṇinā tāḍayann ūrviṁ tataḥ kruddho 'bhyadhād dvijaḥ | "mayi kruddhe kshaṇād eva brahma-daṇḍaḥ pated na kim" | tach chhrutvā vihasan rājā kopād brāhmaṇam abravīt | "patatu brahma-daṇḍo 'sau kim adyāpi vilambate" | nanv ayam patito jālmety atha vipreṇa bhāshite | rājnaḥ kanaka-daṇḍo 'nge vitāna-skhalito 'patat |* "The king haughtily asked him: 'Art thou Viśvāmitra, or Vaśishṭha, so rich in devotion? or Agastya? or what art thou?' . . . . The Brāhman answered, swelling with indignation: 'Just as thou art a Hariśchandra, a Triśanku, or a Nahusha, so too have I power to be a Viśvāmitra, or one of those other rishis.' The king answered with a smile of contempt: 'Hariśchandra

and the rest perished by the wrath of Viśvāmitra and the other sages: but what will come of thy wrath?' The Brāhman angrily replied, smiting the ground with his hand, 'When I am incensed, shall not the Brahmanical bolt instantly descend?' The king retorted with an angry laugh: 'Let it descend; why does it not come down at once?' 'Has it not fallen, tyrant?' said the Brāhman; and he had no sooner spoken, than a golden beam fell from the canopy and smote the king," so that he became tortured by worms, and shortly after died; and went, as the story concludes, to hell.

Professor Lassen, who quotes the stories regarding Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra (Ind. Alt. 2nd ed. i. 718 f.), makes the following remarks on their import:

"The legend of the struggle between Vaśishṭha and Viśvāmitra embraces two distinct points: one is the contest between the priests and warriors for the highest rank; the other is the temporary alienation of the Ikshvākus from their family priests. Vaśishṭha is represented as the exemplar of such a priest; and the story of Kalmāshapāda is related for the express purpose of showing by an example that the Ikshvākus, after they had retained him, were victorious, and fulfilled perfectly the duties of sacrifice (see above, p. 390): in his capacity of priest he continues to live on, and is the representative of his whole race. We may conclude from the legend that his descendants had acquired the position of family priests to the Ikshvākus, though neither he himself nor his son Śaktri belonged to their number. Triśanku is the first prince who forsook them, and had recourse to Viśvāmitra. His successor Ambarīsha received support from that personage, as well as from Ṛichīka, one of the Bhṛigus;—a family whose connection with the Kuśikas appears also in the story of Paraśurāma. The hostility between the Ikshvākus and the family of Vaśishṭha continued down to Kalmāshapāda. Viśvāmitra is represented as having intentionally fostered the alienation; while Vaśishṭha is described as forbearing (though he had the power) to annihilate his rival.

"The conflict between the two rivals with its motives and machinery is described in the forms peculiar to the fully developed epos. To this style of poetry is to be referred the wonder-working cow, which supplies all objects of desire. There is no ground for believing in any actual war with weapons between the contending parties, or in

any participation of degraded Kshattriyas, or aboriginal tribes, in the contest; for all these things are mere poetical creations. Besides, the proper victory of Vasishṭha was not gained by arms, but by his rod. The legend represents the superiority of the Brāhmans as complete, since Viśvāmitra is forced to acknowledge the insufficiency of a warrior's power; and acquires his position as a Brāhman by purely Brahmanical methods.

"From Viśvāmitra are derived many of the sacerdotal families, which bear the common name of Kauśika, and to which many rishis famous in tradition belong. As there were also kings in this family, we have here an example of the fact that one of the old Vedic races became divided, and in later times belonged to both of the two higher castes. It appears impossible that any of the aboriginal tribes should have been among the descendants of Viśvāmitra's sons, as the legend represents; and the meaning of this account may therefore be that some of his sons and their descendants accepted the position of priests among these tribes, and are in consequence described as accursed."[217]

Sect. XIV.—*Story from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa about king Janaka becoming a Brāhman.*

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa has the following account of a discussion between Janaka, king of Videha, and some Brāhmans:[218]

xi. 6, 2, 1. *Janako ha vai Vaideho brāhmaṇair dhāvayadbhir samājagāma S'vetaketunā Āruṇeyena Somaśushmeṇa Sātyayajninā Yājnavalkyena* | *tān ha uvācha "katham katham agnihotram juhutha" iti* | 2. *Sa ha uvācha S'vetaketur Āruṇeyo "gharmāv eva samrāḍ aham ajasrau yaśasā visyandamanāv anyo 'nyasmin juhomi" iti* | *"katham tad" iti* | *ādityo vai gharmas tam sāyam agnau juhomi agnir vai gharmas tam pratar āditye juhomi" iti* | *"kim sa bhavati yaḥ evam juhoti"* | *"ajasraḥ eva śriyā yaśasā bhavaty etayoś cha devatayoḥ sāyujyam salokatām jayati" iti* | 3. *Atha ha uvācha Somaśushmaḥ Sātyayajniḥ "tejaḥ eva samrāḍ aham tejasi juhomi" iti* | *"katham tad" iti* | *"Ādityo vai tejas tam sāyam agnau juhomi* | *agnir vai tejas tam prātar āditye juhomi"*

[217] See also Prof. Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit., pp. 80 f., 383 f., 408, 413 ff., 485 f.

[218] This passage is referred to and translated by Prof. Müller, Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 421 ff.

iti | "*kiṁ sa bhavati yaḥ evaṁ juhoti*" *iti* | "*tejasvī yaśasvy annādo bhavaty etayoś chaiva devatayoḥ sāyujyaṁ salokatāṁ jayati*" *iti* | 4. *Atha ha uvācha Yājnavalkyaḥ* "*yad aham agnim uddharāmy agnihotram eva tad udyachhāmi* | *ādityaṁ vai astaṁ yantam sarve devāḥ anuyanti* | *te me etam agnim uddhṛitaṁ dṛishṭvā upāvarttante atha aham pātrāṇi nirṇijya upavāpya āgnihotrīṁ dohayitvā paśyan paśyatas tarpayāmi*" *iti* | *tvaṁ nedishṭhaṁ yājnavalkya agnihotrasya amīmāṁsishṭhāḥ* | *dhenuśataṁ dadāmi*" *iti ha uvācha* "*na tv eva enayos tvam utkrāntiṁ na gatiṁ na pratishṭhāṁ na tṛiptiṁ na punarāvṛittiṁ na lokaṁ pratyutthāyinam*" | *ity uktvā ratham āsthāya pradhāvayān chakāra* | 5. *Te ha ūchur* "*ati vai no 'yaṁ rājanyabandhur avādīd hanta enam brahmodyam āhvayāmahai*" *iti* | *sa ha uvācha Yājnavalkyo* "*brāhmaṇāḥ vai vayaṁ smo rājanyabandhur asau yady amuṁ vayaṁ jayema kam ajaishma iti brūyāma atha yady asāv asmān jayed brāhmaṇān rājanyabandhur ajaishīd iti no brūyuḥ* | *mā idam ādṛiḍhvam*" *iti* | *tad ha asya jajnuḥ* | *atha ha Yājnavalkyo ratham āsthāya pradhāvayānchakāra taṁ ha anvājagāma* | *sa ha uvācha* "*agnihotraṁ Yājnavalkya veditum*" *iti* | "*agnihotraṁ samrāḍ*" *iti* | 6. "*Te vai ete āhutī hute utkrāmatas te antariksham āviśatas te antariksham eva āhavanīyaṁ kurvāte vāyuṁ samidham marīchīr eva śukrām āhutiṁ te antarikshaṁ tarpayatas te tataḥ utkrāmataḥ* | 7. *Te divam āviśatas te divam eva āhavanīyaṁ kurvāte ādityaṁ samidhaṁ chandramasam eva śukrām āhutiṁ te divaṁ tarpayatas te tataḥ āvarttete* | 8. *Te imām āviśatas te imām eva āhavanīyaṁ kurvāte agniṁ samidham oshadhīr eva śukrām āhutiṁ te imāṁ tarpayatas te tataḥ utkrāmataḥ* | 9. *Te purusham āviśatas tasya mukham eva āhavanīyaṁ kurvāte jihvāṁ samidham annam eva śukrām āhutiṁ te purushaṁ tarpayataḥ* | *sa yaḥ evaṁ vidvān aśnāty agnihotram eva asya hutam bhavati* | *te tataḥ utkrāmataḥ* | 10. *Te striyam āviśatas tasyāḥ upastham eva āhavanīyaṁ kurvāte dhārakāṁ samidham* (*dhārakā ha vai nāma eshā* | *etayā ha vai Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ dhārayānchakāra*) *retaḥ eva śukrām āhutiṁ te striyaṁ tarpayataḥ* | *sa yaḥ evaṁ vidvān mithunam upaity agnihotram eva asya hutam bhavati yas tataḥ putro jāyate sa lokaḥ pratyutthāyī* | *etad agnihotraṁ Yājnavalkya na ataḥ param asti*" *iti ha uvācha* | *tasmai Yājnavalkyo varaṁ dadau* | *sa ha uvācha* "*kāmapraśnaḥ eva me tvayi Yājnavalkya asad*" *iti* | *tato brahmā Janakaḥ āsa* |

"Janaka of Videha met with some travelling Brāhmans, Svetaketu

Aruṇeya, Somaśushma Sātyayajni, and Yājnavalkya, and said to them, 'How do ye respectively offer the agnihotra oblation?' 2. Śvetaketu replied, 'I, o monarch, in sacrificing, throw the one of the two eternal heats which pervade the world with their splendour into the other.' 'How is that done,' asked the king. (Ś. replied), 'Âditya (the sun) is one heat; in the evening I throw him into Agni (Fire). Agni is the other heat; in the morning I throw him into Âditya.' 'What' (enquired the king) 'does he become who thus sacrifices?' 'He acquires' (replied Ś.) 'perpetual prosperity and renown; conquers for himself an union with these two deities, and dwells in the same region as they.' 3. Then Somaśushma answered, 'I, o monarch, in sacrificing, throw light into light.' 'How is that done,' asked the king. 'The Sun" (answered S.) 'is light; in the evening I throw him into Fire: and Fire is light; in the morning I throw him into the Sun.' 'What' (enquired the king) 'does he become who thus sacrifices?' 'He becomes' (rejoined S.) 'luminous, and renowned, an eater of food, and conquers for himself an union with these two deities, and dwells in the same region as they.' 4. Then Yājnavalkya said, 'When I take up the fire I lift the agnihotra. All the gods follow the Sun when he sets; and when they see me take up the Fire, they come back to me. Then, after washing and putting down the vessels, and having the Agnihotra Cow milked, beholding them as they behold me, I satisfy them (with sacrificial food).' The king answered, 'Thou hast approached very close to a solution of the Agnihotra, o Yājnavalkya; I give thee a hundred milch-cows: but thou hast not discovered the ascent of these two (oblations), nor the course, nor the resting-place, nor the satisfaction, nor the return, nor the world where they reappear(?).' Having so spoken, Janaka mounted his car and drove away. 5. The Brāhmans then said amongst themselves, 'This Rājanya has surpassed us in speaking; come, let us invite him to a theological discussion.' Yājnavalkya, however, interposed, 'We are Brāhmans, and he a Rājanya; if we overcome him, we shall ask ourselves, whom have we overcome? but if he overcome us, men will say to us, a Rājanya has overcome Brāhmans. Do not follow this course.' They assented to his advice. Then Yājnavalkya mounted his car, and drove after the king; and came up to him. Janaka asked, 'is it to learn the agnihotra (that thou hast come), Yājnavalkya?' 'The agnihotra, o

monarch,' said Y. 6. The king rejoined, 'These two oblations, when offered, ascend; they enter the air, they make the air their āhavanīya fire, the wind their fuel, the rays their bright oblation, they satisfy the air, and thence ascend. 7. They enter the sky, they make the sky their āhavanīya fire, the sun their fuel, the moon their bright oblation; they satisfy the sky, they return thence. 8. They enter this earth, they make this earth their āhavanīya fire, Agni their fuel, the plants their bright oblation; they satisfy the earth, they ascend thence. They enter man, they make his mouth their āhavanīya fire, his tongue their fuel, food their bright oblation; they satisfy man. (He who, thus knowing, eats, truly offers the agnihotra). 9. They ascend from him, they enter into woman [the details which follow are better left untranslated], they satisfy her. The man who, thus knowing, approaches his wife, truly offers the agnihotra. The son who is then born is the world of re-appearance. This is the agnihotra, o Yājnavalkya; there is nothing beyond this.' Y. offered the king the choice of a boon. He replied, 'Let me enquire of thee whatever I desire, o Yājnavalkya.' Henceforward Janaka was a Brăhmăn." [219]

By Brăhmăn in the last sentence we have, I presume, to understand a Brāhman. Even if it were taken to dignify a priest of the kind called Brăhmăn, the conclusion would be the same; as at the time when the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa was written, none but Brāhmans could officiate as priests.[220]

Janaka's name occurs frequently in the Mahābhārata. In the Vana-parvan of that poem (8089) he is called a rājarshi. In the S'ānti-parvan, verse 6640, it is said: *Atrāpy udāharantīmam itihāsam purātanam | gītam Videha-rājena Janakena praśāmyatā | "anantam vata me vittam yasya me nāsti kinchana | Mithilāyām pradīptāyām na me dahyati kinchana"* | "They here relate an ancient story,—the words recited by Janaka the tranquil-minded king of Videha:

'Though worldly pelf I own no more,
Of wealth I have a boundless store:
While Mithilā the flames devour,
My goods can all defy their power.'"

[219] The Commentator explains *brahmā* by *brahmishṭhaḥ*, "Most full of divine knowledge."

[220] Prof. Müller remarks in his article on Caste (Chips from a German Workshop, ii. 338): "That king Janaka of Videha possessed superior knowledge is acknowledged by one of the most learned among the Brahmans, by Yājnavalkya himself; and in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, which is believed to have been the work of Yājnavalkya, it is said that king Janaka became a Brahman."

The same sentiment is ascribed to the same royal rishi in verse 7891: *Api cha bhavati Maithilena gītam nagaram upāhitam agninā 'bhivīkshya* | "*na khalu mama hi dahyate 'tra kinchit*" *svayam idam āha sma bhūmipālaḥ* | "And these words were repeated by the king of Mithilā when he beheld the city enveloped in fire, 'nothing of mine is burnt here;' —so said the king himself."

Another "ancient story" of Janaka is related in verses 7882–7983 of the same book. It is there stated that this king was constantly engaged in thinking on matters connected with a future life; and that he had a hundred religious teachers to instruct him on different points of duty (verse 7884). He was, however, visited by the rishi Panchaśikha[221] (verses 7886, 7888), a pupil of Āsuri (verse 7890), who so confounded the king's hundred instructors by his reasoning, that they were abandoned by their pupil, who followed this new teacher (7898. *Upetya śatam āchāryān mohayāmāsa hetubhiḥ* | 7899. *Janakas tv abhisaṁraktaḥ Kāpileyānudarśanāt* | *utsṛijya śatam āchāryyān prishṭhato 'nujagāma tam*). Panchaśikha appears also, at verse 11839, as his instructor. At verse 10699 Janaka is again brought forward as receiving religious information from Parāśara; in verses 11545–11836 as being taught by the rishi Yājnavalkya the principles of the Yoga and Sānkhya philosophies; and in verses 11854–12043 as holding a conversation with a travelling female mendicant (*bhikshukī*), named Sulabhā, who sought to prove him, and to whom he declares himself to be a pupil of Panchaśikha (here said to belong to the family of Parāśara, verse 11875), and an adept in the systems just mentioned; and from whom, in answer to some reproaches he had addressed to her regarding her procedure, he learns that she belongs to the Rājanya class, like himself, of the family of the rājarshi Pradhāna, that she had obtained no suitable husband, and wandered about, following an ascetic life, and seeking final emancipation (verses 12033 ff.).

A further story in illustration of Janaka's indifference to worldly objects is told in the Āśvamedhikaparvan, verses 887 ff.

221 See Prof. Wilson's Sānkhya-kārikā, p. 190; and Dr. Hall's Preface to his edition of the Sānkhya-pravachana-bhāshya, pp. 9 ff.

SECT. XV.—*Other instances in which Brāhmans are said to have been instructed in divine knowledge by Kshattriyas.*

Two other cases in which Brāhmans are recorded to have received instruction from Kshattriyas are thus stated by Professor Müller:[222]

"For a Kshattriya to teach the law was a crime (*sva-dharmātikrama*), and it is only by a most artificial line of argument that the dogmatic philosophers of the Mīmaṁsā school tried to explain this away. The Brāhmans seem to have forgotten that, according to their own Upanishads, Ajātaśatru, the king of Kāśi, possessed more knowledge than Gārgya, the son of Balāka, who was renowned as a reader of the Veda, and that Gārgya desired to become his pupil, though it was not right, as the king himself remarked, that a Kshatriya should initiate a Brāhman. They must have forgotten that Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, king of the Panchālas, silenced Śvetaketu Āruṇeya and his father, and then communicated to them doctrines which Kshatriyas only, but no Brāhmans, had ever known before." I subjoin two separate versions of each of these stories. The first is that of Ajātaśatru:

Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa Upanishad, iv. 1. *Atha ha vai Gārgyo Bālākir anūchānaḥ saṁspashṭaḥ āsa | so 'vasad Uśīnareshu savasan Matsyeshu Kuru-panchāleshu Kāśi-videhesho iti | sa ha Ajātaśatruṁ Kāśyam āvrajya uvācha "brahma te bravāṇi" iti | taṁ ha uvācha Ajātaśatruḥ "sahasraṁ dadmaḥ" iti "etasyāṁ vāchi | 'Janako Janakaḥ' iti vai u janāḥ dhāvanti" iti | . . . .* 19. *Tataḥ u ha Bālākis tūshṇīm āsa | taṁ ha uvācha Ajātaśatrur "etāvad nu Bālāke" iti | "etāvad" iti ha uvācha Bālākiḥ" | tam ha uvācha Ajātaśatrur "mṛishā vai khalu mā saṁvādayishṭhāḥ "brahma te bravāṇi" iti | yo vai Bālāke eteshām purushāṇāṁ karttā yasya vai tat karma sa vai veditavyaḥ" iti | tataḥ u ha Bālākiḥ samit-pāṇiḥ pratichakrame "upāyāni" iti | taṁ ha uvācha Ajātaśatruḥ "pratiloma-rūpam eva tad manye yat kshattriyo brāhmaṇam upanayeta ehi vy eva tvā jnapayishyāmi" iti | taṁ ha pāṇāv abhipadya pravavrāja |*

"Now Gārgya Bālāki was renowned as a man well read in the Veda. He dwelt among the Uśīnaras, Matsyas, Kurus, Panchālas, Kāśis, and Videhas, travelling from place to place. He came to

[222] Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii. p. 338.

Ajātasatru, the Kāśya, and said, 'Let me declare to thee divine knowledge.' Ajātaśatru said, 'We bestow on thee a thousand (cows) for this word.' Men run to us crying, 'Janaka, Janaka.'" The learned man accordingly addresses Ajātaśatru in a series of statements regarding the object of his own worship, but is silenced by the king's display of superior knowledge on every topic.[223] The story ends thus: 19. "Then the son of Balāka remained silent. Ajātaśatru said to him, 'Dost (thou know only) so much, o Bālāki.' 'Only so much,' he answered. The king rejoined, 'Thou hast vainly proposed to me, let me teach thee divine knowledge.' He, son of Balāka, who is the maker of these souls, whose work that is, — he is the object of knowledge.' Then the son of Balāka approached the king with fuel in his hand, and said, 'Let me attend thee (as thy pupil).' The king replied, 'I regard it as an inversion of the proper rule that a Kshattriya should initiate a Brāhman. (But) come, I will instruct thee. Then, having taken him by the hand, he departed."

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 5, 1, 1 (= Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, ii. 1, 1, p. 334 of Cal. edit.). *Dṛiptabālākir ha anūchāno Gārgyaḥ āsa | sa ha uvācha Ajātaśatruṁ Kāśyam "brahma te bravāṇi" iti | sa uvācha Ajātaśatruḥ "sahasram etasyāṁ vāchi dadmaḥ 'Janako Janakaḥ' iti vai 'anāḥ dhāvanti" iti | . . . .* 12. *Sa ha tūshṇīm āsa Gārgyaḥ |* 13. *Sa ha uvācha Ajātaśatrur "etavad nu" iti | "etāvad hi" iti | "na etāvatā viditaṁ bhavati" iti | sa ha uvācha Gārgyaḥ "upa tvā ayāni" iti |* 14. *Sa ha uvācha Ajātaśatruḥ "pratilomaṁ vai tad yad brāhmaṇaḥ kshattriyam upeyād 'brahma me vakshyati' iti | vy eva tvā jnāpayishyāmi" iti | tam pāṇāv ādāya uttasthau |*

"Dṛiptabālāki Gārgyya was well read in the Veda. He said to Ajātaśatru, the Kāśya, 'Let me declare to thee divine knowledge.' Ajātaśatra replied, 'We give thee a thousand (cows) for this word. Men run to me calling out, "Janaka, Janaka."' At the end of their conversation we are told: 12. "Gārgya remained silent. 13. Then Ajātaśatru asked him, '(Dost thou know) so much only?' 'Only so much,' he replied. 'But this,' rejoined Ajātaśatru, 'does not comprehend the whole of knowlege.' Then said Gārgya, 'Let me come to thee (as thy disciple).' Ajātasatru answered, 'This is an inversion of the proper rule, that a Brāhman should attend a Kshattriya with the view

[223] See Prof. Cowell's Translation of the Upanishad, pp. 167 ff.

of being instructed in divine knowledge. (But) I will teach thee.' He took him by the hand, and rose."

The second story is that of Pravāhaṇa Jaivali:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 9, 1, 1 (= Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, vi. 2, 1, p. 1030 of Cal. edit.). *S'vetaketur ha vai Āruṇeyaḥ Panchālānām parishadam ājagāma | sa ājagāma Pravāhaṇam Jaivalim parichārayamāṇam | tam udīkshya abhyuvāda "kumāra" iti | sa "bhoḥ" iti pratiśuśrāva | "anuśishṭo nv asi pitrā" | "om" iti ha uvācha | 2. "Vettha yathā imāḥ prajāh prayatyo vipratipadyante" iti | "na" iti ha uvācha | "vettha yāthā imam lokam punar āpadyante" iti | "na" iti ha eva uvācha | "vettha yathā 'sau lokaḥ evam bahubhiḥ punaḥ punaḥ prayadbhir na sampūryyate" iti | "na" iti ha eva uvācha | 3. "Vettha yatithyām āhutyām hutāyām āpaḥ purusha-vācho bhūtvā samutthāya vadanti" iti | "na" iti ha eva uvācha | "vettha u devayānasya vā pathaḥ pratipadam pitṛiyāṇasya vā yat kṛitvā devayānam vā panthānam pratipadyate pitṛiyāṇam vā | 4. Api hi naḥ ṛisher vachaḥ śrutam* (R.V. x. 88, 15 = Vāj. S. 19, 47) *'dve sṛitī aśṛiṇavam pitṛīṇām aham devānām uta marttyānām | tābhyām idam viśvam ejat sameti yad antarā pitaram mātaram cha'" iti | "na aham ataḥ ekanchana veda" iti ha uvācha | 5. Atha ha enam vasatyā upamantrayānchakre | anādṛitya vasatim kumāraḥ pradadrāva | sa ājagāma pitaram | tam ha uvācha "iti vāva kila no bhavān purā 'nuśishṭān avochaḥ"*[224] *iti | "katham sumedhaḥ" iti | "pancha mā praśnān rājanyabandhur aprākshīt tato na ekanchana veda" iti ha uvācha | "katame te" iti | "ime" iti ha pratīkāny udājahāra | 6. Sa ha uvācha | "tathā nas tvam tāta jānīthāḥ yathā yad aham kincha veda sarvam aham tat tubhyam avocham | prehi tu tattra pratītya brahmacharyyam vatsyāva" iti | bhavān eva gachhatv" iti | 7. Sa ājagāma Gautamo yatra Pravāhaṇasya Jaivaler āsa | tasmai āsanam āhāryya*[225] *udakam āhārayānchakāra | atha ha asmai argham*[226] *chākara | 8. Sa ha uvācha "varam bhavate Gautamāya dadmaḥ" iti | sa ha uvācha "pratijnāto me esha varaḥ | yām tu kumārasya ante vācham abhāshathās tām me brūhi" iti | 9. Sa ha uvācha "daiveshu vai Gautama tad vareshu | mānushāṇām brūhi" iti | 10. Sa ha uvācha "vijnāyate ha asti hiraṇyasya apāttam go-aśvānām dāsīnām pravarāṇām paridhānānām | mā no bhavān bahor anantasya*

[224] The text of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Up. reads *avochat.*

[225] The Bṛih. Ār. reads *āhṛitya.*

[226] The Bṛih. Ār. reads *arghyam.*

aparyantasya abhy avadānyo bhūd" *iti* | "*sa vai Gautama tīrthena ichhāsai*" *iti* | "*upaimy aham bhavantam*" *iti* "*vāchā ha sma eva pūrve upayanti*" | 11. *Sa ha upāyana-kīrttā*[227] *uvācha* | "*tathā nas tvaṁ Gautama mā 'parādhās tava cha pitāmahāḥ yathā* | *iyaṁ vidyā itaḥ pūrvaṁ na kasmiṁśchana brāhmaṇe uvāsa* | *tāṁ tv ahaṁ tubhyaṁ vakshyāmi* | *ko hi tvā evam bruvantam arhati pratyākhyātum*" *iti* |

"Śvetaketu Āruṇeya came to the assembly of the Panchālas. He came to Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, who was receiving service from his attendants. Seeing Śvetaketu, the king said, 'o youth.' 'Sire,' he answered. (King) 'Hast thou been instructed by thy father?' (Śvetaketu) 'I have.' 2. (K.) 'Dost thou know how these creatures, when departing, proceed in different directions?' (S.) 'No.' (K.) 'Dost thou know how they return to this world?' (S.) 'No.' (K.) 'Dost thou know how it is that the other world is not filled with those numerous beings who are thus constantly departing?' (S.) 'No.' 3. (K.) 'Dost thou know after the offering of what oblation the waters, acquiring human voices, rise and speak?' (S.) 'No.' (K.) 'Dost thou know the means of attaining the path which leads to the gods, or that which leads to the Pitṛis; by what act the one or the other is gained? 4. And we have heard the words of the rishi: (R.V. x. 88, 15 = Vaj. S. 19, 47) "I have heard of two paths for mortals, one to the pitṛis, another to the gods. By these proceeds every moving thing that exists between the father and the mother (*i.e.* between Dyaus and Pṛithivī, heaven and earth)."' 'I know none of all these things,' answered Śvetaketu. 5. The king then invited him to stay. The youth, however, did not accept this invitation, but hastened away, and came to his father, to whom he said, 'Thou didst formerly declare me to be instructed.' 'How now (my) intelligent (son)?' asked his father. 'The Rājanya,' replied the son, 'asked me five questions, of which I know not even one.' 'What were the questions?' 'They were these,' and he told him the initial words of each of them. 6. The father then said, 'Be assured, my son, that I told thee all that I myself know. But come, let us proceed thither, and become (his) pupils. 'Do thou thyself go,' rejoined the son. 7. Gautama accordingly arrived (at the abode) of Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, who caused a seat to be brought, and water and the madhuparka mess to be

[227] The text of the Bṛih. Ār. Up. reads *kīrttyā uvāsa*.

presented: 8. and said, 'We offer thee a boon, Gautama.' Gautama replied, 'Thou hast promised me this boon: explain to me the questions which thou hast proposed to the youth.' 9. The king replied, 'That is one of the divine boons; ask one of those that are human.' 10. Gautama rejoined, 'Thou knowest that I have received gold, cows, horses, female slaves, attendants, raiment; be not illiberal towards us in respect to that which is immense, infinite, boundless.' 'This, o Gautama,' said the king, 'thou rightly desirest.' 'I approach thee (as thy) disciple,' answered Gautama. The men of old used to approach (their teachers) with words (merely). He (accordingly) attended him by merely intimating his intention to do so.[220] 'Do not,' then said the king, 'attach any blame to me, as your ancestors (did not). This knowledge has never heretofore dwelt in any Brāhman; but I shall declare it to thee. For who should refuse thee when thou so speakest?'"

Chhāndogya Upanishad, v. 3, 1. *S'vetaketur ha Āruṉeyaḥ Panchālānām samitim eyāya | tam ha Pravāhaṉo Jaivalir uvācha "kumāra anu tvā 'śishat pitā" iti | "anu hi bhagavaḥ" iti | 2. "Vettha yad ito 'dhi prajāḥ prayanti" iti | "na bhagavaḥ" iti | "vettha yathā punar āvarttante" iti | "na bhagavaḥ" iti | "vettha pathor deva-yānasya pitṛi-yāṉasya cha vyāvarttane" iti | "na bhagavaḥ" iti | 3. "Vettha yathā 'sau loko na sampūryyate" | "na bhagavaḥ" iti | "vettha yathā panchamyām āhutāv āpaḥ purusha-vachaso bhavanti" iti | "naiva bhagavaḥ" iti | 4. "Atha nu kim anuśishṭo 'vochathāḥ | yo hi imāni na vidyāt katham so 'nuśishṭo bravīta" iti | sa ha āyastaḥ pitur arddham eyāya | tam ha uvācha "ananuśishya vāva kila mā bhagavān abravīd 'anu tvā 'śisham'" iti | 5. "Pancha mā rājanyabandhuḥ praśnān aprākshīt teshām na ekanchana aśakam vivaktum" iti | sa ha uvācha "yathā mā tvam tadā etān avado yathā 'ham eshām na ekanchana veda yady aham imān avedishyam katham te na avakshyam" iti | 6. Sa ha Gautamo rājno 'rddham eyāya | tasmai ha prāptāya arhām chakāra | sa ha prātaḥ sabhāgaḥ udeyāya | tam ha uvācha "mānushasya bhagavan Gautama vittasya varam vṛinīthāḥ" iti | sa ha uvācha "tava eva rājan mānusham vittam | yām eva kumārasya ante vācham abhāshathās tām eva me brūhi" iti | 7. Sa ha kṛichhrī babhūva | tam ha "chiram vasa" ity ājnāpayān-*

[220] Or, "by merely intimating, not performing, the respectful mode of approach by touching his feet," according to the Commentator.

chakāra | taṁ ha uvācha "yathā mā tvaṁ Gautama avado yathā iyaṁ na prāk tvattaḥ purā brāhmaṇān gachhati tasmād u sarveshu lokeshu kshattrasya eva praśāsanam abhūd" iti | tasmai ha uvācha |

"1. S'vetaketu Āruṇeya came to the assembly of the Panchālas. Pravāhaṇa Jaivali asked him, 'Young man, has thy father instructed thee?' 'He has, sire,' replied S'vetaketu. 2. 'Dost thou know,' asked the king, 'whither living creatures proceed when they go hence?' (S'.) 'No, sire.' (King) 'Dost thou know how they return?' (S'.) 'No, sire.' (K.) 'Dost thou know the divergences of the two paths whereof one leads to the gods, and the other to the pitṛis?' (S'.) 'No, sire.' 3. (K.) 'Dost thou know how it is that the other world is not filled?' (S'.) 'No, sire.' (K.) 'Dost thou know how at the fifth oblation the waters acquire human voices?' (S'.) 'I do not, sire.' 4. (K.) 'And hast thou then said "I have been instructed?" for how can he who does not know these things allege that he has been so?' The young man, mortified, went to his father, and said, 'Thou didst tell me, I have instructed thee, when thou hadst not done so. 5. That Rājanya proposed to me five questions, of which I could not solve even one.' The father replied, 'As thou didst then say to me regarding these five questions, I know not one of them,—(so I ask thee whether) if I had known them, I would not have told them to thee?' 6. Gautama went to the king, who received him with honour. In the morning, having received his share (of attention), he presented himself before the king, who said to him, 'Ask, o reverend Gautama, a present of human riches.' He replied, 'To thee, o king, belongs wealth of that description. Declare to me the questions which thou proposedst to the youth.' 7. The king was perplexed and desired him to make a long stay: and said to him, 'As thou hast declared to me, o Gautama, that this knowledge has not formerly reached the Brāhmans (who lived) before thee, it has therefore been among all peoples a discipline inculcated by the Kshattriya class alone.' He then declared it to him.

SECT. XVI.—*Story of King Viśvantara and the S'yāparṇa Brāhmans.*

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vii. 27. *Viśvantaro ha Saushadmanaḥ S'yāparṇān parichakshāṇo viśyāparṇaṁ yajnam ājahre | tad ha anubudhya S'yāparṇās taṁ yajnam ājagmuḥ | te ha tad-antarvedy āsānchakrire | tān ha dṛishṭvā*

uvācha "pāpasya vai ime karmaṇaḥ karttāraḥ āsate apūtāyai vāvho vaditāro yach chhyāparṇāḥ imān utthāpayata ime me 'ntarvedim āsishata" iti | *"tathā" iti tān utthāpayānchakruḥ* | *te ha utthāpyamānāḥ ruruvire "ye tebhyo Bhūtavīrebhyaḥ Asitamṛigāḥ Kaśyapānām somapītham abhijigyuḥ Pārikshitasya Janamejayasya vikaśyape yajne tais te tattra vīravantaḥ āsuḥ* | *kaḥ svit so 'smāka asti vīro yaḥ imam somapītham abhijeshyati"* iti | *"ayam aham asmi vo vīraḥ" iti ha uvācha Rāmo Mārgaveyaḥ* | *Rāmo ha āsa Mārgaveyo 'nūchānaḥ S'yāparṇīyaḥ* | *teshām ha uttishṭhatām uvācha "api nu rājann itthamvidam veder utthāpayanti" iti* | *"yas tvam katham vettha brahmabandho" iti* | 28. *"Yattra Indram devatāḥ paryavṛinjan Viśvarūpam Tvāshṭram abhyamamsta Vṛittram astṛita yatīn sālāvṛikebhyaḥ prādād Arurmaghān avadhīd Bṛihaspateḥ pratyavadhīd" iti* | *"tattra Indrah somapīthena vyārdhyata* | *Indrasya anu vyṛiddhim kshattram somapīthena vyārdhyata* | *api Indraḥ somapīthe 'bhavat Tvashṭur āmushya somam* | *tad vyṛiddham eva adyāpi kshattram somapīthena* | *sa yas tam bhaksham vidyād yaḥ kshattrasya somapīthena vyṛiddhasya yena kshattram samṛidhyate katham tam veder utthāpayanti" iti* | *"vettha brāhmaṇa tvam tam bhaksham"* | *"veda hi" iti* | *"tam vai no brāhmaṇa brūhi" iti* | *"tasmai vai te rājann" iti ha uvācha* | 29. *Trayāṇām bhakshāṇām ekam āharishyanti somam vā dadhi vā apo vā* | *sa yadi somam brāhmaṇānām sa bhakshaḥ* | *brāhmaṇāms tena bhakshena jinvishyasi* | *brāhmaṇa-kalpas te prajāyām ājanishyate ādāyī āpāyī āvasāyī yathā-kāma-prayāpyaḥ* | *yadā vai kshattriyāya pāpam bhavati brāhmaṇa-kalpo 'sya prājāyām ājāyate īśvaro ha asmād dvitīyo vā tṛitīyo vā brāhmaṇatām abhyupaitoḥ sa brahmabandhavena jijyūshataḥ* | *atha yadi dadhi vaiśyānām sa bhakshaḥ* | *vaiśyāms tena bhakshena jinvishyasi* | *vaiśya-kalpas te prajāyām ājanishyate 'nyasya bali-kṛid anyasya ādyo yathā-kāma-jyeyaḥ* | *yadā vai kshattriyāya pāpam bhavati vaiśya-kalpo 'sya prajāyām ājāyate īśvaro ha asmād dvitīyo vā tṛitīyo vā vaiśyatām abhyupaitoḥ sa vaiśyatayā jijyūshitaḥ* | *atha yady apaḥ śūdrāṇām sa bhakshaḥ* | *śūdrāms tena bhakshena jinvishyasi* | *śūdra-kalpas te prajāyām ājanishyate 'nyasya preshyaḥ kāmotthāpyo yathākāma-vadhyaḥ* | *yadā vai kshattriyāya pāpam bhavati śūdra-kalpo 'sya prajāyām ājāyate* | *īśvaro ha asmād dvitīyo vā tṛitīyo vā śūdratām abhyupaitoḥ* | *sa śūdratayā jijyūshitaḥ* | 30. *Ete vai te trayo bhakshāḥ rājann" iti ha uvācha "yeshām āśām na iyāt kshattriyo yajamānaḥ atha asya esha svo 'bhakshaḥ" ityādi* |

"Viśvantara, the son of Sushadman, setting aside the Syāparṇas, was performing a sacrifice without their aid. Hearing of this the Syāparṇas came to the ceremony, and sat down within the sacrificial enclosure. Observing them, the king said, 'Remove these Syāparṇas, doers of evil deeds, and speakers of impure language,[229] who have sat down within my sacrificial enclosure.' Saying, 'So be it,' they removed them. When they were being removed, they exclaimed, 'The Kaśyapas found champions in the Asitamṛigas who conquered for them from the Bhūtavīras the soma-draught at the sacrifice which Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, was performing without their (the Kaśyapas') aid. Who is the champion who will conquer for us this soma-draught?' 'I am your champion,' cried Rāma Mārgaveya. This Rāma was a learned man, belonging to the Syāparṇa race. When the Syāparṇas were moving away, he said, 'Do they, o king, remove from the sacrificial enclosure a man who possesses such knowledge [as I]?' 'How dost thou possess it, Brāhman?' asked the king. 28. (Rāma answered) "When the deities rejected Indra, who had killed Tvāshṭra,[230] prostrated Vṛittra, given over the Yatis to the wolves, slain the Arurmaghas, and contradicted Bṛihaspati, then he (Indra) forfeited the soma-draught. In consequence of his forfeiture, the Kshăttra (Kshattriya) class lost it

[229] Prof. Weber (Ind. St. i., 215) thinks the words "doers of evil deeds" appear to refer to some variety of ceremonial peculiar to the S'yāparṇas, and the words "speakers of impure language" to a difference in their dialect; and he is inclined to derive the patronymic of Rāma, Mārgavēya, from the impure caste of Mārgavas mentioned in Manu, x. 34; by which supposition, he thinks, a ground would be discovered for the reproaches which Viśvantara addresses to the S'yāparṇa family. In reference to the story of Janamejaya, alluded to in this passage, Weber remarks (Ind. Stud. i. 204): "The same work (the Aitareya Brahmana, vii., 27) makes mention of a dispute which this king had with the sacerdotal family of the Bhūtavīras, a branch of the Kaśyapas; and which was adjusted by the intervention of the Asitamṛigas, who belonged to the same race." A S'yāparṇa is alluded to in S' P. Br. x., 4, 1, 10 (quoted by Prof. Weber, Ind. St. i., 215): *Etad ha sma vai tad vidvān S'yāparṇaḥ Sāyakāyanaḥ āha "yad vai me idam karma samāpsyata mama eva prajā Salvānām rājāno 'bhavishyan mama brāhmaṇāḥ mama vaiśyāḥ | yat tu me etāvat karmaṇaḥ samāpi tena me ubhayathā Salvān prajā 'tirekshyate" iti* | "Knowing this Sāyakāyana, the S'yāparṇa, said, 'If this my rite had been completed, my offspring would have become the kings of the Salvas, mine their Brāhmans, mine their Vaiśyas. But as (only) so much of the rite has been completed, my offspring shall, in both respects, excel the Salvas.'" See also Ind. St. x. 18.

[230] See Dr. Haug's note, p. 487, where he states why he cannot follow Sāyaṇa in rendering *abhyamaṁsta* by "killed." Prof. Weber (Ind. St. ix. 326) defends Sāyaṇa's interpretation.

also. (But Indra recovered a share in the soma-draught, having stolen Tvashṭṛi's soma.) Hence at present also the Kshattriyas are excluded from the soma-draught. Why do they remove from the sacrificial enclosure a man who knows that (other) draught which (properly belongs) to the Kshattriyas who are excluded from the soma-draught, and by which they are rendered prosperous?' 'Dost thou, o Brāhman, know that draught?' asked the king. 'I know it,' answered Rāma. 'Declare it then to us,' rejoined the prince. 'I declare it to thee, o king, said the other. 29. 'Of the three draughts they shall bring one, either soma, or curds, or water. If he (the priest, bring) the soma, that is the draught of the Brāhmans, and with it thou shalt satisfy the Brāhmans. One like a Brāhman shall be born in thy line, a receiver of gifts, a drinker (of soma), a seeker of food,[231] a rover at will.' Whenever the offence (of drinking the Brāhman's draught)[232] is chargeable to a Kshattriya, one like a Brāhman is born in his line, who in the second or third generation from him has the power of becoming a Brāhman, and likes to live as a Brāhman. Next, if (the priest bring) curds, that is the Vaiśya's draught; with it thou shalt satisfy the Vaiśyas. One like a Vaiśya shall be born in thy line, one who is tributary to another, who is to be used (*lit.* eaten) by another, and who may be oppressed at will. Whenever the offence (of consuming the Vaiśya's portion) is chargeable to a Kshattriya, one like a Vaiśya is born in his line, who in the second or third generation from him has the power of becoming a Vaiśya, and is desirous of living as a Vaiśya. Next, if (the priest bring) water, that is the Śūdra's draught; with it thou shalt satify the Śūdras. One like a Śūdra shall be born in thy line, the servant of another, who may be expelled and slain at pleasure. When the offence (of drinking the Śūdra's draught) is chargeable against a Kshattriya, one like a Śūdra is born in his line, who in the second or third generation from him has the power of becoming a Śūdra, and desires to live like a Śūdra. 30. 'These, o king, are the three draughts, which the Kshattriya when sacrificing should not desire. His own proper draught is as follows: Let him squeeze the descending branches

[231] Prof. Weber (Ind. Stud. ix. 326) would prefer to translate *āvasayī* (überall-) wohnend, "dwelling everywhere."

[232] Dr. Haug translates "when there is any fault on the Kshattriya (who, when sacrificing, eats the Brāhmana portion)," etc. See the beginning of par. 30 below.

of the nyagrodha (Indian fig) tree, with the fruits of the udumbara, the aśvattha, and the plaksha trees, and drink these juices. This is his own proper draught.

The continuation may be read in Dr. Haug's translation, pp. 486 ff. After the priest has given the king a deal of further information the result is told in par. 34, as follows:

Tam evam etam bhaksham provācha Rāmo Mārgaveyo Viśvantarāya Saushadmanāya | tasmin ha uvācha prokte "sahasram u ha brāhmaṇa tubhyaṁ dadmaḥ | saśyāparṇaḥ u me yajnaḥ" iti |

"This draught did Rāma Mārgaveya declare to Viśvantara the son of Sushadman. When it had been declared the king said, 'Brāhman, we give thee a thousand (cows): and my sacrifice (shall be performed) with (the aid of the) S'yāparṇas.'"

Sect. XVII.—*Story of Matanga who tried in vain to raise himself to the position of a Brāhman.*

The legend of Matanga, which is narrated in the Anuśāsana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 1872 ff., is introduced by a question which Yudhishṭhira addresses to Bhīshma, verse 1867: *Kshattriyo yadi vā vaiśyaḥ śūdro vā rājasattama | brāhmaṇyam prāpnuyād yena tad me vyākhyātum arhasi | tapasā vā sumahatā karmaṇā vā śrutena vā | brāhmaṇyaṁ atha ched ichhet tad me brūhi samāsataḥ | Bhīshmaḥ uvācha* | 1870. *Brāhmaṇyaṁ tāta dushprāpyaṁ varṇaiḥ kshattrādibhis tribhiḥ | paraṁ hi sarva-bhūtānāṁ sthānam etad Yudhishṭhira | bahvīs tu saṁsaran yonīr jāyamānaḥ punaḥ punaḥ | paryāye tāta kasmiṁśchid brāhmaṇo nāma jāyate* | "Explain to me the means—whether it be intense austere-fervour, or ceremonies, or Vedic learning—whereby a Kshattriya, a Vaiśya, or a S'ūdra, if he desire it, can attain to the state of a Brāhman. Bhīshma replies (1870), The state of a Brāhman is hard to be acquired by men of the other three classes, the Kshattriyas, etc.; for this Brāhmanhood is the highest rank among all living creatures. It is only after passing through numerous wombs, and being born again and again, that such a man, in some revolution of being, becomes a Brāhman." Bhīshma proceeds to illustrate this principle by the case of Matanga, who was apparently the son of a Brāhman, was distinguished for his good qualities, and was esteemed to be himself of the same class as his

father (verse 1873: *dvijāteḥ kasyachit tāta tulya-varṇah sutas tv abhūt | Matango nāma nāmnā vai sarvaiḥ samudito guṇaiḥ* |) He was, however, discovered to be of spurious birth in the following manner: He happened to be sent somewhere by his father to perform sacrifice, and was travelling in a car drawn by asses. On his way he repeatedly pierced on its nose with the goad the colt which was conveying him along with its mother. Feeling for the wound thus inflicted on her offspring, the she-ass said: "Be not distressed, my son, it is a Chaṇḍāla who is on the car. There is nothing dreadful in a Brāhman; he is declared to be kindly, a teacher who instructs all creatures: how then can he smite any one? This man of wicked disposition shows no pity to a tender colt, and thereby indicates his origin; for it is birth which determines the character" (verse 1876. *Uvācha mā śuchaḥ puttra chaṇḍālas tv adhitishṭhati* ; *brāhmaṇe dāruṇaṁ nāsti maitro brāhmaṇa uchyate* | *āchāryaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ śāstā kim praharishyati* | *ayaṁ tu pāpa-prakṛitir bāle na kurute dayām* | *sva-yonim mānayaty esha bhāvo bhāvaṁ niyachhati* |). Overhearing this colloquy, Matanga instantly got down from the car and besought the she-ass, whom he honoured with the epithet of "most intelligent," to tell him how she knew him to be a Chaṇḍāla and how his mother had been corrupted. The she-ass informs him that his mother when intoxicated had received the embraces of a low-born barber, and that he was the offspring of this connection and consequently no Brāhman (verse 1882. *Brāhmaṇyāṁ vṛishalena tvam mattāyāṁ nāpitena ha* | *jātas tvam asi chaṇḍālo brāhmaṇyaṁ tena te 'naśat* |). On receiving this unwelcome revelation, Matanga returned home, and being questioned by his reputed father about the cause of his speedy reappearance, he told him what he had heard; and expressed his determination to enter on a course of austerities. He does so accordingly with such effect that he alarms the gods, and receives the offer of a boon from Indra. He asks for Brāhmanhood; but Indra tells him that he must perish if he continues to make that request, as the high position he seeks cannot be obtained by one born as a Chaṇḍāla (verse 1895). Matanga, however, continues his exercises for a hundred years, when Indra repeats his former determination, and supports it by reasons, explaining (1901 ff.) that a Chaṇḍāla can only become a Śūdra in a thousand births, a Śūdra a Vaiśya after a period thirty times as long, a Vaiśya a Rājanya after a period sixty times the length, a Rā-

janya a Brāhman after a period of sixty times the duration, and so on, a Brāhman only becoming a Kāṇḍapṛishṭha, a Kāṇḍapṛishṭha a Japa, a Japa a Srotriya, after immense intervals. Indra therefore advises Matanga to choose some other boon. But the devotee is still dissatisfied with the god's decision, and renews his austerities for a thousand years. At the end of that period he receives still the same answer, and the same advice. But though distressed he did not yet despair; but proceeded to balance himself on his great toe; which, although reduced to skin and bone, he succeeded in doing for a hundred years without falling. At length, when he was on the point of tumbling, Indra ran up and supported him; but continued inexorably to refuse his request; and though further importuned, would only consent to give him the power of moving about like a bird, and changing his shape at will, and of being honoured and renowned (verses 1934 ff.).

The assertion here made of the impossibility of a Kshattriya becoming a Brāhman until he has passed through a long series of births is of course in flagrant contradiction with the stories of Viśvāmitra, Vītahavya, and others.

Matanga (or a Matanga) is mentioned in a passage already quoted in p. 411 as a rājarshi who supported Viśvāmitra's family and for whom that sage sacrificed. He is also named in the Sabhā-parvan, verse 340, as sitting in Yama's assembly along with Agastya, Kāla, and Mṛityu, etc., etc.; in the Vana-parvan, 8079, as a great rishi (*maharshi*); and in the Sānti-parvan, 10875, as one of certain sages who had acquired their position by austerities (see above, p. 132). His disciples, he himself, and his forest are mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, iii. 73, 23, 29, 30.

SECT. XVIII.—*Legend of the Brāhman Paraśurāma, the exterminator of the Kshattriyas.*

As Paraśurāma belonged to the race of the Bhṛigus, it may be advisable to premise some particulars regarding that family.

In his Lexicon, *s.v.*, Professor Roth tells us that the Bhṛigus were a class of mythical beings, who, according to the Nirukta, xi. 19, belonged to the middle or aërial class of gods ("*mādhyamiko deva-gaṇaḥ*" *iti Nairuktāḥ*). They were the discoverers of fire and brought it to men

(R.V. x. 46, 2, etc.)[233] He adds, however, that this race has also a connection with history, as one of the chief Brahmanical families bears this name, and allusions are made to this fact even in the hymns of the Rig-veda (vii. 18, 6; viii. 3, 9, 16; viii. 6, 18; viii. 91, 4). Bhṛigu is also, as Prof. Roth observes, the name of a rishi representing a family, who is mentioned in Atharva-veda, v. 19, 1, as suffering injury at the hands of the Sṛinjayas (see above, p. 286). As regards his birth, it is said in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 34, that first the Sun, and then Bhṛigu arose out of the seed which had issued from Prajāpati,[234] that Bhṛigu was adopted by Varuṇa, and was consequently called Vāruṇi, etc. (*Tasya yad retasaḥ prathamam udadīpyata tad asāv āditya 'bhavat | yad dvitīyam āsīt tad Bhṛigur abhavat | taṁ Varuṇo nyagṛihṇīta | tasmāt sa Bhṛigur Vāruṇiḥ*). He is accordingly called by this name in the S. P. Br. xi. 6, 1, 1, where he is said to have conceived himself to be superior in knowledge to his father Varuṇa (*Bhṛigur ha vai Vāruṇir Varuṇam pitaram vidyayā 'timene*); and also in the Taittirīya Upanishad (Bibl. Ind. p. 123: *Bhṛigur vai Vāruṇir Varuṇaṁ pitaram upasasāra*).[235] The preceding story of Bhṛigu's birth is developed and modified in the Anuśāsana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, verse 4104 ff.: *Vaśishṭhaḥ uvācha | api chedam purā Rāma śrutam me Brahma-darśanam | Pitāmahasya yad vṛittam Brahmaṇaḥ paramātmanaḥ | devasya mahatas tāta Vāruṇīm bibhratas tanum | aiśvaryye vāruṇe Rāma Rudrasyeśasya vai prabhoḥ* | "Vaśishṭha said, 4104: I have also heard, o Rāma (*i.e.* Paraśurāma), of this vision of Brahmā, of that which occurred regarding Pitāmaha, Brahma, the supreme spirit, the great god (*i.e.* Mahādeva), Rudra, Īśa, the lord, assuming the body of Varuṇa, and invested with the dominion of Varuṇa." After this singular description of Mahādeva as identified with Brahmā, Brahma the supreme spirit, and Varuṇa, the speaker goes on to tell us that the munis, the gods headed by Agni, the embodied portions of the sacrifice, and the Vedas, etc., assembled on the occasion referred to, and then proceeds, verse 4112: *Esha Brahmā Śivo Rudro Varuṇo 'gniḥ Prajāpatiḥ | kīrtīyate bhagavān devaḥ sarva-bhūta-patiḥ śivaḥ | tasya yajnaḥ*

233 See my article on "Manu, the progenitor of the Āryyan Indians" in Journ. R. A. S. for 1863, p. 415 f.; and above, pp. 168 and 170.

234 The commencement of the story, of which this is part of the sequel, is given above, p. 107 f.

235 See Ind. Stud. ii. 231, and Journ. of the German Or. Soc. ix. 240.

Paśupates tapaḥ kratava eva cha | dīkshā dīpta-vratā devī diśaś cha sadigīśvarāḥ | deva-patnyaś cha kanyāś cha devānām chaiva mātaraḥ | ājagmuḥ sahitās tattra tadā Bhṛigu-kulodvaha | 4115. *Yajnam Paśupateḥ prītāḥ Varuṇasya mahātmanaḥ | Svayambhuvas tu tāḥ dṛishṭvā retaḥ samapatad bhuvi | tasya śukrasya visyandāt pāṁśūn sangṛihya bhūmitaḥ | prāsyat Pūshā karābhyām vai tasminn eva hutāśane | tatas tasmin sampravṛitte sattre jvalita-pāvake | Brahmaṇo juhvatas tattra prādurbhāvo babhūva ha | skanna-mātraṁ cha tach chhukram śruveṇa parigṛihya saḥ | ājya-vad mantrataś chāpi so 'juhod Bhṛigu-nandana | tatas tu janayāmāsa bhūta-grāmaṁ cha vīryyavān* | . . . . 4121. *S'ukre hute 'gnau tasmiṁs tu prādurāsaṁs trayaḥ prabho | purushāḥ vapushā yuktāḥ svaiḥ svaiḥ prasava-jair-guṇaiḥ* | "*bhṛig*" *ity eva Bhṛiguḥ pūrvam angārebhyo 'ngirā 'bhavat | angāra-saṁśrayāch chaivo Kavir ity aparo 'bhavat | saha jvālābhir utpanno Bhṛigus tasmād Bhṛiguḥ smṛitaḥ* | . . . . 4140. "*Varuṇaś cheśvaro devo labhatāṁ kāmam īpsitam*" | *nisargād Brahmaṇaś chāpi Varuṇo yādasāmpatiḥ | jagrāha vai Bhṛigum pūrvam apatyaṁ sūrya-varchasam | Īśvaro 'ngirasaṁ chāgner apatyārtham akalpayat | Pitāmahas tv apatyaṁ vai Kaviṁ jagrāha tattva-vit | tadā sa Vāruṇaḥ khyāto Bhṛiguḥ prasava-karma-kṛit | Āgneyas tv Angirāḥ śrīmān Kavir Brāhmo mahāyaśāḥ | Bhārgavāngirasau loke loka-santāna-lakshaṇau | ete hi prasavāḥ sarve prajānām patayas trayaḥ | sarvam santānam eteshām idam ity upadhāraya | Bhṛigos tu puttrāḥ saptāsan sarve tulyāḥ Bhṛigor guṇaiḥ | Chyavano Vajraśīrshaś cha S'uchir Aurvas tathaiva cha | S'ukro Vareṇyaś cha Vibhuḥ Savanaś cheti sapta te | Bhārgavāḥ Vāruṇāḥ sarve yeshāṁ vaṁśo bhavān api* |

"4112. This adorable and gracious god, lord of all creatures, is known as Brahmā, S'iva, Rudra, Varuṇa, Agni, Prajāpati. This Paśupati (had) a sacrifice.[336] Austere-fervour, Oblations, Consecration, (Dīkshā) that goddess with brilliant rites, the Points of the compass, their regents, the wives, daughters and mothers of the gods came all together with joy (4115) to this sacrifice of Paśupati the great Varuṇa. When Svayambhū (Brahmā) saw these goddesses his seed fell to the ground. Pūshan in consequence collected the particles of dust which were thus moistened, and threw them into the fire. When the sacrifice with its blazing fires had begun, there was seen an apparition of Brahmā offering an oblation. Collecting with the sacrificial ladle that which had fallen,

[336] Such seems to be the construction of this line.

he cast it, like butter, with sacred texts, into the fire. And thence the powerful god generated all beings. . . . . 4121. When the seed had been cast into the fire, there arose three men endowed with bodies, and with their own respective qualities derived from their generation. Bhṛigu sprang first from *bhṛik* (the blazing of the fire), Angiras from the cinders, and Kavi[237] from a heap of cinders. Bhṛigu was so named because he was produced together with flames." The god, called Mahādeva, Varuṇa, and Pavana, claimed these three men as his own, and the fruit of his sacrifice (verse 4133 f.). Agni and Brahmā also claimed them (4135 f.). The other gods, however, entreated Brahmā to accede to the wishes of Agni and Varuṇa: "4140. 'And let Varuṇa, the lord, the god, also receive the object of his desire.' By the gift of Brahmā, Varuṇa, lord of sea-monsters, first received for his offspring Bhṛigu brilliant as the sun. And Īśvara (Mahādeva) appointed Angiras to be Agni's son. And Pitāmaha, who knows the reality of things took Kavi as his offspring, Then Bhṛigu, the progenitor of creatures, was named the son of Varuṇa, Angiras the son of Agni, and the glorious Kavi the son of Brahmā. The Bhārgava and the Āngirasa are distinguished in the world as the propagators of mankind. For all these three lords of creatures were propagators. Know the whole of this world to be their offspring. Bhṛigu had seven sons, all equal to their father in good qualities, Chyavana, Vajraśīrsha, S'uchi, Aurva, S'ukra, Vareṇya, Vibhu, and Savana. These were all Bhārgavas, and Vāruṇas, to whose race you (Paraśurāma) yourself also belong."

In another passage of the M. Bh. Ādip. 869, it is similarly said: *Bhṛigur maharshir bhagavān Brahmaṇā vai Svayambhuvā | Varuṇasya kratau jātaḥ pāvakād iti naḥ śrutam* | "We have heard that the great and venerable rishi Bhṛigu was produced by Brahmā from fire at the sacrifice of Varuṇa."

The Nirukta, iii. 17, has the following etymology of Bhṛigu: *Archishi Bhṛiguḥ sambabhūva* | *Bhṛigur bhṛijyamāno na dehe* | "Bhṛigu was produced in the flame; though roasted, he was not consumed."

The Taitt. Br. i. 8, 2, 5, has a different account: *Indrasya sushuvāṇasya tredhā indryam vīryyam parāpatat* | *Bhṛigus tritīyam abhavat* |

[237] In the M. Bh. Ādip. v. 2606, Kavi is said to be Bhrigu's son (*Bhṛigoḥ puttraḥ Kavir vidvān S'ukraḥ*). On the other hand he, or another person of the same name, is said in the Anuśasana-p. 4150, to be, along with Kavi, a son of Kavi.

"While Indra was continuing to pour out Soma, his manly vigour fell in three portions. The third became Bhṛigu."

Bhṛigu is declared in the Vishṇu P. (see above, p. 65) to have been one of the nine Brahmās, mental sons of Brahmā. The Bhāg. P. iii. 12, 23, says he sprang from the skin of the creator (*Bhṛigus tvachi*). The M. Bh. Ādip. 2605, on the contrary declares: *Brahmaṇo hṛidayam bhittvā nissṛito bhagavān Bhṛiguḥ* | "The venerable Bhṛigu, having split Brahmā's heart, issued forth" (Weber, Ind. St. ii. 231). So, too, the Vāyu P. i. 9, 100: *Bhṛigus tu hṛidayāj jajne ṛishiḥ Salilajanmanaḥ* | "Bhṛigu was produced from the heart of the Water-born (Brahmā);" and adds, verse 103: *Ity ete mānasāḥ puttrāḥ vijneyāḥ Brahmaṇaḥ sutāḥ* | *Bhṛigv-ādayas tu ye sṛishṭāḥ navaite brahma-vādinaḥ* | 104. *Gṛihamedhinaḥ purāṇas dharmas taiḥ prāk pravarttitaḥ* | "These were the mind-born sons of Brahmā. Bhṛigu, and the others, nine in all, who were created, were declarers of sacred knowledge and ancient householders; by them was duty of old established." Manu mentions Bhṛigu (i. 35, see above, p. 36) as one of his own ten sons. He also speaks of him (i. 59, 60, above, p. 38) as commissioned by himself (Manu) to promulgate his code. In Manu, v. 1. however, the sage is said to have sprung from fire (*idam ūchur mahātmānam anala-prabhavam Bhṛigum*). As, however, he had been previously declared to be one of Manu's ten sons, and is so called also in the third verse of book v. and the second of book vii., where he is styled *Mānavo Bhṛiguḥ*, Kullūka thinks it necessary to explain this other alleged descent from fire by saying that that had been the sage's origin in a previous mundane era (*Kalpa*): *Yadyapi prathamādhyāye daśa-prajāpati-madhye "Bhṛiguṁ Nāradam eva cha" iti Bhṛigu-sṛishṭir api Manutaḥ eva uktā tathāpi kalpa-bhedena agni-prabhavatvam uchyate* | *tathā cha śrutiḥ "tasya yad retasaḥ prathamaṁ dedīpyate tad asāv āditya 'bhavat* | *yad dvitīyam āsīd Bhṛigur" iti* | *ataḥ eva bhrashṭād retasaḥ utpannatvād Bhṛiguḥ* | "Though the creation of Bhṛigu, as one of the ten Prājāpatis, is declared, in the 35th verse of the first book, to have proceeded from Manu, still he is here said to have been produced from fire, from the difference in the manner of his birth in the different Kalpas. And so the Veda says (in the passage quoted above from the Ait. Br.). Hence he is called Bhṛigu, because he sprang from the seed which fell (*bhrashṭāt*).[226]

[226] See Prof. Wilson's note, Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i. p. 100 ff., in the course of

Professor Roth (Lit. and History of the Veda, p. 135) says: "The Bhṛigus are one of the most important Vedic families, to which Jamadagni, Chyavana, Aurva, Apnavāna, and other rishis are assigned. Many conjectures might be formed in connection with the part which these several Bhṛigus play in the later legends; but it seems to me unsafe to draw any conclusions till we are in possession of the intermediate links, and especially till we have learnt more precisely from the Vedic hymns themselves the relations of these families to each other. Nevertheless I will remark that Śunaḥśepha, the adopted son of Viśvāmitra, is, according to the Purānas, a Bhṛigu; and consequently the Bhṛigus appear in intimate connection with the enemy of Vasishṭha; and further, that Sagara, who was reared by the Bhṛigu Aurva, is restrained by Vasishṭha in his war of extermination against the Śakas and other barbarous tribes. His enemies, when hard pressed, had resorted to Vasishṭha as an intercessor." (See above, p. 337, and Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. p. 291.)

The story of Paraśurāma and the Kshattriyas is briefly mentioned in the second section of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata (verses 272–280), where the events referred to are said to have occurred in the interval between the Tretā and Dvāpara ages (*Tretā-dvāparayoḥ sandhau Rāmaḥ śastra-bhritām varaḥ | asakṛit pārthivaṁ kshattraṁ jaghānāmarsha-choditaḥ | sa sarvaṁ kshattram utsādya sva-vīryyeṇānala-dyutiḥ* |). The history is more fully told in other parts of the Mahābhārata. In the 178th–180th sections of the Ādiparvan there is a legend in which no mention is made of Paraśurāma, or the slaughter of the Kshattriyas; but in which we have the following particulars: Parāśara was son of Śaktri, and grandson of Vaśishṭha, as we have seen above, p. 417. When he heard of the way in which his father had met his death, he determined to execute a general slaughter of all creatures (v. 6800);[130] but his grandfather restrained him by narrating the history of the

which he says, "The Vāyu has also another account of their (the Prajāpatis) origin, and states them to have sprung from the fires of a sacrifice offered by Brahmā; an allegorical mode of expressing their probable original—considering them to be in some degree real persons—from the Brahmanical ritual, of which they were the first institutors and observers."

[130] Reference is made in the commencement of the Vishṇu Purāṇa to the same circumstance (Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i. pp. 7 ff.) Parāśara is the narrator of the Vishṇu Purāṇa (ibid. p. 11).

Bhṛigus and Kshattriyas, as follows: There was a king named Kṛitavīryya, by whose liberality the Bhṛigus, learned in the Vedas, who officiated as his priests, had been greatly enriched with corn and money (verse 6802. *Yājyo veda-vidāṁ loke Bhṛigūṇām pārthivarshabhaḥ | sa tān agra-bhujas tāta dhānyena cha dhanena cha | somānte tarpayāmāsa vipulena viśāmpate |*). After he had gone to heaven, his descendants were in want of money, and came to beg for a supply from the Bhṛigus, of whose wealth they were aware. Some of the latter hid their money under ground, others bestowed it on Brāhmans, being afraid of the Kshattriyas, while others again gave these last what they wanted. It happened, however, that a Kshattriya, while digging the ground, discovered some money buried in the house of a Bhṛigu. The Kshattriyas then assembled and saw this treasure, and, being incensed, slew in consequence all the Bhṛigus, whom they regarded with contempt, down to the children in the womb (verse 6809. *Avamanya tataḥ krodhād Bhṛigūṁs tān śaraṇāgatān | nijaghnuḥ parameshvāsāḥ sarvāṁs tān niśitaiḥ śaraiḥ | ā-garbhād avakṛintantaś cheruḥ sarvāṁ vasundharām |*). The widows, however, fled to the Himālaya mountains. One of them concealed her unborn child in her thigh. The Kshattriyas, hearing of its existence from a Brāhmaṇī informant, sought to kill it; but it issued forth from its mother's thigh with lustre, and blinded the persecutors. After wandering about bewildered among the mountains for a time, they humbly supplicated the mother of the child for the restoration of their sight; but she referred them to her wonderful infant Aurva into whom the whole Veda, with its six Vedāngas, had entered (verse 6823. *Shaḍ-angaś chākhilo vedaḥ imaṁ garbhastham eva ha | viveśa Bhṛigu-vaṁśasya bhūyaḥ priya-chikīrshayā |*), as the person who (in retaliation of the slaughter of his relatives) had robbed them of their eyesight, and who alone could restore it. They accordingly had recourse to him, and their eyesight was restored. Aurva, however, meditated the destruction of all living creatures, in revenge for the slaughter of the Bhṛigus, and entered on a course of austerities which alarmed both gods, asuras, and men; but his progenitors (Pitṛis) themselves appeared, and sought to turn him from his purpose by saying that they had no desire to be revenged on the Kshattriyas: 6834. *Nānīśair hi tadā tāta Bhṛigubhir bhāvitātmabhiḥ | badho hy upekshitaḥ sarvaiḥ kshattriyāṇāṁ vihiṁsatām | āyushā viprakṛishṭena yadā naḥ*

kheda āviśat | tadā 'smābhir badhas tāta kshattriyair īpsitaḥ svayam | nikhātaṁ yach cha vai vittaṁ kenachid Bhṛigu-veśmani | vairāyaiva tadā nyastaṁ kshattriyān kopayishṇubhiḥ | kiṁ hi vittena naḥ kāryyaṁ svargepsūnāṁ dvijottama | . . . . 6841. *Mā badhīḥ kshattriyāṁs tāta na lokān sapta puttraka | dūshayantaṁ tapas-tejaḥ krodham utpatitaṁ jahi* | "6834. It was not from weakness that the devout Bhṛigus overlooked the massacre perpetrated by the murderous Kshattriyas. When we became distressed by old age, we ourselves desired to be slaughtered by them. The money which was buried by some one in a Bhṛigu's house was placed there for the purpose of exciting hatred, by those who wished to provoke the Kshattriyas. For what had we, who were desiring heaven, to do with money?" They add that they hit upon this device because they did not wish to be guilty of suicide, and concluded by calling upon Aurva to restrain his wrath; and abstain from the sin he was meditating, verse 6841: "Destroy not the Kshattriyas, o son, nor the seven worlds. Suppress thy kindled anger which nullifies the power of austere-fervour." Aurva, however, replies that he cannot allow his threat to remain unexecuted. His anger, unless wreaked upon some other object, will, he says, consume himself. And he argues on grounds of justice, expediency, and duty, against the clemency which his progenitors recommend. He is, however, persuaded by the Pitṛis to throw the fire of his anger into the sea, where they say it will find exercise in assailing the watery element, and in this way his threat will be fulfilled. "It accordingly became the great Hayaśiras, known to those who are acquainted with the Veda, which vomits forth that fire and drinks up the waters" (*Mahad Hayaśiro bhūtvā yat tad veda-vido viduḥ | tam agnim udgirad vaktrāt pibaty āpo mahodadhau*). It is worthy of remark that in a legend, one object of which, at least, would seem to be to hold up to abhorrence the impiety of the Kshattriyas in oppressing the Brāhmans, we should thus find a palliation of the conduct of the oppressors, coming from the other world. But here the principle of the nothingness of mundane existence asserts itself; and the final superiority of the Brāhmans is vindicated, while their magnanimity is exemplified.

The next version of this legend, which I shall quote, is that given in the 115th–117th sections of the Vanaparvan. Arjuna, son of Kṛitavīrya, and king of the Haihayas, had, we are told, a thousand arms.

He obtained from Dattātreya an aërial car of gold, the march of which was irresistible. He thus trod down gods, Yakshas, rishis, and oppressed all creatures (10137. *Avyāhata-gatiś chaiva rathas tasya mahātmanaḥ | rathena tena tu tadā vara-dānena vīryyavān | mamardda devān yakshāṁś cha ṛishīṁś chaiva samantataḥ | bhūtāṁś chaiva sa sarvāṁs tu pīḍayāmāsa sarvataḥ |*). The gods and rishis applied to Vishṇu, and he along with Indra, who had been insulted by Arjuna, devised the means of destroying the latter. At this time, the story goes on, there lived a king of Kānyakubja, called Gādhi, who had a daughter named Satyavatī. The marriage of this princess to the rishi Ṛichīka, and the birth of Jamadagni, are then told in nearly the same way as above narrated in page 350. Jamadagni and Satyavatī had five sons, the youngest of whom was the redoubtable Paraśurāma. By his father's command he kills his mother (who, by the indulgence of impure desire, had fallen from her previous sanctity), after the four elder sons had refused this matricidal office, and had in consequence been deprived of reason by their father's curse. At Paraśurama's desire, however, his mother is restored by his father to life, and his brothers to reason; and he himself is absolved from all the guilt of murder; and obtains the boon of invincibility and long life from his father. His history now begins to be connected with that of king Arjuna (or Kārtavīrya). The latter had come to Jamadagni's hermitage, and had been respectfully received by his wife; but he had requited this honour by carrying away by force the calf of the sage's sacrificial cow, and breaking down his lofty trees. On being informed of this violence, Paraśurāma was filled with indignation, attacked Arjuna, cut off his thousand arms, and slew him. Arjuna's sons, in return, slew the peaceful sage Jamadagni, in the absence of Paraśurāma. The narrative thus proceeds:

10201. *Dadāha pitaraṁ chāgnau Rāmaḥ para-puranjayaḥ | pratijajne badhaṁ chāpi sarva-kshattrasya Bhārata | sa kruddho 'tibalaḥ sankhye śastraṁ ādāya vīryyavān | jaghnivān Kārttavīryyasya sutān eko 'ntakopamaḥ | Teshāṁ chānugatāḥ ye cha kshattriyāḥ kshattriyarshabha | tāṁś cha sarvān avāmṛidhnād Rāmaḥ praharatāṁ varaḥ | trissapta-kṛitvaḥ pṛithivīṁ kṛitvā niḥkshattriyām prabhuḥ | samantapanchake pancha chakāra raudhirān hradān |* 10205. *Sa teshu tarpayāmāsa Bhṛigūn Bhṛigu-kulodvahaḥ | sākshād dadarśa charchīkaṁ sa cha Rāmaṁ*

nyavedayat | tato yajnena mahatā Jāmadagnyaḥ pratāpavān | tarpayāmāsa devendram ṛitvigbhyaḥ pradadau mahīm | vedīm chāpy adadād haimīm Kaśyapāya mahātmane | daśa-vyāmāyatām kṛitvā navotsedhām viśāmpate | tām Kaśyapasyānumater brāhmaṇāḥ khaṇḍaśas tadā | vyabhajaṁs te tadā rājan prakhyātāḥ Khāṇḍavāyanāḥ | sa pradāya mahīm tasmai Kaśyapāya mahātmane | asmin mahendre śailendre vasaty amitavikramaḥ | evaṁ vairam abhūt tasya kshattriyair loka-vāsibhiḥ | pṛithivī chāpi vijitā Rāmeṇāmita-tejasā |

"Rāma, after performing, on his return, his father's funeral obsequies, vowed to destroy the whole Kshattriya race; and executed his threat by killing first Arjuna's sons and their followers. Twenty-one times did he sweep away all the Kshattriyas from the earth, and formed five lakes of blood in Samantapanchaka; (10,205) in which he satiated the manes of the Bhṛigus, and beheld face to face (his grandfather) Ṛichīka, who addressed himself to Rāma. The latter gratified Indra by offering to him a grand sacrifice, and gave the earth to the officiating priests. He bestowed also a golden altar, ten fathoms long and nine high, on the mighty Kaśyapa. This, by his permission, the Brāhmans divided among themselves, deriving thence the name of Khāṇḍavāyanas. Having given away the earth to Kaśyapa, Paraśurāma himself dwells on the mountain Mahendra. Thus did enmity arise between him and the Kshattriyas, and thus was the earth conquered by Rāma of boundless might."

The means by which the Kshattriya race was restored are described in the following passage from the Ādiparvan, verses 2459 ff.:

Trissapta-kṛitvaḥ pṛithivīm kṛitvā niḥkshattriyām purā | Jāmadagnyas tapas tepe Mahendre parvatottame | 2460. *Tadā niḥkshattriye loke Bhārgaveṇa kṛite sati | brāhmaṇān kshattriyāḥ rājan sutārthinyo 'bhichakramuḥ | tābhiḥ saha samāpetur brāhmaṇāḥ śamsita-vratāḥ | ṛitāv ṛitau nara-vyāghra na kāmād nānṛitau tathā | tebhyaś cha lebhire garbham kshattriyās taḥ sahasraśaḥ | tataḥ sushuvire rājan kshattriyān vīryyavattarān | kumārāṁś cha kumārīś cha punaḥ kshattrābhivṛiddhyaye | evaṁ tad brāhmaṇaiḥ kshattram kshattriyāsu tapasvibhiḥ | jātam vṛiddhaṁ cha dharmeṇa sudīrghenāyushānvitam | chatvāro 'pi tato varṇāḥ babhūvur brāhmaṇottarāḥ |*

"2459. Having one and twenty times swept away all the Kshattriyas from the earth, the son of Jamadagni engaged in austerities on

Mahendra the most excellent of mountains. 2460. After he had cleared the world of Kshattriyas, their widows came to the Brāhmans, praying for offspring. The religious Brāhmans, free from any impulse of lust, cohabited at the proper seasons with these women, who in consequence became pregnant, and brought forth valiant Kshattriya boys and girls, to continue the Kshattriya stock. Thus was the Kshattriya race virtuously begotten by Brāhmans on Kshattriya women, and became multiplied and long-lived. Thence there arose four castes inferior to the Brāhmans."

This restoration of the Kshattriyas and their rule is said to have been followed by a state of great virtue, happiness, and prosperity. As one exemplification of the religious perfection which prevailed, it is said that "the Brāhmans did not sell their sacred lore, nor recite the Vedas in the vicinity of S'ūdras" (verse 2474. *Na cha vikrīṇate brahma brāhmaṇāś cha tadā nṛipa | na cha śūdra-samābhyāse vedān uchchārayanty uta |*).

Another version of this legend is given in the S'āntiparvan, section 49. The birth of Jamadagni as the son of Ṛichīka and Satyavatī is related very much as in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see above, p. 349 f.); but Ṛichīka tells his wife that the whole of her father's race shall become Brāhmanical (verse 1741. *Brahma-bhūtaṁ hi sakalam pitus tava kulam bhavet*); and of Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, we are told that he "had the character of a Brāhman, and was possessed of all Brahmanical qualities" (1745. *Viśvāmitraṁ cha dāyādaṁ Gādhiḥ Kuśika-nandanaḥ | yam prāpa brahma-samitaṁ viśvair brahma-guṇair yutam |*). Jamadagni was father of the dreadful Paraśurāma, "who became perfect in science, thoroughly versed in archery, and the slayer of the Kshattriyas, himself violent as flaming fire. By propitiating Mahādeva he obtained, among other weapons, the irresistible axe (*paraśu*)" (1747. *Sarva-vidyānta-gaṁ śreshṭhaṁ dhanur-vedasya pāragam | Rāmaṁ kshattriya-hantāram pradīptam iva pāvakam | toshayitvā Mahādevam parvate Gandhamādane | astrāṇi varayāmāsa paraśum chātitejasam |*), from which his name is derived. Arjuna, son of Kṛitavīrya, king of the Haihayas, is here also represented as having a thousand arms, but in opposition to the previous account he is described as a "dutiful and religious monarch, who at an *aśvamedha* (horse-sacrifice) bestowed on the Brāhmans the earth with its seven continents and mountains, which he had conquered by his

arms and weapons" (verse 1751. *Chakravartī mahātejā viprāṇām āśvamedhike | dadau sa pṛithivīm̃ sarvām̃ sapta-dvīpām̃ sa-parvatām | svabāhv-astra-balenājau jitvā parama-dharma-vit |*). He had, however, at the solicitation of Agni permitted that voracious deity to consume his towns, villages, forests, etc.; and as the hermitage of Āpava (Vaśishṭha) had been destroyed in the conflagration, Arjuna was doomed by the sage's curse to have his arms cut off by Paraśurāma. The story proceeds:

Verse 1769. *Arjunas tu mahātejā balī nityam̃ śamātmekaḥ | brahmaṇyaś cha śaraṇyaś dātā śūraś cha Bhārata |* 1760. *Nāchintayat tadā śāpam̃ tena dattam mahātmanā | tasya putrās tu balinaḥ śāpenāsur pitur badhe | nimittād avaliptāḥ vai nṛiśam̃sāś chaiva sarvadā | Jamadagni-dhenvās te vatsam āninyur Bharatarshabha | ajnātam̃ Kārttavīryeṇa Haihayendreṇa dhīmatā | tannimittam abhūd yuddham̃ Jāmadagner mahātmanaḥ | tato 'rjunasya bāhum̃s tān chhittvā Rāmo rushā 'nvitaḥ |* . . . . 1766. *Tataḥ pitṛi-badhāmarshād Rāmaḥ parama-manyumān | niḥkshattriyām pratiśrutya mahīm̃ śastram agṛihṇata | tataḥ sa Bhṛigu-śārdūlaḥ Kārttavīryasya vīryavān | vikramya vijaghānāśu puttrān pauttrām̃ś cha sarvaśah | sa Haihaya-sahasrāṇi hatvā parama-manyumān | chakāra Bhārgavo rājan mahīm̃ śoṇita-kardamām | sa tathā "śu mahātejāḥ kṛitvā niḥkshattriyâm mahīm |* 1770. *Kṛipayā parayā "vishṭo vanam eva jagāma ha | tato varsha-sahasreshu samatīteshu keshuchit | kshepam samprāptavām̃s tattra prakṛityā kopanaḥ prabhuḥ | Viśvāmitrasya pauttras tu Raibhya-puttro mahātapāḥ | Parāvasur mahārāja kshiptāha (kshiptvā "ha?) jana-sam̃sadi | "ye te Yayāti-patane yajne santaḥ samāgatāḥ | Pratarddana-prabhṛitayo Rāma kim̃ kshattriyāḥ na te | mithyā-pratijno Rāma tvam̃ katthase jana-sam̃sadi | bhayāt kshattriya-vīrāṇām parvatam̃ samupāśritaḥ | sā punaḥ kshattriya-śataiḥ pṛithivī sarvatas tṛitā" |* 1775. *Parāvasor vachaḥ śrutvā śastram̃ jagrāha Bhārgavaḥ | tato ye Kshattriyāḥ rājan śataśas tena varjjitāḥ | te vivṛiddhāḥ mahāvīryyāḥ pṛithivī-patayo 'bhavan | sa punas tān jaghānāśu bālān api narādhipa | garbha-sthais tu mahī vyāptā punar evābhavat tadā | jātam̃ jātam̃ sa garbham̃ tu punar eva jaghāna ha | araksham̃s tu sutān kām̃śchit tadā kshattriya-yoshitaḥ | trissapta-kṛitvaḥ pṛithivīm kṛitvā niḥkshattriyām prabhuḥ | dakshiṇām aśvamedhānte Kaśyapāyādadāt tadā | sa kshattriyāṇām̃ śeshārtham̃ kareṇoddiśya Kaśyapaḥ |* 1780. *Sruk-pragrahavatā rājam̃s tato vākyam athābravīt | "gachha tīram̃ samudrasya dakshiṇasya mahāmune | na te mad-vishaye Rāma vastavyam iha karhichit" | tataḥ*

S'ūrpārakaṁ deśaṁ sāgaras tasya nirmame | sahasā Jāmadagnyasya so 'paranta-mahītalam | Kaśyapas tām mahārāja pratigṛihya vasundharām | kṛitvā brāhmaṇa-saṁsthāṁ vai pravishṭaḥ sumahāvanam | tataḥ śūdrāś cha vaiśyāś cha yathā - svaira - prachāriṇaḥ | avarttanta dvijāgryāṇāṁ dāreshu Bharatarshabha | arājake jīva-loke durbalāḥ balavattaraiḥ | 1785. *Pīḍyante na hi vitteshu prabhutvaṁ kasyachit tadā | tataḥ kālena pṛithivī pīḍyamānā durātmabhiḥ | viparyayeṇa tenāśu praviveśa rasātalam | arakshyamāṇā vidhivat kshattriyair dharma-rakshibhiḥ | tāṁ dṛishṭvā dravatīṁ tattra santrāsāt sa mahāmanāḥ | ūruṇā dhārayāmāsa Kaśyapaḥ pṛithivīṁ tataḥ | dhṛitā tenoruṇa yena tenorvīti mahī smṛitā | rakshaṇārthaṁ samuddiśya yayāche pṛithivī tadā | prasādya Kaśyapaṁ devī varayāmāsa bhūmipam | pṛithivy uvācha |* 1790. "*Santi brahman mayā guptāḥ strīshu kshattriya-pungavāḥ | Haihayānām kule jātās te saṁrakshantu mām mune | asti Paurava-dāyādo Vidūratha-sutaḥ prabho | ṛikshaiḥ saṁvardhito vipra ṛikshavaty atha parvate | tathā 'nukampamānena yajvanā 'py amitaujasā | Parāśareṇa dāyādaḥ Saudāsasyābhirakshitaḥ | sarva-karmāṇi kurute śūdra-vat tasya sa dvijaḥ | Sarvakarmety abhikhyātaḥ sa mām rakshatu pārthivaḥ | . . . .* 1799. *Ete kshattriya-dāyādās tattra tattra pariśritāḥ | dyokāra-hema-kārādi-jātiṁ nityaṁ samāśritāḥ |* 1800. *Yadi mām abhirakshanti tadā sthāsyāmi niśchalā | eteshām pitaraś chaiva tathaiva cha pitāmahāḥ | mad-arthaṁ nihatāḥ yuddhe Rāmeṇāklishṭa-karmaṇā | teshām apachitiś chaiva mayā kāryyā mahāmune | na hy ahaṁ kāmaye nityam atikrāntena rakshaṇam | varttamānena vartteyaṁ tat kshipraṁ saṁvidhīyatām" | tataḥ pṛithivyā nirdishṭāṁs tān samānīya Kaśyapaḥ | abhyashinchad mahīpālān kshattriyān vīrya-sammatān |*

"Being of a meek, pious, kind, and charitable turn of mind, the valiant Arjuna thought nothing of the curse; but his sons, who were of an arrogant and barbarous disposition, became the cause of its resulting in his death. Without their father's knowledge they took away Jamadagni's calf; and in consequence Paraśurāma attacked Arjuna and cut oft his arms." His sons retaliated by killing Jamadagni. 1766. Paraśurāma incensed at the slaughter of his father, having vowed in consequence to sweep away all Kshattriyas from the earth, seized his weapons; and slaying all the sons and grandsons of Arjuna, with thousands of the Haihayas, he turned the earth into a mass of ensanguined mud. 1770. Having thus cleared the earth of

Kshattriyas, he became penetrated by deep compassion and retired to the forest. After some thousands of years had elapsed, the hero, naturally irascible, was taunted by Parāvasu, the son of Raibhya and grandson of Viśvāmitra, in a public assembly in these words: 'Are not these virtuous men, Pratardana and the others, who are assembled at the sacrifice in the city of Yayāti,—are they not Kshattriyas? Thou hast failed to execute thy threat, and vainly boastest in the assembly. Thou hast withdrawn to the mountain from fear of those valiant Kshattriyas, while the earth has again become overrun by hundreds of their race.' Hearing these words, Rāma seized his weapons. The hundreds of Kshattriyas who had before been spared had now grown powerful kings. These, however, Paraśurāma now slew with their children, and all the numerous infants then unborn as they came into the world. Some, however, were preserved by their mothers. Having twenty-one times cleared the earth of Kshattriyas, Rāma gave her as a sacrificial fee to Kaśyapa at the conclusion of an aśvamedha. 1780. Making a signal with his hand, in which he held the sacrificial ladle, Kaśyapa, in order that the remaining Kshattriyas should be spared, said to Paraśurāma, 'Go, great muni, to the shore of the southern ocean. Thou must not dwell in my territory.' Sāgara (the ocean) created for him a country called Śūrpāraka on the remotest verge of the earth. Having received dominion over the earth, Kaśyapa made it an abode of Brāhmans, and himself withdrew to the forest. Śūdras and Vaiśyas then began to act lawlessly towards the wives of the Brāhmans; and, in consequence of there being no government, the weak (1785) were oppressed by the strong, and no one was master of any property. The Earth, being distressed by the wicked, in consequence of that disorder, and unprotected according to rule by the Kshattriyas, the guardians of justice, descended to the lower regions. Perceiving her moving from place to place in terror, Kaśyapa upheld her with his thigh (*ūru*). From this circumstance she derives her name of *urvī*.[240] The goddess Earth then propitiated Kaśyapa, and supplicated him for protection, and for a king. 'I have,' she said, 'preserved among females many Kshattriyas who have been born in the race of the Haihayas; let them be my protectors. There is the heir of the Pauravas, the son of Vidūratha, who has been brought up by bears

[240] *Urvī* really means "the broad," signifying the same as *pṛithivī*.

on the mountain Rikshavat: let him protect me. So, too, the heir of Saudāsa has been preserved by the tender-hearted and glorious priest, Parāśara, who has performed, though a Brāhman, all menial offices (*sarvakarmāṇi*) for him, like a Śūdra;—whence the prince's name Sarvakarman." After enumerating other kings who had been rescued, the Earth proceeds: "All these Kshattriyas' descendants have been preserved in different places, abiding continually among the classes of dyokāras and goldsmiths. If they protect me, I shall continue unshaken. Their fathers and grandfathers were slain on my account by Rāma, energetic in action. It is incumbent on me to avenge their cause. For I do not desire to be always protected by an extraordinary person [such as Kaśyapa]; but I will be content with an ordinary ruler. Let this be speedily fulfilled.' Kaśyapa then sent for these Kshattriyas who had been pointed out by the Earth, and installed them in the kingly office."

This reference to the bestowal of the Earth upon Kaśyapa is founded on an older story which occurs both in the Aitareya and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas. The passage in the first-named work is as follows, viii. 21. *Etena ha vai Aindreṇa mahâbhishekeṇa Kaśyapo Viśvakarmāṇam Bhauvanam abhishishecha | tasmād u Viśvākarmā Bhauvanaḥ samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivīṁ jayan parīyāya aśvena cha medhyena īje | bhūmir ha jagāv ity udāharanti "na mā marttyaḥ kaśchana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhauvana māṁ didāsitha | nimankshye 'haṁ salilasya madhye moghas te esha Kaśyapāyāsa sangaraḥ" iti* | "With this great inauguration like that of Indra did Kaśyapa consecrate Viśvakarman Bhauvana, who in consequence went round the Earth in all directions, conquering it; and offered an aśvamedha sacrifice. They relate that the Earth then recited this verse:

> "Me may no mortal give away; but thou, oh king, dost so essay;
> Deep will I plunge beneath the main; thy pledge to Kaśyapa is vain."

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1. 15, says: *Taṁ ha Kaśyapo yājayāṅchakāra | tad api bhūmiḥ ślokaṁ jagau "na mā marttyaḥ kaśchana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhauvana mandaḥ āsitha | upamankshyati syā salilasya madhye mṛishaisha te sangaraḥ Kaśyapāya" iti* | "Kaśyapa officiated for him at this sacrifice. Wherefore also the Earth recited this verse: 'No mortal may give me away. Viśvakarman, son of

Bhauvana, thou wast foolish (in offering to do so). She will sink into the midst of the waters. Thy promise to Kaśyapa is vain.'"[241]

The story is also related in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in a similar way. I note the chief points and variations. When Gādhi's daughter was demanded in marriage by the rishi Ṛichīka, the king considered that the suitor was not a fit husband for a daughter of his noble race; and said, "Give me a thousand horses white as the moon, each with one black ear, as a marriage gift for the maiden; for we are Kuśikas" (ix. 15, 5. *Varaṁ visadṛiśam matvā Gādhir Bhārgavam abravīt* | 6. *Ekataḥ śyāma-karṇānāṁ hayānāṁ chandra-varchasām* | *sahasraṁ dīyatāṁ śulkaṁ kanyāyāḥ Kuśikāḥ vayam* |). The youngest offspring of their union was, we are told, "Paraśurāma, who is declared to have been a portion of Vāsudeva (Vishṇu in the form of Krishṇa),[242] and who exterminated the Haihaya race. Thrice seven times he swept away from this earth all the Kshattriyas, that depraved and impious race, full of passion and darkness, with which she was burthened. He destroyed them, though the offence which they had committed was but insignificant (v. 14. *Yam āhur Vāsudevāṁśaṁ Haihayānaṁ kulāntakam* | *trissaptakṛitvo yaḥ imāṁ chakre niḥkshattriyām mahīm* | *dushṭaṁ kshattram bhuvo bhāram abrahmaṇyam anīnaśat* | *rajas-tamo-vṛitam ahan phalguny api kṛite 'ṁhasi* |). King Arjuna, who had been endowed with miraculous powers, took Rāvana prisoner, then released him, and afterwards carried away by force Jamadagni's cow and calf. Paraśurāma, in revenge, after a terrible battle, and the defeat of the king's army, cut off Arjuna's arms and head, and recovered the cow and calf. When his father was informed of the king's death, he said to Paraśurāma: "Rāma, Rāma, thou hast committed sin, in that thou hast causelessly slain the lord of men, who is composed of all the deities.[243] It is by longsuffering that we, the Brāhmans, have acquired respect; the same means whereby the deity, the instructor of all worlds, attained the highest rank of godhead. By

[241] It will be observed that there are some varieties of reading in the verse, as given in the two Brāhmaṇas. *Manda āsitha* in the S'. P. Br. looks like a corruption of the *mām didāsitha* of the Aitareya. The story of Arjuna, Paraśurāma, and the Kshattriyas is briefly told again in the Āśvamedhika-parvan, but without any new circumstances of particular interest.

[242] See above, p. 350, and note 146. None of the passages I have quoted from the Mahābhārata allude to Paras'urāma being an incarnation of Vishṇu.

[243] Compare the passages quoted above in p. 300 from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and from Manu.

patience the fortune of Brahmâ shines like the splendour of the Sun. Hari, the lord, is speedily pleased with those who are patient. The murder of a king who has been formally inaugurated is worse than that of a Brāhman. Go and expiate thy sin by visiting holy places, with thy mind intent upon Achyuta (Vishṇu)" (ix. 15, 38. *Rāma Rāma mahābhāga bhavān pāpam akārashīt*[244] | *abadhīd nara-devam̐ yat sarva-devamayam̐ vṛithā* | *vayam̐ hi brāhmaṇās tāta kshamayā 'rhaṇatām̐ gatāḥ* | *yayā loka-gurur devaḥ pārameshṭhyam ayāt padam* | *kshamayā rochate lakshmīr Brāhmī saurī yathā prabhā* | *kshamiṇām āśu bhagavām̐s tushyate Harir īśvaraḥ* | *rājno mūrdhābhishiktasya badho brahma-badhād guruḥ* | *tīrtha-sam̐sevayā chām̐ho jahy angāchyuta-chetanaḥ* |). On his return from this pilgrimage Rāma was desired by his father to kill his mother (on grounds similar to those stated in the account quoted above, p. 450, from the Mahābhārata), as well as his brothers, and executed the order; but at his intercession they were all restored to life. During his absence in the forest, his father Jamadagni was slain, and his head cut off, notwithstanding the entreaties of his wife, by the sons of Arjuna, in revenge for the loss of their own father. Paraśurāma, hearing his mother's outcries, hastened back to the hermitage, and laying hold of his axe, proceeded to avenge this outrage: ix. 16, 17. *Gatvā Māhishmatīm̐ Rāmo brahma-ghna-vihata-śriyam* | *teshām̐ sa śīrshabhiḥ rājan madhye chakre mahāgirim* | 18. *Tad-raktena nadīm̐ ghorām abrahmaṇya-bhayāvahām* | *hetum̐ kṛitvā pitṛi-badham̐ kshattre 'mangala-kāriṇi* | . . . . 20. *Pituḥ kāyena sandhāya śiraḥ ādāya barhishi* | *sarva-devamayam̐ devam ātmānam ayajad makhaiḥ* | 21. *Dadau prāchīm̐ diśam̐ hotre brahmaṇe dakshiṇām̐ diśam* | *adhvaryave pratīchīm̐ vai udgātre uttarām̐ diśam* | 22. *Anyebhyo 'vāntara-diśaḥ Kaśyapāya cha madhyataḥ* | *āryāvarttam upadrashṭre sadasyebhyas tataḥ param* | 23. *Tataś chāvabhṛitha-snāna-vidhūtāśesha-kilvishaḥ* | *Sarasvatyām brahma-nadyām̐ reje vyabhraḥ ivām̐śumān* | . . . . 26. *Āste 'dyāpi Mahendrādrau nyasta-daṇḍaḥ praśāntadhīḥ* | *upagīyamāna-charitaḥ siddha-gandharva-chāraṇaiḥ* | 27. *Evam Bhṛigushu viśvātmā bhagavān Harir īśvaraḥ* | *avatīrya param bhāram bhuvo 'han bahuśo nṛipān* | "17. He went to the city of Māhishmatī, which had been robbed of its glory by those Brāhman-slayers, and raised in the midst of it a great mountain composed of their heads. With their blood he formed a dreadful river, which struck

[244] So in the Bombay edition. Burnouf's text has the usual form *akārshīt*.

fear into the impious; justifying his action against the oppressive Kshattriyas by their murder of his father. . . . . 20. He then united his father's head to his body, laying it on the sacred grass; and offered a sacrifice to the divine Spirit, who is formed of all the deities. On this occasion he gave the eastern region of the earth to the hotṛi priest, the south to the brahman, the west to the adhvaryu, and the north to the udgâtṛi. To others he gave the intermediate regions (south-east, south-west, etc.), to Kaśyapa the central; on the upadrashṭṛi he bestowed Âryâvartta, and on the Sadasyas what was beyond. Having then cleansed all his impurity by the avabhṛitha ablution in the Sarasvatī, the river of Brahmâ, he shone like the sun unobscured by clouds. . . . 26. Having laid aside his weapons, he sits to this day in tranquillity of mind on the mountain Mahendra, whilst his exploits are celebrated by the Siddhas, Gandharvas, and Chāranas. Thus did the universal Spirit, the divine lord, Hari, become incarnate in the Bhṛigus, and destroy numerous kings who were a burden to the earth." It is singular that sin requiring expiation should be, as it is in this narrative, imputed to Paraśurāma, while he is at the same time declared to have been a portion of Vishṇu, the supreme Spirit.

The story of Paraśurāma is also told in the Droṇaparvan of the Mahâbhârata, verses 2427 ff., after those of many other kings and warriors, to illustrate the truth that death must sooner or later overtake even the most pious and distinguished personages. The earlier incidents are briefly narrated; but some of the details, as the slaughter of the Kshattriyas, are dwelt on at greater length than in the other accounts. Some of the victims of the hero's vengeance are described as "haters of Brāhmans" (*brahma-dvishām*, verse 2431). The Kshattriyas who were slain are described as of various provinces, viz. Kāśmīras, Daradas, Kuntis, Kshudrakas, Mālavas, Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, Videhas, Tāmraliptakas, Rakshovāhas, Vītihotras, Trigarttas, Mārttikāvatas, S'ivis, and other Rājanyas (*S'ivīn anyāṁś cha rājanyān*, verse 2437). At verse 2443 the narrative proceeds: *Nirdasyum pṛithivīṁ kṛitvā śishṭeshṭa-jana-sankulām | Kaśyapāya dadau Rāmo haya-medhe mahāmakhe | trisapta-vārān pṛithivīm kṛitvā niḥkshattriyām prabhuḥ | ishṭvā kratu-śatair vīro brāhmaṇebhyo hy amanyata | sapta-dvīpāṁ vasumatīm Mārīcho 'gṛihṇata dvijaḥ | Rāmam provācha "nirgachha vasudhāto mamājnayā | sa Kaśyapasya*

vachanāt protsārya saritāmpatim | *ishupātair yudhāṁ śreshṭhaḥ kurvan brāhmaṇa-śāsanam* | *adhyāvasad giri-śreshṭham Mahendram parvatottamam* | "2443. Having freed the earth from Dasyus (or robbers), and filled her with respectable and desirable inhabitants, he gave her to Kaśyapa at an aśvamedha. Having twenty-one times cleared the earth of Kshattriyas, and offered hundreds of sacrifices, he destined the earth for the Brāhmans. The Brāhman, the son of Marīchi (*i.e.* Kaśyapa), received the earth, and then said to Rāma, 'Depart out of her by my command.' Having repelled the ocean by his arrows, and established the rule of the Brāhmans, Rāma dwelt on the mountain Mahendra."

The Anuśāsanaparvan of the same poem has another "ancient story" about Paraśurāma, which, like the preceding passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, adverts to the pollution incurred by that warrior from his numerous deeds of blood. It begins as follows: verse 3960. *Jāmadagnyena Rāmeṇa tīvra-roshānvitena vai* | *trissapta-kṛitvaḥ pṛithivī kṛitā niḥkshattriyā purā* | *tato jitvā mahīṁ kṛitsnāṁ Rāmo rājīva-lochanaḥ* | *ājahāra kratuṁ vīro brahma-kshattreṇa pūjitam* | *vāji-medham mahārāja sarva-kāma-samanvitam* | *pāvanaṁ sarva-bhūtānāṁ tejo-dyuti-vivarddhanam* | *vipāpmā sa cha tejasvī tena kratu-phalena cha* | *naivātmano 'tha laghutāṁ Jāmadagnyo 'dhyagachhata* | *sa tu kratu-vareṇeshṭvā mahātmā dakshiṇāvatā* | 3965. *Paprachhāgama-sampannān ṛishīn devāṁś cha Bhārgavaḥ* | "*pāvanaṁ yat param nṛīṇām ugre karmaṇi varttatām* | *tad uchyatām mahābhāgāḥ" iti jāta-ghṛiṇo 'bravīt* | *ity uktāḥ veda-śāstra-jnās tam ūchus te maharshayaḥ* | "*Rāma viprāḥ satkriyantāṁ veda-prāmāṇya-darśanāt* | *bhūyaścha viprarshi-gaṇāḥ prashṭavyāḥ pāvanam prati* | *te yad brūyur mahāprājnās tach chaiva samudāchara* | "3960. Rāma, son of Jamadagni, having thrice seven times cleared the world of Kshattriyas, and conquered the whole earth, performed the horse-sacrifice, venerated by Brāhmans and Kshattriyas, which confers all objects of desire, which cleanses all creatures, and augments power and lustre; and became thereby sinless and glorious. He did not, however, feel relieved in his mind, but after offering the most excellent of sacrifices, at which presents were bestowed, he (3965) enquired of the rishis skilled in the scriptures, and of the gods, what was that which most perfectly cleansed those men who had committed deeds of violence; for he felt compunction for what he had done. The rishis skilled in the Vedas and Śāstras replied, 'Let the Brāhmans be

the objects of your liberality, as the authority of the Vedas requires; let the Brāhman-rishis be further consulted in regard to the means of lustration; and do whatever these wise men may enjoin.'" Paraśurāma accordingly consulted Vaśishṭha, Agastya, and Kaśyapa. They replied that a sinner was cleansed by bestowing cows, land, and other property, and especially gold, the purifying power of which was very great. "Those who bestow it, bestow the gods," a proposition which is thus compendiously proved: "for Agni comprehends all the gods; and gold is of the essence of Agni" (verse 3987. *Devatās te prayachhanti ye suvarṇaṁ dadaty atha | Agnir hi devatāḥ sarvāḥ suvarṇaṁ cha tadātmakam*). In regard to the origin of this precious metal, Vasishṭha tells a very long story, which he had heard Prajāpati relate, how it was born by the goddess Gangā to Agni, by whom she had been impregnated, and was thus the son of that god. "Thus was gold born the offspring of Jātavedas (Agni). That which is produced in Jambūnada is the best, and a fit ornament even for the gods. It is called the chief of gems and of ornaments, the most pure of all pure things, the most auspicious of all auspicious objects; and one with the divine Agni, the lord Prajāpati" (verse 4099. *Evaṁ suvarṇam utpannam apatyaṁ Jātavedasaḥ | tatra Jāmbūnadaṁ śreshṭhaṁ devānām api bhūshaṇam* | 4001. *Ratnānām uttamaṁ ratnam bhūshaṇānāṁ tathottamam | pavitraṁ cha pavitrāṇām mangalānāṁ cha mangalam | yat suvarṇaṁ sa bhagavān Agnir īśaḥ prajāpatiḥ* |). It must be highly consolatory for those who are disposed to be liberal to the Brāhman, to be assured that the gold which they bestow has such a high mystical, as well as current, exchangeable value. "Paraśurāma," the story concludes, "after being thus addressed by Vaśishṭha, gave gold to the Brāhmans, and was freed from sin" (verse 4183. *Ity uktaḥ sa Vaśishṭhena Jāmadagnyaḥ pratāpavān | dadau suvarṇaṁ viprebhyo vyamuchyata cha kilvishāt*).

It is interesting to remark how the different distinctive principles of Indian religion and sentiment severally assert themselves in turn, and thus, occasionally, come into conflict with each other, as in the story of Paraśurāma. The primary object of this legend is no doubt to illustrate the vengeance which inevitably overtakes all those who violate the sacredness of the Brāhmanical prerogative, and the meritorious character of those who act as its defenders. No sooner, however, is this end ac-

complished, and the impious foes of the priesthood swept away again and again from the face of the earth, than a revulsion of feeling takes place, and the higher principles of the sacredness of life, and of the blessedness of mercy, come forward to claim recognition; and a deep sense of the pollution of bloodshed calls aloud for atonement. In the Bhāgavata, as we have seen, Jamadagni imputes it as a crime to the avenger of the Brāhmans that he had slain a king; and even goes the length of declaring that in doing so he had incurred greater guilt than if he had murdered a Brāhman.

In the same book of the Mahābhārata, verses 7163 ff., an extravagant description is given of the prerogatives and powers of the Brāhmans; and Arjuna is again brought forward, in verses 7187 ff., as at first scouting their pretensions, but as ultimately conceding their unapproachable superiority: "The magnificent and mighty Kārttavīrya (Arjuna), possessing a thousand arms, was lord of this whole world, living in Māhishmatī. This Haihaya of unquestioned valour ruled over the whole sea-girt earth, with its oceans and continents" (verse 7187. *Sahasra-bhuja-bhṛit śrīmān Kārttavīryo 'bhavat prabhuḥ | asya lokasya sarvasya Māhishmatyām mahābalaḥ | sa tu ratnākaravatīm sadvīpām sāgarāmbarām | śaśāsa pṛithivīm sarvām Haihayaḥ satya-vikramaḥ*). He obtained boons from the muni Dattātreya, a thousand arms whenever he should go into battle, power to make the conquest of the whole earth, a disposition to rule it with justice, and the promise of instruction from the virtuous in the event of his going astray. 7196. *Tataḥ sa ratham āsthāya jvalanārka-samadyutim | abravīd vīryyasammohāt "ko nv asti sadṛiśo mama | dhairyye vīryye yaśaḥ-śauryye vikrameṇaujasā 'pi vā" | tad-vākyānte 'ntarīkshe vai vāg uvāchāśarīriṇī | "na tvam mūḍha vijānīshe brāhmaṇam kshattriyād varam | sahito brāhmaṇeneha kshattriyaḥ śāsti vai prajāḥ" | Arjuna uvācha | kuryām bhūtāni tushṭo 'ham kruddho nāśam tathā naye | karmaṇā manasā vāchā na matto 'sti varo dvijaḥ* | 7200. *Pūrvo brahmottaro vādo dvitīyaḥ kshattriyottaraḥ | tvayoktau hetuyuktau tau viśeshas tattra dṛiśyate | brāhmaṇāḥ saṁśritāḥ kshattram na kshattram brāhmaṇāśritam | śritāḥ brahmopadhāḥ viprāḥ khādanti kshattriyān bhuvi | kshattriyeshv āśrito dharmaḥ prajānām paripālanam | kshattrād vṛittir brāhmaṇānām taiḥ katham brāhmaṇo varaḥ | sarva-bhūtapradhānāṁs tān bhaiksha-vṛittīn ahaṁ sadā | ātma-sambhāvitān viprān*

sthāpayāmy ātmano vaśe | kathitaṁ hy anayā satyaṁ gāyatryā kanyayā divi | vijeshyāmy avaśān sarvān brāhmaṇāṁś charma-vāsasaḥ | 7205. Na cha māṁ chāvayed rāshṭrāt trishu lokeshu kaśchana | devo vā mānusho vā 'pi tasmāj jyeshṭho dvijād aham | atha brahmottaraṁ lokaṁ karishye kshattriyottaram | na hi me saṁyuge kaśchit soḍhum utsahate balam | Arjunasya vachaḥ śrutvā vitrastā 'bhūd niśāchari | athainam antariksha-sthas tato Vāyur abhāshata | "tyajainaṁ kalusham bhāvam brāhmaṇe-bhyo namaskuru | eteshāṁ kurvataḥ pāpaṁ rāshṭra-kshobho bhavishyati | atha vā tvām mahīpāla śamayishyanti vai dvijāḥ | nirasishyanti te rāsh-ṭrād hatotsāham mahābalāḥ" | 7210. Taṁ rājā "kas tvam" ity āha tatas tam prāha Mārutaḥ | "Vāyur vai deva-dūto 'smi hitaṁ tvām pra-bravīmy aham" | Arjunaḥ uvācha | "aho tvayā 'dya vipreshu bhakti-rāgaḥ pradarśitaḥ | yādṛiśam pṛithivī-bhūtaṁ tādṛiśam brūhi vai dvijam | vāyor vā sadṛiśam kinchid brūhi tvam brāhmaṇottamam | apāṁ vai sadṛiśo vahniḥ sūryyasya nabhaso 'pi vā | "Then ascending his chariot glorious as the resplendent sun, he exclaimed in the intoxication of his prowess, 'Who is like me in fortitude, courage, fame, heroism, energy, and vigour?' At the end of this speech a bodiless voice in the sky addressed him: 'Thou knowest not, o fool, that a Brāhman is better than a Kshattriya. It is with the help of the Brāhman that the Kshattriya rules his subjects.' Arjuna answers: 'If I am pleased, I can create, or, if displeased, annihilate, living beings; and no Brāh-man is superior to me in act, thought, or word. The first proposition is that the Brāhmans are superior; the second that the Kshattriyas are superior; both of these thou hast stated with their grounds, but there is a difference between them (in point of force). The Brāhmans are dependant on the Kshattriyas, and not the Kshattriyas on the Brāhmans; and the Kshattriyas are eaten up by the Brāhmans, who wait upon them, and only make the Vedas a pretence. Justice, the protection of the people, has its seat in the Kshattriyas. From them the Brāhmans derive their livelihood: how then can the latter be superior? I always keep in subjection to myself those Brāhmans, the chief of all beings, who subsist on alms, and who have a high opinion of themselves. For truth was spoken by that female the Gāyatrī in the sky. I shall subdue all those unruly Brāhmans clad in hides. 7200. No one in the three worlds, god or man, can hurl me from my royal authority; wherefore I am

superior to any Brāhman. Now shall I turn the world in which Brāhmans have the upper hand into a place where Kshattriyas shall have the upper hand: for no one dares to encounter my force in battle.' Hearing this speech of Arjuna, the female roving in the night became alarmed. Then Vāyu, hovering in the air, said to Arjuna: 'Abandon this sinful disposition, and do obeisance to the Brāhmans. If thou shalt do them wrong, thy kingdom shall be convulsed. They will subdue thee: those powerful men will humble thee, and expel thee from thy country.' The king asks him, 'Who art thou?' Vāyu replies, 'I am Vāyu, the messenger of the gods, and tell thee what is for thy benefit.' Arjuna rejoins, 'Oh, thou displayest to-day a great warmth of devotion to the Brāhmans. But say that a Brāhman is like (any other) earth-born creature. Or say that this most excellent Brāhman is something like the wind. But fire is like the waters, or the sun, or the sky.'"[245] Vāyu, however, goes on to answer this spirited banter by adducing various instances in which the superiority or terrible power of the Brāhmans had been manifested: 7124. *Tyaktvā mahītvam bhūmis tu sparddhayā 'nga-nṛipasya ha | nāśaṁ jagāma tāṁ vipro vyashṭambhayata Kāśyapaḥ |* "The earth, being offended with king Anga, had abandoned her form and become destroyed: but the Brāhman Kaśyapa supported her." This is afterwards told more at length, verse 7232: *Imām bhūmiṁ dvijātibhyo ditsur vai dakshiṇām purā | Ango nāma nṛipo rājaṁs tataś chintām mahī yayau | "dhāraṇīṁ sarva-bhūtānām ayam prāpya varo nṛipaḥ | katham ichhati māṁ dātuṁ dvijebhyo Brahmaṇaḥ sutām | sā 'haṁ tyaktvā gamishyāmi bhūmitvam Brahmaṇaḥ padam | ayaṁ sa-rāshṭro nṛipatir mā bhūd" iti tato 'gamat |* 7235. *Tatas tām Kaśyapo dṛishṭvā vrajantīm pṛithivīṁ tadā | praviveśa mahīṁ sadyo muktvā "tmānaṁ samāhitaḥ | ṛiddhā sā sarvato jajne triṇaushadhi-samanvitā | . . . .* 7238. *Athāgamya mahārāja namaskṛitya cha Kaśyapam | pṛithivī Kāśyapī jajne sutā tasya mahātmanaḥ | esha rājann īdṛiśo vai brāhmaṇaḥ Kaśyapo 'bhavat | anyam prabrūhi vā tvaṁ cha Kaśyapāt kshattriyaṁ varam |* "King Anga wished to bestow this earth on the Brāhmans as a sacrificial fee. The earth then reflected, 'How does this excellent king, after having obtained me, the daughter of Brahmā, and the supporter of all creatures, desire to give

[245] The drift of the last line is not very clear, unless it be a reply by anticipation to line 225, which will be found a little further on.

me to the Brāhmans? I shall abandon my earthly form, and depart to the world of Brahmā. Let this king be without any realm.' Accordingly she departed. 7235. Beholding her going away, Kaśyapa, sunk in contemplation, entered into her, leaving his own body. She then became replenished, and covered with grass and plants, etc., etc. .... 7238. She afterwards came and did obeisance to Kaśyapa, and became his daughter. Such was the Brāhman Kaśyapa: Declare, on your part, any Kshattriya who has been superior to him."

Further illustrations of the tremendous power of the Brāhmans are the following:

7215. *Apibat tejasā hy āpaḥ svayam evāngirāḥ purā | sa tāḥ piban kshīram iva nātṛipyata mahāmanāḥ | apūrayad mahaughena mahīm sarvām cha pārthiva | tasminn aham cha kruddhe vai jagat tyaktvā tato gataḥ | vyatishṭham agnihotre cha chiram Angiraso bhayāt | atha śaptaś cha bhagavān Gautamena Purandaraḥ | Ahalyām kāmayāno vai dharmārtham cha na himsitaḥ | yathā samudro nṛipate pūrṇo mṛishṭaś cha vāriṇā | brāhmaṇair abhiśaptaḥ san babhūva lavaṇodakaḥ |* .... 7223. *Daṇḍakānām mahad rājyam brāhmaṇena vināśitam | Tālajangham mahākshattram Aurveṇaikena nāśitam |* .... 7225. *Agnim tvam yajase nityam kasmād brāhmaṇam Arjuna | sa hi sarvasya lokasya havya-vāṭ kim na vetsi tam |* .... 7241. *Bhadrā Somasya duhitā rūpeṇa paramā matā | yasyās tulyam patim Somaḥ Utathyam samapaśyata | sā cha tīvram tapas tepe mahābhāgā yaśasvinī | Utathyārthe tu chārvāngī param niyamam āsthitā | tataḥ āhūya sotathyam dadāv Atrir yaśasvinīm | bhāryyārthe sa tu jagrāha vidhivad bhūri-dakshiṇaḥ | tām tv akāmayata śrīmān Varuṇaḥ pūrvam eva ha | sa chāgamya vanaprastham Yamunāyām jahāra tām |* 7245. *Jaleśvaras tu hṛitvā tām anayat svapuram prati | paramādbhuta-sankāśam shaṭ-sahasra-śatam hradam | na hi ramyataram kinchit tasmād anyat purottamam | prāsādair apsarobhiś cha divyaiḥ kāmaiś cha śobhitam | tatra devas tayā sārddham reme rājan jaleśvaraḥ | athākhyātam Utathyāya tataḥ patny-avamarddanam | tach chhrutvā Nāradāt sarvam Utathyo Nāradam tadā | provācha "gachha brūhi tvam Varuṇam parusham vachaḥ | madvākyād muncha me bhāryyām kasmāt tām hṛitavān asi | lokapālo 'si lokānām na lokasya vilumpakaḥ | Somena dattā me bhāryyā tvayā chāpahṛitā 'dya vai" |* .... 7251. *Iti śrutvā vachas tasya tatas tam Varuṇo 'bravīt | "mamaishā supriyā bhīrur nainām utsrashṭum utsahe" | ity ukto Varuṇenātha Nā-*

radaḥ prāpya vai munim | *Utathyam abravīd vākyaṁ nātihṛishṭa-manāḥ iva* | "*gale gṛihītvā kshipto 'smi Varuṇena mahāmune* | *na prayachhati te bhāryyāṁ yat te kāryyaṁ kurushva tat*" | *Nāradasya vachaḥ śrutvā kruddhaḥ prājvalad Angirāḥ* | 7255. *Apibat tejasā vāri vishṭabhya sa mahātapāḥ* | *pīyamāne tu sarvasmiṁs toye vai salileśvaraḥ* | *suhṛidbhiḥ kshobhyamāṇo vai naivāmunchata tāṁ tadā* | *tataḥ kruddho 'bravīd bhūmim Utathyo brāhmaṇottamāḥ* | *darśayasva chhalam bhadre shaṭ-sahasra-śataṁ hradam* | *tatas tad īriṇaṁ jātaṁ samudraś chāvasarpitaḥ* | *tasmād deśān nadīṁ chaiva provāchāsau dvijottamaḥ* | "*adṛiśyā gachha bhīru tvaṁ Sarasvati marūn prati* | *apuṇyaḥ esha bhavatu deśas tyaktas tvayā śubhe*" | *tasmin saṁśoshite deśe Bhadrām ādāya vāripaḥ* | 7260. *Adadāt śaraṇaṁ gatvā bhāryyām Āngirasāya vai* | *pratigṛihya tu tām bhāryyām Utathyaḥ sumanā 'bhavat* | *mumocha cha jagad duḥkhād Varuṇaṁ chaiva Haihaya* | . . . . 7262. *Mamaishā tapasā prāptā krośatas te jalādhipa* | 7263. . . . . *esha rājann īdṛiśo vai Utathyo brāhmaṇottamaḥ* | *bravīmy aham brūhi vā tvam Utathyāt kshattriyam varam* |

"Angiras, too, himself formerly drank up the waters by his own might. Drinking them up like milk he was not satisfied: and filled the whole earth with a great flood. When he was thus wroth, I abandoned the world and departed, and dwelt for a long time in the agnihotra. The divine Purandara (Indra), who had a passion for Ahalyā, was cursed by (her husband) Gautama; but, from motives of religion, he was not injured.[246] The sea, which is filled and purified by water, being cursed by the Brāhmans, became salt." 7223. The great king-

[246] See above pp. 121 and 310; and also pp. 107–113. In this same Anuśāsana Parva, verses 2262 ff., there is found another story (told to illustrate the frailty of the female sex) of Indra being enamoured of Ruchi, the wife of the rishi Devaśarman, and of the method which that sage's disciple, Vipula, (to whose care his preceptor's wife had been entrusted during her husband's absence,) devised to preserve his charge from being corrupted by the licentious immortal who was in the habit of assuming manifold Protean disguises in order to carry out his unworthy designs, and to save the female from being "licked up by the king of the gods, as a mischievous dog licks up the butter deposited at the sacrifice" (*Yathā Ruchiṁ nāvalihed devendro Bhṛigu-sattama* | *kratāv upahite nyastaṁ haviḥ śvevа durātmavān*), a respectful comparison, truly, to be applied to the chief of the Indian pantheon! The plan which Vipula adopted to save the virtue of his master's wife against her will was to take possession of her body with his own spirit, and to restrain her movements by the force of Yoga, and compel her to say the contrary of what she desired. The story ends by his re-entering his own body, reproaching Indra with his disgraceful behaviour, and compelling him to retire abashed.

dom of the Daṇḍakas was overthrown by a Brāhman; and the great Kshattriya family of the Tālajanghas was destroyed by Aurva alone. 7225. And why dost thou, o Arjuna, worship Agni (who is) a Brāhman? for knowest thou not that he bears the oblations of the whole world?" The story of Utathya, of the race of Angiras, is afterwards told: "7241. Bhadrā was the daughter of Soma, and considered to be a a person of great beauty. Soma regarded Utathya as a fitting husband for her. She practised severe austerities in order to gain him. Atri (the father of Soma, according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Wilson, 1st ed. p. 392) then sent for Utathya, and gave her to him, and he married her in due form, presenting large gifts. 7245. The god Varuṇa, however, who had formerly been enamoured of her, came and carried her off from the abode of the hermit, who was living on the banks of the Yamunā, and took her to his own city, to a very wonderful lake of six hundred thousand (yojanas). No city was more delightful than that, adorned as it was by palaces and apsarases, and rich in celestial objects of enjoyment. There the god enjoyed her society. His wife's dishonour being made known to Utathya by Nārada, he requested the latter to go and deliver a severe message to Varuṇa: 'I command thee to let my wife go, who was given to me by Soma; wherefore hast thou carried her away? Thou art a guardian of the world, not a robber.'. . . . 7251. Varuṇa answered, 'She is my beloved; I cannot bear to give her up.' Nārada, in no very gratified humour, reported this answer to Utathya, and said, 'Varuṇa took me by the throat, and cast me out. He will not give up thy wife. Take whatever measures thou esteemest proper.' Utathya was greatly incensed (7255), and stopped up and drank all the sea. Still Varuṇa, though urged by his friends, would not give up the female. Utathya then desired the earth to try some other stratagem; and the lake above described was turned into a salt wilderness, and the ocean swept away. The saint then addressed himself to the countries and to the river: 'Sarasvatī, disappear into the deserts; and let this land, deserted by thee, become impure.' After the country had become dried up, Varuṇa submitted himself to Utathya, and brought back Bhadrā. The sage was pleased to get his wife, and released both the world and Varuṇa from their sufferings. . . . . He said to the latter (7262) 'This, my wife, was gained by my austerities in spite of thy remonstrances.' 7263. . . . . 'Such, o king, I say, was

the Brāhman Utathya; tell me of any Kshattriya superior to him.'"

A story is next told (verses 7265 ff.) of the gods being conquered by the Asuras or Dānavas, deprived of all oblations, and stripped of their dignity, and of their coming to earth, where they saw the sage Agastya, and applied to him for protection. The succour they implored was granted to them by the sage, who scorched the Dānavas, expelled them from heaven and earth, and made them fly to the south. Thus were the gods reinstated in their dominion.

We have then, verses 7280–7290, the following legend of Vaśishṭha: The Ādityas were performing a sacrifice, bearing Vaśishṭha in their remembrance, when they were attacked by the Dānavas, called Khalins, who came in tens of thousands to slay them:

Verse 7284. *Tatas tair arditāḥ devāḥ śaraṇaṁ Vāsavaṁ yayuḥ | sa cha tair vyathitaḥ Śakro Vaśishṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ yayau | tato 'bhayaṁ dadau tebhyo Vaśishṭho bhagavān ṛishiḥ | tadā tān duḥkhitān jnātvā ānṛiśaṁsya-paro muniḥ | ayatnenādahat sarvān Khalinaḥ svena tejasā |* . . . . 7289. *Evaṁ sendrāḥ Vaśishṭhena rakshitās tridivaukasaḥ | Brahma-datta-varāś chaiva hatāḥ daityāḥ mahātmanā | etat karma Vaśishṭhasya kathitaṁ hi mayā 'nagha | bravīmy aham brūhi vā tvam Vaśishṭhāt kshattriyaṁ varam |*

"The gods being distressed by them, resorted to Indra; and he too, being harassed by them, went to Vaśishṭha for help. This reverend and benevolent sage gave them all his protection; and being aware of their distress, without any exertion, burnt up all the Dānavas . . . . 7289. Thus were the gods, including Indra, preserved by Vaśishṭha, and the Daityas, even although they had obtained a boon from Brahmā, were slain. Such was the exploit of Vaśishṭha: can you tell me of any Kshattriya who was superior to him?"

A further tale is told of the prowess of the sage Atri, who interposed to deliver the gods and restore light to the celestial luminaries:

Verse 7292. *Ghore tamasy ayudhyanta sahitāḥ deva-dānavāḥ | avidhyata śarais tattra Svarbhānuḥ Soma-bhāskarau | atha te tamasā grastāḥ vihanyante sma dānavaiḥ | devāḥ nṛipati-śārdūla sahaiva Balibhis tadā | asurair badhyamānās te kshīṇa-prāṇāḥ divaukasaḥ | apaśyanta tapasyantam Atriṁ vipraṁ tapodhanam |* . . . . 7297. *Te 'bruvaṁś "chandramāḥ bhava | timira-ghnaś cha savitā dasyu-hantā cha no bhava" | evam uktas tadā 'trir vai tamo-nud abhavat śaśī | apaśyat saumya-bhāvāch cha soma-*

vat-priya-darśanaḥ | *dṛishṭvā nātiprabhaṁ somaṁ tathā sūryaṁ cha pārthiva* | *prakāśam akarod Atris tapasā svena saṁyuge* | 7300. *Jagad vitimiraṁ chāpi prakāśam akarot tadā* | *vyajayat śatru-saṁghāṁś cha devānāṁ svena tejasā* | . . . . 7303. *Dvijenāgni-dvitīyena japatā charma-vāsasā* | *phala-bhakshena rājarshe paśya karmāttriṇā kṛitam* | . . . . 7304. . . . . *brūhi vā tvam Atritaḥ kshattriyaṁ varam* |

"The gods and Dānavas fought together in dreadful darkness; when Svarbhānu pierced with his arrows the sun and moon. Enveloped in gloom the gods were slaughtered by the Dānavas, together with the Balis. Being thus slain and exhausted, the celestials beheld the Brāhman Atri employed in austerities;" and invoked his aid in their extremity. He asked what he should do. They reply, verse 2297: "'Become the moon, and the gloom-dispelling sun, the slayer of the Dasyus.' Atri then became the gloom-dispelling moon, and in his character as such looked beautiful as Soma. Perceiving the sun and moon to be shorn of their brightness, Atri threw light upon the conflict, (7300) freed the world from darkness, by the power of his austere-fervour, and vanquished the enemies of the gods. . . . . 7303. Behold the deed done by Atri, the Brāhman, attended by Agni, the mutterer of prayers, clad in a skin, and living upon fruits. . . . . 7304. 'Tell me of any Kshattriya superior to Atri.'"

This story is founded on some verses of the Rig-veda, v. 40, 5: *Yat tvā sūryya Svarbhānus tamasā 'vidhyad āsuraḥ* | *akshetra-vid yathā mugdho bhuvanāni adīdhayuḥ* | 6. *Svarbhānor adha yad Indra māyāḥ avo divo varttamānāḥ avāhan* | *gūlhaṁ sūryyaṁ tamasā 'pavratena turīyeṇa brahmaṇā 'vindad Atriḥ* | 8. *Grāvṇo brahmā yujujānaḥ saparyyan kīriṇā devān namasopaśikshan* | *Atriḥ sūryasya divi chakshur ādhāt Svarbhānor apa māyāḥ aghukshat* | 9. *Yaṁ vai sūryyaṁ Svarbhānus tamasā 'vidhyad āsuraḥ* | *Atrayas tam anv avindan nahi anye aśaknuvan* |

"When Svarbhānu of the Asura race pierced thee, o Sun, with darkness, all worlds appeared like a man who is bewildered in a region which he does not know. 6. When, Indra, thou didst sweep away the magical arts of Svarbhānu, which were operating beneath the sky, Atri discovered by the fourth text the Sun, which had been hidden by the hostile darkness. 8. Applying the (soma-crushing) stones, performing worship, serving the gods with reverence and praise, the priest Atri placed the eye of the Sun in the sky, and dispelled the illusions of

Svarbhānu. 9. The Atris discovered the Sun which Svarbhānu had pierced with darkness. No others could."

We have next a curious legend about the sage Chyavana, of the race of Bhṛigu:

7306. *Aśvinoḥ pratisaṁśrutya Chyavanaḥ Pākaśāsanam | provācha sahito devaiḥ "somapāv Aśvinau kuru" | Indraḥ uvācha | "asmābhir ninditāv etau bhavetāṁ somapau katham | devair na sammitāv etau tasmād maivaṁ vadasva naḥ | Aśvibhyāṁ saha nechhāmaḥ somam pātum mahā-vrata | yad anyad vakshyase vipra tat karishyāma te vachaḥ" | Chyavanaḥ uvācha | "pibetām Aśvinau somam bhavadbhiḥ sahitāv ubhau | ubhāv etāv api surau sūryya-puttrau sureśvara | 7310. Kriyatām mad-vacho devāḥ yathā vai samudāhṛitam | etad vaḥ kurvatāṁ śreyo bhaved naitad akurvatām" | Indraḥ uvācha | "Aśvibhyāṁ saha somaṁ vai na pāsyāmi dvijottama | pibantv anye yathākāmaṁ nāham pātum ihotsahe" | Chyavanaḥ uvācha || "na chet karishyasi vacho mayoktam bala-sūdana | mayā pramathitaḥ sadyaḥ somam pāsyasi vai makhe" | tataḥ karma samārabdhaṁ hitāya sahasā 'śvinoḥ | Chyavanena tato mantrair abhibhūtāḥ surā 'bhavan | tat tu karma samārabdhaṁ dṛishṭvendraḥ krodha-mūrchhitaḥ | udyamya vipulaṁ śailaṁ Chyavanaṁ samupādravat | 7315. Tathā vajreṇa bhagavān amarshākula-lochanaḥ | tam āpatantaṁ dṛishṭvaiva Chyavanas tapasā 'nvitaḥ | adbhiḥ siktvā 'stambhayat taṁ sa-vajraṁ saha-parvatam | athendrasya mahāghoraṁ so 'sṛijat śatrum eva hi | Mayaṁ nāmāhuti-mayaṁ vyāditāsyam mahāmuniḥ | . . . . 7319. Jihvā-mūlāsthitās tasya sarve devāḥ sa-vāsavāḥ | timer āsyam anupraptāḥ yathā matsyāḥ mahārṇave | te sammantrya tato deva Madasyāsya samīpagāḥ | abruvan sahitāḥ S'akram praṇamāsmai dvijātaye | Aśvibhyāṁ saha somaṁ cha pibāma vigata-jvarāḥ | tataḥ sa praṇataḥ S'akraś chakāra Chyavanasya tat | Chyavanaḥ kṛitavān etāv Aśvinau soma-pāyinau | tataḥ pratyāharat karma Madaṁ cha vyabhajad muniḥ |*

"Having given a promise to that effect, Chyavana applied, along with the other gods, to Indra, to allow the Aśvins to partake in the soma juice. Indra answered, 'How can they become drinkers of the soma, seeing they are reviled by us, and are not on an equality with the gods? We do not wish to drink soma in their company; but we shall accede to your wishes in any other respect.' Chyavana repeats his request, and urges that the Aśvins also are gods, and the offspring of the Sun. 7310. He adds that it will be well for the gods if they accede to this

demand, and ill if they do not. Indra rejoins that the other gods may drink with the Aśvins if they please, but he cannot bring himself to do it. Chyavana retorts that if he does not, he shall be chastised by the sage, and made to drink soma (with them) at the sacrifice. A ceremony was then instantly begun by Chyavana for the benefit of the Aśvins; and the gods were vanquished by sacred texts. Indra, seeing this rite commenced, became incensed, uplifted a vast mountain (7315), and rushed with his thunderbolt, and with angry eyes, on Chyavana. The sage, however, sprinkling him with water, arrested him with his mountain and thunderbolt. Chyavana then created a fearful open-mouthed monster, called Mada, formed of the substance of the oblation," who is further described as having teeth and grinders of portentous length, and jaws, one of which enclosed the earth and the other the sky: and the gods, including Indra, are said (7319), "to have been at the root of his tongue [ready to be devoured] like fishes in the mouth of a sea monster. Finding themselves int his predicament, the gods took counsel and said to Indra, 'Make salutation to Chyavana, and let us drink soma along with the Aśvins, and so escape from our sufferings.' Indra then, making obeisence, granted the demand of Chyavana, who was thus the cause of the Aśvins becoming drinkers of the soma. He then performed the ceremony, and clove Mada to pieces."

Does this legend mean that this rishi of the Bhṛigu family was the first to introduce the Aśvins within the circle of the Arian worship?

Compare the passages from the Śatapatha Brāhmana iv. 1, 5, 1 ff., and from the Vanaparvan of the M. Bh. verses 10316 ff. quoted in my "Contributions to a knowledge of the Vedic theogony and mythology," No. II., in the Journ. R. A. S., for 1866, pp 11 ff.; Ind. St. i. 188, and the Āśvamedhika-parvan of the M. Bh., verses 249 ff., there referred to. The Aśvins are, in different passages of the Rig-veda, as iii. 58, 7, 9; viii. 8, 5; viii. 35, 7–10, invited to drink the soma-juice.

Vāyu relates to Arjuna yet one more instance of the irresistible power of the Brāhmans:

7327. *Madasyāsyam anuprāptāḥ yadā sendrāḥ divaukasaḥ | tadaiva Chyavanenehа hṛitā teshāṁ vasundharā | ubhau lokau hṛitau matvā te devāḥ duḥkhitāḥ bhṛiśam | śokārttāś cha mahātmāno Brahmāṇaṁ śaraṇaṁ yayuḥ | devāḥ ūchuḥ | Madāsya-vyatisiktānām asmākaṁ loka-pūjita ; Chyavanena hṛitā bhūmiḥ Kapaiś chaiva divam prabho | Brahmā uvācha |*

7330. *Gachhadhvaṁ śaraṇaṁ viprān āśu sendrāḥ divaukasaḥ | prasādya tān ubhau lokāv avāpsyatha yathā purā | te yayuḥ śaraṇaṁ viprān ūchus te "kān jayāmahe" | ity uktās te dvijān prāhur "jayateha Kapān" iti | "bhūgatān hi vijetāro vayam" ity abruvan "dvijāḥ" | tataḥ karma samārabdham brāhmaṇaiḥ Kapa-nāśanam | tat śrutvā preshito dūto brāhmaṇebhyo Dhanī Kapaiḥ | bhū-gatān brāhmaṇān āha Dhanī Kapa-vacho yathā | "bhavadbhiḥ sadṛiśāḥ sarve Kapāḥ kim iha varttate | sarve veda-vidaḥ prājnāḥ sarve cha kratu-yājinaḥ |* 7335. *Sarve satyavratāś chaiva sarve tulyāḥ maharshibhiḥ | śrīś chaiva ramataiteshu dhārayanti śriyaṁ cha te |* . . . . 7339. *Etaiś chānyaiś cha bahubhir guṇair yuktān kathaṁ Kapān |* 7340. *Vijeshyatha nivarttadhvaṁ nivṛittānāṁ śubhaṁ hi vaḥ" | Brāhmaṇāḥ ūchuḥ | Kapān vayaṁ vijeshyāmo ye devās te vayaṁ smṛitāḥ | tasmād badhyāḥ Kapā 'smākam Dhanin yāhi yathāgatam | Dhanī gatvā Kapān āha "na no viprāḥ priyankarāḥ | gṛihītvā 'strāṇy atho viprān Kapāḥ sarve samādravan | samudagra-dhvajān dṛishṭvā Kapān sarve dvijātayaḥ | vyasṛijan jvalitān agnīn Kapānām prāṇa-nāśanān | brahma-sṛishṭāḥ havyabhujaḥ Kapān hatvā sanātanāḥ | nabhasīva yathā 'bhrāṇi vyarājanta narādhipa | Hatvā vai dānavān devāḥ sarve sambhūya saṁyuge | tenābhyajānan hi tadā brāhmaṇair nihatān Kapān | athāgamya mahātejāḥ Nārado 'kathayad vibho | yathā hatāḥ mahābhāgais tejasā brāhmaṇaiḥ Kapāḥ | Nāradasya vachaḥ śrutvā prītāḥ sarve divaukasaḥ | praśaśaṁsuḥ dvijāṁś chāpi brāhmaṇāṁś cha yaśasvinaḥ |*

"When the gods, including Indra, were enclosed within the mouth of Mada, the earth was taken from them by Chyavana. The gods then considering that they had lost both worlds, in their distress resorted to Brahmā, and said, 'Since we have been swallowed up in the mouth of Mada, the earth has been taken from us by Chyavana, and the heaven by the Kapas.' Brahmā answered, 'Go speedily, ye gods, with Indra, to the Brāhmans for help. After propitiating them ye shall regain both worlds.' They did so, and the Brāhmans, after ascertaining that the gods would themselves deal with those of their enemies who were on earth, began a ceremony for the destruction of the Kapas. The Kapas upon this sent a messenger to the Brāhmans, to say that they themselves were all, like them, skilled in the Vedas, learned, and offerers of sacrifice, all pure in their observances, and all resembling great rishis, etc., etc. How then should the Brāhmans be able to conquer them? It would be more for their interest to desist from the attempt. The Brāhmans,

however, would not be persuaded; and when, in consequence, the Kapas assailed them, they hurled forth fires by which the Kapas were destroyed. The gods themselves conquered the Dānavas, and learning from Nārada what the illustrious Brāhmans had effected, they sang their praises."[247]

Hearing of all these testimonies to the terrible might of the Brāhmans, Arjuna at length gives in, saying:

7350. *Jīvāmy aham brāhmaṇārthaṁ sarvathā satatam prabho | brahmaṇyo brāhmaṇebhyaś cha praṇamāmi cha nityaśaḥ | Dattātreya-prasādāch cha mayā prāptam idam balam | loke cha paramā kīrttir dharmaś cha charito mahān | aho brāhmaṇa-karmāṇi mayā Māruta tattvataḥ | tvayā proktāni kārtsnyena śrutāni prayatena cha | Vāyur uvācha | brāhmaṇān kshāttra-dharmeṇa pālayasvendriyāṇi cha | Bhṛigubhyas te bhayaṁ ghoraṁ tat tu kālād bhavishyati |*

"I live altogether and always for the sake of the Brāhmans. I am devoted to the Brāhmans, and do obeisance to them continually. And it is through the favour of Dattāttreya (a Brāhman) that I have obtained all this power and high renown, and that I have practised righteousness. Thou hast declared to me truly all the acts of the Brāhmans, and I have listened intently." Vāyu then says to him: "Protect the Brāhmans, fulfilling a Kshattriya's function; and restrain your senses. A dreadful cause of apprehension impends over you from the Bhṛigus, but it will only take effect after some time." This last remark may have been introduced to bring this story into harmony with the other legend about the destruction of Arjuna and the Kshattriyas.

The narrative, which has just been quoted, is, as I have already stated, preceded by a panegyric of some length pronounced by Bhīshma on the Brāhmans (verses 7163–7184), of which the following are specimens:

7163. *Brāhmaṇānām paribhavaḥ sādayed api devatāḥ* | 7164. *Te hi lokān imān sarvān dhārayanti manīshiṇaḥ* | 7175. *Chandane mala-panke cha bhojane 'bhojane samāḥ | vāso yeshāṁ dukūlaṁ cha śāna-kshaumājināni cha* | 7177. *Adaivaṁ daivataṁ kuryur daivataṁ vā 'py adaivatam | lokān anyān sṛijeyus te lokapālāṁś cha kopitāḥ* | 7179. *Devānām api ye devāḥ kāraṇaṁ kāraṇasya cha* | 7181. *Avidvān brāhmaṇo devaḥ . . . . | vidvān bhūyas tato devaḥ pūrṇa-sāgara-sannibhaḥ* |

"The prowess of the Brāhmans can destroy even the gods. 7164.

[247] This translation is a good deal condensed.

Those wise beings uphold all these worlds. 7175. To them it is indifferent whether they are perfumed with sandal wood or deformed with mire, whether they eat or fast, whether they are clad in silk, or in sackcloth or skins. 7177. They can turn what is not divine into what is divine, and the converse; and can in their anger create other worlds with their guardians. 7179. They are the gods of the gods; and the cause of the cause. 7181. An ignorant Brāhman is a god, whilst a learned Brāhman is yet more a god, like the full ocean." (Compare the similar eulogies in p. 130, above.)

In the Anuśāsanaparvan, sections 52 ff., we have the story of Paraśurāma, in connection with that of Viśvāmitra, yet once more handled. Yudhishṭhira says he is very curious to know something more about these two personages:

2718. *Katham esha samutpanno Rāmaḥ satya-parākramaḥ | katham brahmarshi-vaṁśo 'yaṁ kshattra-dharmā vyajāyata | tad asya sambhavaṁ rājan nikhilenānukīrttaya | Kauśikāch cha kathaṁ vaṁśāt kshattrād vai brāhmaṇo 'bhavat | aho prabhāvaḥ sumahān āsīd vai sumahātmanaḥ | Rāmasya cha nara-vyāghra Viśvāmitrasya chaiva hi | katham puttrān atikramya teshāṁ naptṛishv athābhavat | esha doshaḥ sutān hitvā tat tvaṁ vyākhyātum arhasi |*

"How was this valiant Rāma, descended from the family of a Brāhman-rishi, born with the qualities of a Kshattriya? Tell me the whole story: and how did a Brāhman spring from the Kshattriya race of Kuśika? Great was the might of Rāma, and of Viśvāmitra. How did it happen that, passing over the sons [of Ṛichīka and Kuśika], this defect showed itself in their grandsons?"

Then there follows a long dialogue related by Bhīshma as having taken place between king Kuśika and the sage Chyavana. The latter, it seems, "foreseeing that this disgrace was about to befall his race [from connection with the Kuśikas], and entertaining, in consequence, after he had weighed all the good and evil, and the strength and weakness (on either side), the desire of burning up that whole family" (verse 2723. *Etaṁ dosham purā dṛishṭvā Bhārgavaś Chyavanas tadā | āgāminam mahābuddhiḥ sva-vaṁśe muni-sattamaḥ | niśchitya manasā sarvaṁ guṇa-dosham balābalam | dagdhu-kāmaḥ kulaṁ sarvaṁ Kuśikānāṁ tapodhanaḥ |*), came to Kuśika. Chyavana is welcomed and treated with great attention, and receives from Kuśika the offer of all his king-

dom, etc. The saint, however, does not requite this honour with corresponding kindness, but makes the king and his wife perform many menial offices, rub his feet, attend while he sleeps, bring him food, and draw him in a chariot, while he lacerates their backs with a goad. All this is submitted to so patiently, that the sage is propitiated, addresses them in kindly tones, and touches their wounded bodies with his godlike hands. After creating a magical golden palace, with all the accompaniments of pleasure (2826 ff.), in order to give them a conception of heaven, (2892 ff.) the sage offers to bestow any boon the king may choose; and to solve any of his doubts. Kuśika asks the reason of the sage's unaccountable procedure. Chyavana answers that he had heard from Brahmā that there would be "a confusion of families in consequence of the hostility of Brāhmans and Kshattriyas, and that a grandson of great glory and heroism would be born to Kuśika" (verse 2878. *Brahma-kshattra-virodhena bhavitā kula-sankaraḥ | pautras te bhavitā rājaṁs tejo-vīryya-samanvitaḥ |*); that he had intended in consequence to burn up the race of the Kuśikas, but that the king had come so well out of the severe ordeal to which he had been subjected, that the sage had become thoroughly pacified, and would grant the boon which Kuśika desired:

2897. *Bhavishyaty esha te kāmas Kauśikāt Kauśiko dvijaḥ | tṛitīyam purushaṁ tubhyam brāhmaṇatvaṁ gamishyati | vaṁśas te pārthiva-śreshṭha Bhṛigūṇām eva tejasā | pautras te bhavitā vipras tapasvī pāvana-dyutiḥ | yaḥ sa-deva-manushyāṇām bhayam utpādayishyati |*

"This thy desire shall be fulfilled; from a Kauśika a Kauśika Brāhman shall arise: in the third generation thy race shall attain to Brāhmanhood by the might of the Bhṛigus. Thy son's son shall become a Brāhman, a devotee, splendid as fire, who shall alarm both gods and men." Kuśika being anxious to know how all this was to be brought to pass, Chyavana informs him:

2995. *Bhṛigūṇāṁ kshattriyāḥ yājyāḥ nityam etaj janādhipa | te cha bhedaṁ gamishyanti daiva-yuktena hetunā | kshattriyāś cha Bhṛigūn sarvān badhishyanti narādhipa | āgarbhād anukṛintanto daiva-daṇḍa nipīḍitāḥ | tataḥ utpatsyate 'smākaṁ kula-gotra-vivardhanaḥ | Ūrvo nāma mahātejā jvalanārka-sama-dyutiḥ | sa trailokya-vināśāya kopāgniṁ janayishyati | mahīṁ sa-parvata-vanāṁ yaḥ karishyati bhasmasāt | kanchit kālaṁ tu vahniṁ cha sa eva śamayishyati | samudre vaḍavā-vaktre prak-*

shipya muni-sattamaḥ | 2910. *Puttraṁ tasya mahārāja Richīkam Bhṛigu-nandanam* | *sākshāt kṛitsno dhanur-vedaḥ samupasthāsyate 'nagha* | *kshattriyāṇām abhāvāya daiva-yuktena hetunā* | *sa tu tam pratigṛihyaiva puttraṁ sankrāmayishyati* | *Jamadagnau mahābhāge tapasā bhāvitātmani* | *sa chāpi Bhṛigu-śārdūlas taṁ vedaṁ dhārayishyati* | *kulāt tu tava dharmātman kanyāṁ so 'dhigamishyati* | *udbhāvanārtham bhavato vaṁśasya Bharatarshabha* | *Gādher duhitaram prāpya pauttrīṁ tava mahātapāḥ* | *brāhmaṇaṁ kshattra-dharmāṇam puttram utpādayishyati* | 2915. *Kshattriyaṁ vipra-karmāṇam Vṛihaspatim ivaujasā* | *Viśvāmitraṁ tava kule Gādheḥ puttraṁ sudhārmikam* | *tapasā mahatā yuktam pradāsyati mahādyute* | *striyau tu kāraṇaṁ tattra parivartte bhavishyataḥ* | *Pitāmaha-niyogād vai nānyathaitad bhavishyati* | *tṛitīye purushe tubhyam brāhmaṇatvam upaishyati* | *bhavitā tvaṁ cha sambandhī Bhṛigūṇām bhāvitātmanām* | . . . . 2923. *Etat te kathitaṁ sarvam aśesheṇa mayā nṛipa* | *Bhṛigūnaṁ Kuśikānāṁ cha abhisambandha-kāraṇam* | *yathoktam ṛishiṇā chāpi tadā tad abhavad nṛipa* | *janma Rāmasya cha muner Viśvāmitrasya chaiva hi* |

"The Bhṛigus have always been the priests of the Kshattriyas; but these will become hostile to each other for a fated reason. The Kshattriyas shall slay all the Bhṛigus, even to children in the womb, being oppressed by a divine nemesis. Then shall arise the glorious Ūrva,[348] like the sun in splendour, who shall augment the glory of our race. He shall create a fire of wrath for the destruction of the three worlds, which shall reduce the earth with its mountains and forests to ashes. After a time he will extinguish the fire, throwing it into the ocean into the mouth of Vaḍavā (the submarine fire). Into his son Ṛichīka shall

[348] Ūrva is here said (verse 2907) to belong to the race of Chyavana, but whether as a near or remote descendant is not stated. In verse 2910 Ṛichīka is said to be the son of Ūrva. In the Ādiparvan, verses 2610 ff., the matter is somewhat differently stated: *Ārushī tu Manoḥ kanyā tasya patnī yaśasvinī* | *Aurvas tasyāṁ samabhavad ūrum bhittvā mahāyaśāḥ* | *mahātejāḥ mahāvīryyo bālaḥ eva guṇair yutaḥ* | *Ṛichīkas tasya puttras tu Jamadagnis tato 'bhavat* | "Ārushī, the daughter of Manu, was the wife of the sage (Chyavana); of her was the illustrious Aurva born, having split his mother's thigh. He was great in glory and might, and from his childhood endowed with eminent qualities. Ṛichīka was his son, and Ṛichīka's was Jamadagni." Here Aurva is said to derive his name from having divided his mother's thigh (*ūru*); and no allusion is made to Ūrva, though the same person appears to be meant. In the passage of the Anuśāsana-parvan, however, we have an Ūrva, the father of Ṛichīka, whose patronymic will thus be Aurva; as it is, in fact, in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, as quoted above in p. 352.

enter the entire embodied Dhanur-veda (science of archery), for the destined destruction of the Kshattriyas. This science he shall transmit to his great son Jamadagni, whose mind shall be spiritualized by devotion, and who shall possess that Veda. He (Ṛichīka) shall obtain [for his wife] a maiden of thy family, to prolong thy race. This great devotee, wedding thy grand-daughter, the daughter of Gādhi, shall beget a Brāhman (*i.e.* Paraśurāma), fulfilling the functions of a Kshattriya; (2915) and shall bestow on thy family a Kshattriya who shall perform the functions of a Brāhman, Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, an austere devotee, and glorious as Vṛihaspati. The two wives shall be the cause of this interchange of characters. According to the decree of Brahmā all this shall so happen. Brāhmanhood shall come to thee in the third generation, and thou shalt become connected with the spiritual-minded Bhṛigus." 2923. "Thus (concludes Bhīshma) have I told thee at length the cause of the connection between the Bhṛigus and the Kuśikas. All this was accordingly fulfilled in the births of Paraśurāma and Viśvāmitra."

Is this legend intended to account for a real fact? Was Paraśurāma of a sacerdotal tribe, and yet by profession a warrior, just as Viśvāmitra was conversely of royal extraction, and yet a priest by profession?

According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 11, 3 (Wilson, 4to. ed. pp. 416, 417), Arjuna was of the race of Yadu, and the ninth in descent from Haihaya, the great-grandson of that prince. It is there said of him: *Kṛitavīryyād Arjunaḥ sapta-dvīpapatir bāhu-sahasrī jajne yo 'sau bhagavad-aṁśam Atri-kula-prasūtaṁ Dattāttreyākhyam ārādhya bāhu-sahasram adharma-sevā-nivāraṇaṁ dharmeṇa pṛithivījayaṁ dharmataś chānupālanam arātibhyo 'parājayam akhila-jagat-prakhyāta-purushāch cha mṛityum ity etān varān abhilashitavān lebhe cha | tena iyam aśesha-dvīpavatī pṛithvī samyak paripālitā | daśa-yajna-sahasrāṇy asāv ayajat | tasya cha śloko 'dyāpi gīyate "na nūnaṁ kārttavīryyasya gatiṁ yāsyanti pārthivāḥ | yajnair dānair tapobhir vā praśrayeṇa damena cha" | anashṭa-dravyatā tasya rājye 'bhavat | 4. Evam panchāśīti-sahasrāṇy abdān avyāhatārogya-śrī-bala-parākramo rājyam akarot | Māhishmatyām dig-vijayābhyāgato Narmadā-jalāvagāhana-krīḍā-nipāna-madākulena ayatnenaiva tena aśesha-deva-daitya-gandharveśa-jayodbhūta-madāvalepo 'pi Rāvaṇaḥ paśur iva baddhaḥ svanagaraikānte sthāpitaḥ | 5. Yaḥ panchāśīti-varsha-sahasropalakshaṇa-kālāvasāne bhagavan-nārāyaṇāṁśena Paraśurāmeṇa upasaṁhṛitaḥ |*

"From Kṛitavīrya sprang Arjuna, who was lord of the seven dvīpas [circular and concentric continents of which the earth is composed], and had a thousand arms. Having worshipped a portion of the divine Being, called Dattāttreya, sprung from the race of Atri, he sought and obtained these boons, viz. a thousand arms, the power of restraining wrong by justice, the conquest of the earth, and the disposition to rule it righteously, invincibility by enemies, and death at the hands of a man renowned over the whole world. By him this earth, with all its dvīpas, was perfectly governed. He offered ten thousand sacrifices. To this day this verse is repeated respecting him: 'No other king shall ever equal Kārtavīrya in regard to sacrifices, liberality, austerities, courtesy, and self-restraint.' In his reign no property was ever lost. 4. Thus he ruled for eighty-five thousand years with unbroken health, prosperity, strength, and valour. When he was excited by sporting in the Narmadā and by drinking wine, he had no difficulty in binding like a beast Rāvaṇa, who had arrived in Māhishmatī in his career of conquest, and who was filled with arrogance, arising from the pride of victory over all the gods, daityas, and gandharva chiefs, and imprisoning him in a secret place in his capital. At the end of his reign of eighty-five thousand years Arjuna was destroyed by Paraśurāma, who was a portion of the divine Nārāyana."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 23, 20–27, assigns to him the same descent, and relates of him nearly the same particulars. Verse 23 says: *Arjunaḥ Kṛitavīryyasya sapta-dvīpeśvaro 'bhavat | Dattāttreyād Harer aṁśāt prāpta-yoga-mahāguṇaḥ* | "Arjuna was the son of Kṛitavīrya, and ruler of the seven dvīpas. He obtained the great attribute of *Yoga* (supernatural powers arising from devotion) from Dattāttreya, who was a portion of Hari," etc.

The legend of Paraśurāma, as related, is of course fabulous. Not to speak of the miraculous powers which are ascribed to this hero, and the incredible number of the exterminations which he is said to have executed, we cannot even suppose it probable that the Brāhmans should in general have been sufficiently powerful and warlike to overcome the Kshattriyas by force of arms. But the legend may have had some small foundation in fact. Before the provinces of the sacerdotal and military classes were accurately defined, there may have been cases in which ambitious men of the former successfully

aspired to kingly dominion, just as scions of royal races became distinguished as priests and sages. But even without this assumption, the existence of such legends is sufficiently explained by the position which the Brāhmans eventually occupied. With the view of maintaining their own ascendancy over the minds of the chiefs on whose good will they were dependent, and of securing for themselves honour and profit, they would have an interest in working upon the superstitious feelings of their contemporaries by fabricating stories of supernatural punishments inflicted by their own forefathers on their royal oppressors, as well as by painting in lively colours the prosperity of those princes who were submissive to the spiritual order.

CHAPTER V.

RELATION OF THE BRAHMANICAL INDIANS TO THE NEIGHBOURING TRIBES, ACCORDING TO MANU AND THE PURANAS.

I now propose to enquire what account the Indian writers give of the origin of those tribes which were not comprehended in their own polity, but with which, as dwelling within, or adjacent to, the boundaries of Hindustan, their countrymen were, in ancient times, brought into continual and familiar contact.

It appears to have been the opinion of Manu, the great authority in all matters regarding the Hindu religion and institutions in their full development, that there was no original race of men except the four castes of Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras; and that all other nations were derived from these. His own words (x. 4) are these: *Brāhmaṇaḥ kshattriyo vaiśyas trayo varṇāḥ dvijātayaḥ* | *chaturthaḥ ekajātis tu śūdro nāsti tu panchamaḥ* | "Three castes, the Brāhman, the Kshattriya, and the Vaiśya, are twice-born; the fourth, the S'ūdra, is once-born; and there is no fifth." On the last clause of this verse Kullūka Bhaṭṭa annotates thus: *Panchamaḥ punar varṇo nāsti sankīrṇa-jātīnām tv aśvatara-vad mātā-pitṛi-jāti-vyatirikta-jāty-antaratvād na varṇatvam* | *ayam cha jāty-antaropadeśaḥ śāstre samvyavaharaṇārthaḥ* | "There is no fifth caste; for caste cannot be predicated of the mixed tribes, from the fact that, like mules, they belong to another species, distinct from that of their father and mother. And this reference, which is made in the S'āstras to castes other than the four, is merely for the sake of convenience and conformity to common usage."

Accordingly, in the following description which Manu gives in the same chapter of the rise of the inferior castes, they are all, even the

very lowest, such as Nishādas and Chaṇḍālas, derived from the mixture the four so-called original castes. Thus, in verse 8: *Brāhmaṇād vaiśya-kanyāyām ambashṭho nāma jāyate | nishādaḥ śūdra-kanyāyām yaḥ pārāśava uchyate* | "From a Brāhman father and a Vaiśya mother springs an Ambashṭha: from a Brāhman father and a S'ūdra mother is born a Nishāda, called also Parāśava."[1] Again, in verse 12. *S'udrād āyogavaḥ kshattā chāṇḍālaś chādhamo nṛiṇām | vaiśya-rājanya-viprāsu jāyante varṇa-sankarāḥ* | "From a S'ūdra, by women of the Vaiśya, Kshattriya, and Brāhman castes are born those mixed classes, the Āyogava, the Kshattṛi, and the Chaṇḍāla, lowest of men." Again, in verse 20: *Dvijātayaḥ savarṇāsu janayanty avratāṁs tu yān | tān sāvitrī-paribhrashṭān vrātyāḥ iti vinirdiśet* | "Persons whom the twice-born beget on women of their own classes, but who omit the prescribed rites, and have abandoned the gāyatrī, are to be designated as Vrātyas."[2] In the next three verses the inferior tribes, which spring from the Brāhman Vrātya, the Kshattriya Vrātya, and the Vaiśya Vrātya respectively, are enumerated.

In verses 43 and 44 it is stated: *S'anakais tu kriyā-lopād imāḥ*

[1] It does not appear how the account of the origin of the Nishāda race from king Veṇa, given above in pp. 301 and 303, can be reconciled with this theory of Manu; unless recourse be had to the explanation that that story relates to the Svāyambhuva Manvantara. But Manu's narrative seems to refer to the same period. See above, p. 39. If the Vedic expressions *panchajanāḥ* and the other corresponding phrases signifying "the five tribes" be rightly interpreted of the "four castes, and the Nishādas," we might understand this as intimating that the Nishādas had at one time been regarded as a distinct race. But the phrase is variously understood by the old Vedic commentators; as has been shewn above, p. 177.

[2] Manu says, ii. 38 f.: *Ā-shoḍaśād brāhmaṇasya sāvitrī nātivarttate | ā-dvāviṁśāt kshattrabhandhor ā-chaturviṁśater viśaḥ | ataḥ ūrdhaṁ trayo'py ete yathā-kālam asaṁskṛitāḥ | sāvitrī-patitāḥ vrātyāḥ bhavanty āryya-nigarhitāḥ* | "The gāyatrī should not, in the case of a Brāhman, be deferred beyond the sixteenth year; nor in the case of a Kshattriya beyond the twenty-second; nor in that of a Vais'ya beyond the twenty-fourth. After these periods youths of the three classes, who have not been invested, become fallen from the gāyatrī, Vrātyas, contemned by respectable men (Āryyas)." In the following verse of the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparvan, line 2621, a different origin is ascribed to the Vrātyas: *Chāṇḍālo vrātya-vaidyau cha brāhmaṇyāṁ kshattriyāsu cha | vaiśyāyāṁ chaiva śūdrasya lakshyante 'pasadās trayaḥ* | "The three outcaste classes are the Chāṇḍāla, the Vrātya, and the Vaidya, begotten by a S'ūdra on females of the Brāhman, Kshattriya, and Vaiśya castes respectively." A Vrātya, therefore, according to this account, is the son of a S'ūdra man and a Kshattriya woman. On the Vrātyas, see Weber's Indische Studien, i. 33, 52, 138, 139, 445, 446, etc.

kshattriya-jātayaḥ | *vṛishalatvaṁ gatāḥ loke brāhmaṇādarśanena cha* | *Pauṇḍrakāś chodra-draviḍāḥ Kāmbojāḥ Yavanāḥ S'akāḥ* | *Pāradāḥ Pahlavāś Chīnāḥ Kirātāḥ Daradāḥ Khaśāḥ* | "The following tribes of Kshattriyas have gradually sunk into the state of Vṛishalas (outcasts), from the extinction of sacred rites, and from having no communication with Brāhmans; viz. Pauṇḍrakas, Oḍras, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, S'akas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Chīnas, Kirātas, Daradas, and Khaśas."

The same thing is affirmed in the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparvan, verses 2103 f.: *S'akāḥ Yavana-kāmbojās tās tāḥ kshattriya-jātayaḥ* | *vṛishalatvam parigatāḥ brāhmaṇānām adarśanāt* | *Drāviḍāś cha Kalindāś cha Pulindāś chāpy Uśīnarāḥ* | *Kolisarpāḥ Māhishakās tās tāḥ kshattriya-jātayaḥ ityādi* | "These tribes of Kshattriyas, viz. S'akas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Drāviḍas, Kalindas, Pulindas, Uśīnaras, Kolisarpas, and Māhishakas, have become Vṛishalas from seeing no Brāhmans." This is repeated in verses 2158–9, where the following additional tribes are named: Mekalas, Lāṭas, Konvaśiras, S'auṇḍīkas, Darvas, Chauras, S'avaras, Barbaras, and Kirātas, and the cause of degradation is, as in verse 2103, restricted to the absence of Brāhmans. (Then follow the lines (2160 ff.) in glorification of the Brāhmans, already quoted in p. 130.)

The Yavanas are said in the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, section 85, verse 3533, "to be descended from Turvasu, the Vaibhojas from Druhyu, and the Mlechha tribes from Anu" (*Yados tu Yādavāḥ jātās Turvasor Yavanāḥ smṛitāḥ* | *Druhyoḥ sutās tu Vaibhojāḥ Anos tu mlechha-jātayaḥ* |). Is it meant by this that the Yavanas are not to be reckoned among the Mlechhas? Their descent from Turvasu is not however, necessarily in conflict with the assertion of the authorities above quoted, that they are degraded Kshattriyas.

I shall not attempt to determine who the Yavanas, and other tribes mentioned in the text, were.

The verse which succeeds that last quoted from Manu is the following: 45. *Mukha-bāhūru-paj-jānām yāḥ loke jātayo vahiḥ* | *mlechha-vāchaś chāryya-vāchaḥ sarve te dasyavaḥ smṛitaḥ* | "Those tribes which are outside of the classes produced from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet, [of Brahmā, *i.e.* Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras,] whether they speak the language of the Mlechhas or of the Āryas, are called Dasyus." The interpretation to be given to this verse turns

upon the sense which we assign to "outside" (*vāhiḥ*). Does it mean that the Dasyus were of a stock originally distinct from that of the four primeval castes, and therefore altogether separate from those tribes which sprang from the intermixture of those four castes, or which, by the neglect of sacred rites, apostatized from their communion? Or does it merely mean that the Dasyus became eventually excluded from the fellowship of the four castes? If the latter sense be adopted, then Dasyu will be little else than a general term embracing all the tribes enumerated in verses 43 and 44. The commentator Kullūka understands the word in the latter sense. His words are: *Brāhmaṇa-kshattriya-vaiśya-śūdrāṇām kriyā-lopādinā yāḥ jātayo vāhyāḥ jātāḥ mlechha-bhāshā-yuktāḥ āryya-bhāshopetāḥ vā te dasyavaḥ sarve smṛitāḥ* | "All the tribes, which by loss of sacred rites, and so forth, have become outcasts from the pale of the four castes, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras; whether they speak the language of the Mlechhas or of the Āryas, are called Dasyus." His view is confirmed by a short passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, quoted above (p. 358), where Viśvāmitra, speaking to his sons, says: "Let your descendants possess the furthest ends (of the country)," and the author of the Brāhmaṇa adds: "These are the numerous border-tribes, the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas, Mūtibas. Most of the Dasyus are sprung from Viśvāmitra." Here the writer of this ancient Brāhmaṇa connects together certain tribes named either in Manu, or in the Mahābhārata, as degraded Kshattriyas, with the appellation Dasyu, thus intimating that the latter was a general name embracing all the former. This view is further confirmed by the following lines of the Mahābhārata, book ii. verses 1031–2: *Daradān saha Kāmbojair ajayat Pākaśāsaniḥ* | *prāguttarām diśam ye cha vasanty āśritya Dasyavaḥ* | "The son of Indra conquered the Daradas with the Kāmbojas, and the Dasyus who dwell in the north-east region;" and still more by the annexed verses from the Droṇaparvan, of the same epic poem, 4747: *Kāmbojānām sahasraiścha Śakānām cha viśāmpate* | *Śavarāṇām Kirātānām Varvarāṇām tathaiva cha* | *agamya-rūpām prithivīm māṁsa-śoṇita-karddamām* | *kritavāṁs tattra Śaineyaḥ kshapayaṁs tāvakam balam* | *Dasyūnām sa-śirastrāṇaiḥ śirobhir lūna-mūrddhajaiḥ* | *dīrgha-kūrchair mahī kīrṇā vivarhair aṇḍa-jair iva* | "Saineya, destroying thy host, converted the beautiful earth into a mass of mud with the flesh and blood of thousands of Kāmbojas,

S'akas, S'abaras, Kirātas, and Varvaras. The ground was covered with the shorn and hairless but long-bearded heads of the Dasyus, and their helmets, as if with birds bereft of their plumes." Here the word Dasyu is evidently a general term for the tribes named just before. Some of these same tribes had previously been called Mlechhas in verses 4716, 4723, and 4745. See also Sabhāp. 1198 f.

There is a passage in the S'āntiparvan, section 65, lines 2429 ff., which is worth quoting, as it shows that the Brāhmans of that age regarded the Dasyus as owing allegiance to Brahmanical institutions. King Māṇdhātṛi had performed a sacrifice in the hope of obtaining a vision of Vishṇu; who accordingly appeared to him in the form of Indra (verse 2399). The following is a part of their conversation. Māndhātṛi asks:

2429. *Yavanāḥ Kirātāḥ Gāndhārāś Chīnāḥ S'avara-varvarāḥ | S'akās Tushārāḥ Kankāś cha Pahlavāś chāndhra-madrakāḥ* | 2430. *Pauṇḍrāḥ Pulindāḥ Ramaṭhāḥ Kāmbojāś chaiva sarvaśaḥ | brahma-kshattra-prasūtāś cha vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś cha mānavāḥ | katham dharmāṁś charishyanti sarve vishaya-vāsinaḥ | mad-vidhaiś cha katham sthāpyāḥ sarve vai dasyu-jīvinaḥ | etad ichhāmy ahaṁ śrotum bhagavaṁs tad bravīhi me | tvam bandhu-bhūto hy asmākaṁ kshattriyāṇāṁ sureśvara | Indraḥ uvācha | mātā-pitror hi śuśrūshā karttavyā sarva-dasyubhiḥ | āchāryya-guru-śuśrūshā tathaivāśrama-vāsinām | bhūmipānāṁ cha śuśrūshā karttavyā sarva-dasyubhiḥ | veda-dharma-kriyāś chaiva teshāṁ dharmo vidhīyate* | 2435. *Pitṛi-yajnāś tathā kūpāḥ prapāś cha śayanāni cha | dānāni cha yathā-kālaṁ dvijebhyo visṛijet sadā | ahiṁsā satyam akrodho vṛitti-dāyānupālanam | bharaṇam puttra-dārāṇāṁ śaucham adroha eva cha | dakshiṇā sarva-yajnānāṁ dātavyā bhūtim ichhatā | pākayajnāḥ mahārhāś cha dātavyāḥ sarva-dasyubhiḥ | etāny evamprakārāṇi vihitāni purā 'nagha | sarva-lokasya karmāṇi karttavyāṇīha pārthiva | Mandhātā uvācha | dṛiśyante mānushe loke sarva-varṇeshu Dasyavaḥ | lingāntare varttamānāḥ āśrameshu chaturshv api | Indraḥ uvācha* ¦ 2440. *Vinashṭāyāṁ daṇḍa-nītyāṁ rāja-dharme nirākṛite | sampramuhyanti bhūtāni rāja-daurātmyato 'nagha | asankhyātāḥ bhavishyanti bhikshavo linginas tathā | aśramāṇāṁ vikalpāś cha nivṛitte 'smin kṛite yuge | aśṛiṇvantaḥ purāṇānāṁ dharmāṇām paramāḥ gatīḥ | utpatham pratipatsyante kāma-manyu-samīritāḥ* |

"'The Yavanas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras, Chīnas, S'avaras, Varvaras, S'akas, Tushāras, Kaṇkas, Pahlavas, Andhras, Madras, Pauṇḍras, Pu-

lindas, Ramaṭhas, Kāmbojas, men sprung from Brāhmans, and from Kshattriyas, persons of the Vaiśya and Śūdra castes—how shall all these people of different countries practise duty, and what rules shall kings like me prescribe for those who are living as Dasyus? Instruct me on these points; for thou art the friend of our Kshattriya race.' Indra answers: 'All the Dasyus should obey their parents, their spiritual directors, persons practising the rules of the four orders, and kings. It is also their duty to perform the ceremonies ordained in the Vedas. They should sacrifice to the Pitṛis, construct wells, buildings for the distribution of water, and resting places for travellers, and should on proper occasions bestow gifts on the Brāhmans. They should practise innocence, veracity, meekness, purity, and inoffensiveness; should maintain their wives and families; and make a just division of their property. Gifts should be distributed at all sacrifices by those who desire to prosper. All the Dasyus should offer costly pāka oblations. Such duties as these, which have been ordained of old, ought to be observed by all people.' Māndhātṛi observes: 'In this world of men, Dasyus are to be seen in all castes, living, under other garbs, even among men of the four orders (*āśramas*).' Indra replies: 'When criminal justice has perished, and the duties of government are disregarded, mankind become bewildered through the wickedness of their kings. When this Kṛita age has come to a close, innumerable mendicants and hypocrites shall arise, and the four orders become disorganized. Disregarding the excellent paths of ancient duty, and impelled by passion and by anger, men shall fall into wickedness,'" etc. In these last lines it is implied that the Brahmanical polity of castes and orders was fully developed in the Kṛita [or golden] age. This idea, however, is opposed to the representations which we find in some though not in all other passages. See above, the various texts adduced in the first chapter.

In the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Bhāratavarsha (India) is said to "have its eastern border occupied by the Kirātas; and the western by the Yavanas; while the middle is inhabited by Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, engaged in their several fixed occupations of sacrifice, war, trade, etc." (Vishṇu Purāṇa, ii. 3, 7. *Pūrve Kirātāḥ yasyānte paśchime Yavanāḥ sthitāḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ madhye śūdrāś cha bhāgaśaḥ | ijyā-yuddha-vaṇijyādyair varttayanto vyavasthitāḥ |*).

Manu's account of the origin of the Yavanas, Sakas, Kāmbojas, etc., corresponds with the tenor of the following story, which we find in the fourth book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, sect. 3. Bāhu, the seventh king in descent from Hariśchandra (see above, p. 379) was overcome by the Haihăyas and Tālajanghas,[1] and compelled to fly with his queens to the forests, where he died. After his death one of his wives gave birth to a son, who received the name of Sagara. When he had grown up, the youth learnt from his mother all that had befallen his father.

Para. 18. *Tataḥ pitṛi-rājya-haraṇāmarshito Haihaya-Tālajanghādi-badhāya pratijnām akarot prāyaśaścha Haihayān jaghāna* | *S'aka-Yavana-Kāmboja-Pārada-Pahlavāḥ hanyamānās tat-kula-guruṁ Vaśishṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ yayuḥ* | 19. *Atha etān Vaśishtho jīvan-mṛitakān kṛitvā Sagaram āha "vatsa vatsa alam ebhir ati-jīvan-mṛitakair anusṛitaiḥ* | 20. *Ete cha mayā eva tvat-pratijnā-paripālanāya nija-dharma-dvija-sanga-parityāgaṁ kāritāḥ"* | 21. *Sa "tathā" iti tad guru-vachanam abhinandya teshāṁ veshānyatvam akārayat* | *Yavanān apamuṇḍita-śiraso 'rddha-muṇḍān S'akān pralamba-keśān Pāradān Pahlavāṁś cha śmaśru-dharān niḥ-svādhyāya-vashaṭkārān etān anyāṁś cha kshattriyān chakāra* | *te cha nija-dharma-parityāgād brāhmaṇaiś parityaktāḥ mlechhatāṁ yayuḥ* |

"Being vexed at the loss of his paternal kingdom, he vowed to exterminate the Haihăyas and other enemies who had conquered it. Accordingly he destroyed nearly all the Haihăyas. When the Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, and Pahlavas were about to undergo a similar fate, they had recourse to Vaśishṭha, the king's family-priest, who interposed in their behalf in these words addressed to Sagara, representing them as virtually dead: 'You have done enough, my son, in the way of pursuing these men, who are as good as dead. In order that your vow might be fulfilled, I have compelled them to abandon the duties of their caste, and all association with the twice-born.' Agreeing to his spiritual guide's proposal, Sagara compelled these tribes to alter their costume. He made the Yavanas shave their heads, the Sakas shave half their heads, the Pāradas wear long hair, and the Pahlavas beards. These and other Kshatriyas he deprived of the

[1] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, 4to. edit., p. 416 and 418 note. In the note to p. 418 the Āvantyas are mentioned, on the authority of the Vāyu Purāṇa, as being a branch of the Haihăyas. In Manu, x. 21, the Āvantyas are said to be descended from Brāhman Vrātyas.

study of the Vedas, and the vashaṭkāra. In consequence of their abandonment of their proper duties, and of thei rdesertion by the Brāhmans, they became Mlechhas."

This story is also related in the Harivaṁśa, from which I extract the concluding part of the narrative:

773. *Aurvas tu jātakarmādi tasya kṛitvā mahātmanaḥ | adhyāpya vedān akhilān tato 'stram pratyapādayat | āgneyaṁ tu mahābāhur amarair api dussaham | sa tenāstra-balenājau balena cha samanvitaḥ | Haihayān nijaghānāśu kruddho Rudraḥ paśūn iva | ājahāra cha lokeshu kīrttiṁ kīrttimatāṁ varaḥ | tataḥ S'akān sa-yavanān Kāmbojān Pāradāṁs tathā | Pahlavāṁś chaiva niśśeshān karttuṁ vyavasitaḥ kila | te badhyamānāḥ vīreṇa Sagareṇa mahātmanā | Vaśishṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ gatvā praṇipetur manīshiṇam | Vaśishṭhas tv atha tān dṛishṭvā samayena mahādyutiḥ | Sagaraṁ vārayāmāsa teshāṁ dattvā 'bhyaṁ tadā | Sagaraḥ svām pratijnāṁ cha guror vākyaṁ niśamya cha | dharmaṁ jaghāna teshāṁ vai veśānyatvaṁ chakāra ha | arddhaṁ S'akānāṁ śiraso muṇḍayitvā vyasarjayat | Yavanānāṁ śiraḥ sarvaṁ Kāmbojānāṁ tathaiva cha | Pāradāḥ mukta-keśāścha Pahlavāḥ śmaśru-dhāriṇah | nissvādhyāya-vashaṭkārāḥ kṛitās tena mahātmanā | S'akāḥ Yavana-kāmbojāḥ Pāradāḥ Pahlavās tathā | Koli-sarpāḥ sa-Mahishāh Dārvas Cholāḥ sa-Keralāḥ | sarve te kshattriyās tāta teshāṁ dharmo nirākṛitaḥ | Vaśishṭha-vachanād rājan Sagareṇa mahātmanā |*

"Aurva having performed Sagara's natal and other rites, and taught him all the Vedas, then provided him with a fiery missile, such as even the gods could not withstand. By the power of this weapon, and accompanied by an army, Sagara, incensed, speedily slew the Haihayas, as Rudra slaughters beasts; and acquired great renown throughout the world. He then set himself to exterminate the Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, and Pahlavas. But they, when on the point of being slaughtered by Sagara, had recourse to the sage Vasiśhṭha, and fell down before him. Vasiśhṭha beholding them, by a sign restrained Sagara, giving them assurance of protection. Sagara, after considering his own vow, and listening to what his teacher had to say, destroyed their caste (*dharma*), and made them change their costumes. He released the Sakas, after causing the half of their heads to be shaven;—and the Yavanas and Kāmbojas, after having had their heads entirely shaved. The Pāradas were made to wear

long hair, and the Pahlavas to wear beards. They were all excluded from the study of the Vedas, and from the vashaṭkāra. The Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Kolisarpas, Mahishas, Dārvas, Cholas, and Keralas had all been Kshattriyas; but were deprived of their social and religious position by the great Sagara, according to the advice of Vaśishṭha." Other tribes are mentioned in the following line who seem to have undergone the same treatment.

It would appear from this legend, as well as from the quotations which preceded it, that the Epic and Puranic writers believed all the surrounding tribes to belong to the same original stock with themselves; though they, at the same time, erroneously imagined that these tribes had fallen away from the Brahmanical institutions; thus assigning to their own polity an antiquity to which it could in reality lay no claim. Any further explanations on these points, however, must be sought in the second volume of this work.

In the passages quoted above, pp. 391, 393, and 398 from the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, it is stated that Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, etc., were created by Vaśishṭha's wonder-working cow, in order to repel the aggression of Viśvāmitra. It does not, however, appear that it is the object of that legend to represent this miraculous creation as the origin of those tribes. The narrators, if they had any distinct meaning, may not have intended anything more than that the cow called into existence large armies, of the same stock with particular tribes previously existing.

It is not very easy to say whether it is only the inhabitants of Bhāratavarsha (viz. that portion of Jambudvīpa which answers to India) whom the Puranic writers intend to represent as deriving their origin from the four primeval Indian castes. Perhaps the writers themselves had no very clear ideas. At all events the conditions of life are different in the two cases. The accounts which these writers give us of the other divisions of Jambudvīpa, and of the other Dvīpas, or continents, of which they imagined the earth to be composed, and their respective inhabitants, will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

PURANIC ACCOUNTS OF THE PARTS OF THE EARTH EXTERIOR TO BHĀRATAVARSHA, OR INDIA.

It will clearly appear from the contents of the present chapter that the authors or compilers of the Purāṇas in reality knew nothing of any part of the world except that immediately around them. Whenever they wander away beyond their own neighbourhood, they at once lose themselves in a misty region of fiction, and give the most unbridled scope to their fantastic imaginations.

The following is the account given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa regarding the divisions of the earth, and their inhabitants. Priyavrata, son of Svāyambhuva, or the first Manu (see above, pp. 65 and 72) who is separated from the present time by an enormous interval (see pp. 43 ff. and 298, above), "distributed the seven dvīpas,[1] of which the earth is composed, among seven of his sons" (ii. 1, 7. *Priyavrato dadau teshāṁ saptānām muni-sattama | vibhajya sapta dvīpāni Maitreya sumahātmanām*).

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives us the following account, v. 1. 30. *Tad anabhinandan sama-javena rathena jyotirmayena rajanīm api dinaṁ karishyāmi iti saptakṛitvas taraṇim anuparyyakrāmad dvitīyaḥ iva patangaḥ* | [*evaṁ kurvāṇam Priyavratam āgatya Chaturānanas* "*tavādhikāro 'yaṁ na bhavati*" *iti nivārayāmāsa*] (The words in brackets are not in the Bombay edition, but are taken from Burnouf's.) 31. *Ye vai u ha tad-ratha-charaṇa-nemi-kṛita-parikhātās te sapta sindhavaḥ āsan yataḥ eva kṛitāḥ sapta bhuvo dvīpāḥ* |[2] "Priyavrata, being dissatisfied that only

[1] The original division of the earth into seven continents is assigned to Nārāyaṇa in the form of Brahmā; see above, pp. 51 and 76.

[2] In this passage we find the particles *vai*, *u*, *ha*, occurring all together as they do in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas. This circumstance might seem to suggest the

half the earth was illuminated at one time by the solar rays, "followed the sun seven times round the earth in his own flaming car of equal velocity, like another celestial orb, resolved to turn night into day. [Brahmā, however, came and stopped him, saying this was not his province.] The ruts which were formed by the motion of his chariot wheels were the seven oceans. In this way the seven continents of the earth were made."

The same circumstance is alluded to at the commencement of the 16th section of the same book, where the king says to the rishi: verse 2. *Tattrāpi Priyavrata-ratha-charaṇa-parikhātaiḥ saptabhiḥ sapta sindhavaḥ upakḷiptāḥ | yataḥ etasyāḥ sapta-dvīpa-viśesha-vikalpas tvayā bhagavan khalu sūchitaḥ* | "The seven oceans were formed by the seven ruts of the wheels of Priyavrata's chariot; hence, as you have indicated, the earth has become divided into seven different continents."

It is clear that this account given by the Bhāgavata Purāṇa of the manner in which the seven oceans and continents were formed does not agree with the description in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, as quoted above in p. 51.

These seven continents are called "Jambu dvīpa, Plaksha dvīpa, S'āl-

possibility of the passage, or its substance, being derived from some of the Brāhmaṇas (to which, as we have seen, p. 155 note, the compiler of this Purāṇa was in the habit of resorting for his materials); but the style has otherwise nothing of an archaic caste, and I am not aware that the dvīpas are mentioned in any of the Brāhmaṇas. It is also remarkable that the words sapta sindhavaḥ are here used for "seven oceans." This phrase occurs several times in the Vedas. For instance, it is to be found in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (of the Yajur-veda), 38, 26, *yāvatī dyāvā-pṛithivī yāvach cha sapta sindhavo vitasthire* | "As wide as are the earth and sky, and as far as the seven oceans extend." The commentator Mahīdhara understands the latter in the Puranic sense, as the oceans of milk, etc. (*sapta sindhavaḥ sapta samudrāḥ kshīrādyāḥ*). The hemistich I have quoted from the Vāj. Sanhitā occurs somewhat modified, and in a different connexion, in the Atharva-veda, iv. 6, 2. The same phrase, sapta sindhavaḥ, is to be found also in several places in the first Book of the Rig-veda. (See Benfey's Glossary to Sāma-veda, sub voce *saptan*.) In Rig-veda i. 32, 12, it is said to Indra *avāsṛijah sarttave sapta sindhūn* | "Thou hast let loose the seven rivers to flow." Sāyaṇa understands this of the Ganges and other rivers, seven in number, mentioned in the Rig Veda, x. 75, 5: *imam me Gange Yamune Sarasvati S'utudri stomaṁ sachatā Parushṇya* | "Receive this my hymn with favour, o Gāngā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, S'utudrī, with the Parushṇī, etc.;" but in this distich ten rivers in all are mentioned. (See Wilson's note to Rig-veda, i. 32, 12, vol. i. p. 88, of his translation). See also hymns 34, 8; 35, 8; 71, 7; and 102, 2, of the first, and 58, 12, and 85, 1, of the eighth Books of the Rig-veda. The "seven rivers" of the Veda are, according to Professor Müller (Chips from a German Workshop, vol. i. p. 63), "the Indus, the five rivers of the Penjāb and the Sarasvatī."

mali dvīpa, Kuśa dvīpa, Krauncha dvīpa, S'āka dvīpa, and Pushkara dvīpa. They are surrounded severally by seven great seas, of salt water, sugar-cane juice, wine, clarified butter, curds, milk, and fresh water" (V.P. ii. 2, 4. *Jambū-plakshāhvayau dvīpau S'ālmaliś chāparo dvija | Kuśaḥ Krauñchas tathā S'ākaḥ Pushkaraś chaiva saptamaḥ* | 5. *Ete dvīpāḥ samudrais tu sapta saptabhir āvṛitāḥ | lavaṇekshu-surā-sarpir-dadhi-dugdha-jalaiḥ samam* |). Jambu dvīpa is in the centre of all these continents (Wilson, vol. ii. p. 110). It fell to the lot of Agnīdhra, son of Priyavrata, who again divided it among his nine sons (Wilson, ii. 101). In the centre of Jambu dvīpa is the golden mountain Meru, 84,000 yojanas high, and crowned by the great city of Brahmā (ibid. p. 118). There are in this continent six cross-ranges of boundary-mountains, those of Himavat (= Himādri, or Himālaya), Hemakūṭa, and Nishadha lying south of Meru; and those of Nīla, S'veta, and S'ṛingin, situated to the northward. Of these, Nishadha and Nīla are the nearest to Meru, while Himavat and S'ṛingin are at the south and north extremities. The nine Varshas or divisions of Jambu dvīpa, separated by these and other ranges, are Bhārata (India), south of the Himavat mountains, and the southernmost of all; then (2) Kimpurusha, (3) Harivarsha, (4) Ilāvṛita, (5) Ramyaka, (6) Hiraṇmaya, and (7) Uttara Kuru, each to the north of the last; while (8) Bhadrāsva and (9) Ketumāla lie respectively to the east and west of Ilāvṛita, the central region. Bhārata Varsha, and Uttara Kuru, as well as Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla,[3] are situated on the exterior of the mountain ranges. (Wilson, ii. pp. 114–116, and 123.) The eight Varshas to the north of Bhārata Varsha (or India) are thus described:

V.P. ii. 1, 11. *Yāni Kimpurushādīni varshāṇy ashṭau mahāmune | teshāṁ svābhāvikī siddhiḥ sukha-prāyā hy ayatnataḥ* | 12. *Viparyyayo*

[3] The Mahābhārata tells us, Bhīshmaparvan, verses 227-8, in regard to the Varsha of Ketumāla: *āyur daśa sahasrāṇi varshānāṁ tattra Bhārata | suvarṇa-varṇāś cha narāḥ striyaś chāpsarasopamāḥ | anāmayāḥ vīta-śokāḥ nityam mudita-mānasāḥ | jāyante mānavās tattra nishṭapta-kanaka-prabhāḥ* | "The people there live ten thousand years. The men are of the colour of gold, and the women fair as celestial nymphs. Men are born there of the colour of burnished gold, live free from sickness and sorrow, and enjoy perpetual happiness." The men by the side of the mountain Gandhamādana, west of Meru, are said (v. 231) "to be black, of great strength and vigour, while the women are of the colour of blue lotuses, and very beautiful" (*tattra kṛishṇāḥ narāḥ rājaṁs tejo-yuktāḥ mahābalāḥ | striyaś chotpala-varṇābhāḥ sarvāḥ supriya-darśanāḥ*).

na tattrāsti jarā-mṛityu-bhayaṁ na cha | dharmādharmau na teshv āstāṁ nottamādhama-madhyamāḥ | na teshv asti yugāvasthā kshettreshv ashṭasu sarvadā |

"In the eight Varshas, called Kimpurusha and the rest (*i.e.* in all except Bhārata Varsha) the inhabitants enjoy a natural perfection attended with complete happiness obtained without exertion. There is there no vicissitude, nor decrepitude, nor death, nor fear; no distinction of virtue and vice, none of the inequalities denoted by the words best, worst, and intermediate, nor any change resulting from the succession of the four yugas." And again:

ii. 2, 35. *Yāni Kimpurushādyāni varshāṇy ashṭau mahāmune | na teshu śoko nāyāso nodvega-kshud-bhayādikam | susthāḥ prajāḥ nirātankāḥ sarva-duḥkha-vivarjjitāḥ* | 36. *Daśa-dvādaśa-varshāṇāṁ sahasrāṇi sthirāyushaḥ | na teshu varshate devo bhaumyāny ambhāṁsi teshu vai* | 37. *Kṛita-tretādikā naiva teshu sthāneshu kalpanā |*

"In those eight Varshas there is neither grief, nor weariness, nor anxiety, nor hunger, nor fear. The people live in perfect health, free from every suffering, for ten or twelve thousand years. Indra does not rain on those Varshas, for they have abundance of springs. There is there no division of time into the Kṛita, Tretā, and other ages."

The Uttara Kurus, it should be remarked, may have been a real people, as they are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii. 14:[4]

Atha enam udīchyāṁ diśi viśve devāḥ shaḍbhiś chaiva panchaviṁśair ahobhir abhyashinchann etena cha tṛichena etena cha yajushā etābhiś cha vyāhṛitibhir vairājyāya | tasmād etasyām udīchyāṁ diśi ye ke cha pareṇa Himavantaṁ janapadāḥ "Uttara-Kuravaḥ Uttara-Madrāḥ" iti vairājyāya eva te 'bhishichyante |

"Then in the northern region during six days on which the Panchaviṁśa stoma was recited, the Viśve-devas inaugurated him (Indra) for glorious dominion with these three ṛik-verses, this yajush-verse, and these mystic monosyllables. Wherefore the several nations who dwell in this northern quarter, beyond the Himavat, the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras, are consecrated to glorious dominion (*vairājya*), and people term them the glorious (*virāj*)." See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. 38–43; Dr. Haug's translation of the Ait. Brāhmaṇa; and Prof. Weber's review of this translation in Ind. Studien, ix. pp. 341 f.

[4] Quoted by Weber in Ind. St. i. 218.

In another passage of the same work,[6] however, the Uttara Kurus are treated as belonging to the domain of mythology:

Ait. Br. viii. 23. *Etaṁ ha vai aindram mahābhishekam Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātahavyo 'tyarātaye Jānantapaye provācha | tasmād u Atyarātir Jānantapir arājā san vidyayā samantaṁ sarvataḥ prithivīṁ jayan parīyāya | sa ha uvācha Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyaḥ "ajaishīr vai samantaṁ sarvataḥ prithivīm mahad mā gamaya" iti | sa ha uvācha Atyarātir Jānantapir "yadā brāhmaṇa uttara-kurūn jayeyaṁ tvam u ha eva prithivyai rājā syāḥ senāpatir eva te 'haṁ syām" iti | sa ha uvācha Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyo "deva-kshettraṁ vai tad na vai tad marttyo jetum arhaty adrukshe me ā 'taḥ idaṁ dade" iti | tato ha Atyarātim Jānantapim ātta-vīryyam niśśukram amitra-tapanaḥ Sushmiṇaḥ Saivyo rājā jaghāna | tasmād evaṁ-vidushe brāhmaṇāya evaṁ-chakrushe kshattriyo na druhyed na id rāshṭrād avapadyeyad* (?) *na id vāma-prāṇo jahad iti* |

"Sātyahavya of the family of Vasishṭha declared this great inauguration similar to Indra's to Atyarāti, son of Janantapa; and in consequence Atyarāti, though not a king, by his knowledge, went round the earth on every side to its ends, reducing it to subjection. Sātyahavya then said to him, 'Thou hast subdued the earth in all directions to its limits; exalt me now to greatness.' Atyarāti replied, 'When, o Brāhman, I conquer the Uttara Kurus, thou shalt be king of the earth, and I will be only thy general.' Sātyahavya rejoined, 'That is the realm of the gods; no mortal may make the conquest of it: Thou hast wronged me; therefore I take all this away from thee.' In consequence Sushmina, king of the Sivis, vexer of his foes, slew Atyarāti son of Janantapa who had been bereft of his valour and energy. Wherefore let no Kshattriya wrong a Brāhman who possesses such knowledge and has so acted, lest he should be expelled from his kingdom, be short-lived, and perish."

The Uttara Kurus are also mentioned in the description of the northern region in the Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, 43, 38, *Uttarāh Kuravas tatra krita-puṇya-pratiśrāyaḥ* | "There are the Uttara Kurus, the abodes of those who have performed works of merit." In v. 57 it is said: *na kathanchana gantavyaṁ kurūṇām uttareṇa vaḥ* | *anyeshām api bhūtānām nānukrāmati vai gatiḥ* | "You must not go to the north of the Kurus: other beings also may not proceed further."

[6] See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 43; Dr. Haug's translation; and Ind. Stud. ix. 346.

In the same way when Arjuna, in his career of conquest, arrives at the country of the Uttara Kurus in Harivarsha, he is thus addressed by the guards at the gate of the city, M. Bh. Sabhāparvan, 1045:

Pārtha nedaṁ tvayā śakyam puraṁ jetuṁ kathanchana | upāvartiasva kalyāṇa paryāptam idam Achyuta | idam puraṁ yaḥ praviśed dhruvaṁ na sa bhaved naraḥ | . . . . na chāttra kinchij jetavyam Arjunāttra pradṛiśyate | Uttarāḥ Kuravo hy ete nāttra yuddham pravarttate | praviṣhṭo 'pi hi Kaunteya neha drakshyasi kinchana | na hi mānusha-dehena śakyam attrābhivīkshitum |

"Thou canst not, son of Pṛithā, subdue this city. Refrain, fortunate man, for it is completely secure. He who shall enter this city must be certainly more than man. . . . . Nor is there anything to be seen here which thou canst conquer. Here are the Uttara Kurus, whom no one attempts to assail. And even if thou shouldst enter, thou couldst behold nothing. For no one can perceive anything here with human senses."[*]

In the Anuśāsanaparvan, line 2841, Kuśika says, on seeing a magic palace formed by Chyavana (see above, p. 475):

Aho saha śarīreṇa prāpto 'smi paramāṁ gatim | Uttarān vā Kurūn puṇyān athavā 'py Amarāvatīm |

"I have attained, even in my embodied condition, to the heavenly state; or to the holy Northern Kurus, or to Amarāvatī [the city of Indra]!"

"The country to the north of the ocean, and to the south of the Himādri (or snowy range), is Bhārata Varsha, where the descendants of Bharata dwell" (V.P. ii. 3, 1. *Uttaraṁ yad samudrasya Himādreś chaiva dakshiṇam | varshaṁ tad Bhāratam nāma Bhāratī yattra santatiḥ*). It is divided into nine parts (*bhedāḥ*), Indradvīpa, Kaśerumat, Tāmravarṇa, Gabhastimāt, Nāgadvīpa, Saumya, Gāndharva, Vāruṇa; and "this ninth dvīpa," which is not named, is said to be "surrounded by the ocean" *ayaṁ tu navamas teshāṁ dvīpaḥ sāgara-saṁvṛitaḥ*), and to be a thousand yojanas long from north to south. "On the east side of it are the Kirātas, on the west the Yavanas, and in the centre are the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, following their respective occupations of sacrifice, arms, trade, etc." (The text of this passage, V.P. ii. 3, 7, has been already quoted in p. 485).

[*] See the second vol. of this work, pp. 332-337, and vol. iv., p. 375.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa contains a very short list of the tribes inhabiting Bhārata Varsha. (See Wilson, vol. ii. pp. 132 f.) It specifies, as the principal, only the Kurus, Pānchālas, the people of Kāmarūpa, the Puṇḍras, Kalingas, Magadhas, Saurāshṭras, S'ūras, Bhīras, Arbudas, Kārūshas, Mālavas, Sauvīras, Saindhavas, Hūṇas, S'ālvas, S'ākalas, Madras, Rāmas, Ambashṭhas, and Pāraśikas.[7] These tribes seem to be all confined to India and its vicinity.

The praises of Bhārata Varsha are celebrated as follows:

V.P. ii. 3, 11. *Chatvāri Bhārate varshe yugāny attra mahāmune | kṛitam tretā dvāparaś cha kaliś chānyatra na kvachit* | 12. *Tapas tapyanti yatayo juhvate chāttra yajvinaḥ | dānāni chāttra dīyante paralokārtham ādarāt | purushair yajna-purusho Jambu-dvīpe sadejyate | yajnair yajnamayo Vishṇur anya-dvīpeshu chānyathā* | 13. *Attrāpi Bhāratam śreshṭham Jambu-dvīpe mahāmune | yato hi karma-bhūr eshā ato 'nyāḥ bhoga-bhūmayaḥ | attra janma-sahasrāṇām sahasrair api sattamam | kadachil labhate jantur mānushyam puṇya-sanchayam | gāyanti devāḥ kila gītakāni "dhanyās tu ye Bhārata-bhūmi-bhāge | svargāpavargasya dahe tu bhūte bhavanti bhūyaḥ purushāḥ suratvāt* | 14. *Karmāṇy asankalpita-tat-phalāni sannyasya Vishṇau paramātma-rūpe | avāpya tām karma-mahīm anante tasmin layam ye tv amalāḥ prayānti* | 15. *Jānīma naitat kva vayam vilīne svarga-prade karmaṇi deha-bandham | prāpsyāma dhanyāḥ khalu te manushyāḥ ye Bhārate nendriya-viprahīṇāḥ*" |

"In Bhārata Varsha, and nowhere else, do the four Yugas, Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali exist. 12. Here devotees perform austerities, and priests sacrifice; here gifts are bestowed, to testify honour, for the sake of the future world. In Jambudvīpa Vishṇu, the sacrificial Man, whose essence is sacrifice, is continually worshipped by men with sacrifices; and in other ways in the other dvīpas.[8] 13. In this respect Bhārata is the most excellent division of Jambudvīpa; for this is the land of works, while the others are places of enjoyment. Perhaps in a thousand thousand births, a living being obtains here that most excellent condition, humanity, the receptacle of virtue. The gods sing, 'Happy are those beings, who, when the rewards of their merits have

[7] The list in the Mahābhārata (Bhīshmaparvan, 346 ff.), is much longer. See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. ii. pp. 132 f., and 156 ff.

[8] "'In other ways,' *i.e.* in the form of Soma, Vāyu, Sūryya, etc." (*Anyathā Soma-vāyu-sūryyādi-rūpaḥ* |). Commentator.

been exhausted in heaven, are, after being gods, again born as men in Bhārata Varsha; (14) who, when born in that land of works, resign to the supreme and eternal Vishṇu their works, without regard to their fruits, and attain by purity to absorption in him. 15. We know not where we shall next attain a corporeal condition, when the merit of our works shall have become exhausted; but happy are those men who exist in Bhārata Varsha with perfect senses.' "

To the same effect the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, v. 17, 11:

Tattrāpi Bhāratam eva varshaṁ karma-kshettram anyāny ashṭa-varshāṇi svargiṇām puṇya-śeshopabhoga-sthānāni bhaumāni svarga-padāni vyapadiśanti | 12. Eshu purushāṇām ayuta-purushāyur-varshāṇāṁ deva-kalpānāṁ nāgāyuta-prāṇānāṁ vajra-saṁhanana-vayo-moda-pramudita-mahāsaurata-mithuna-vyavāyāpavarga-varsha-dhṛitaika-garbha-kalatrāṇāṁ tretā-yuga-samaḥ kālo varttate |

"Of these, Bhāratavarsha alone is the land of works: the other eight Varshas are places where the celestials enjoy the remaining rewards of their works; they are called terrestrial paradises. 12. In them men pass an existence equal to that of the Tretā age, living for the space of ten thousand ordinary lives, on an equality with gods, having the vitality of ten thousand elephants, and possessed of wives who bear one child after a year's conception following upon sexual intercourse attended by all the gratification arising from adamantine bodies and from vigorous youth."

The commentator remarks on verse 11: *Divya-bhauma-bila-bhedāt trividhaḥ svargaḥ | tattra bhauma-svargasya padāni sthānāni vyapadiśanti |* "Heaven is of three kinds, in the sky, on earth, and in the abyss. Here the other Varshas are called terrestrial heavens."

It is curious to remark that in the panegyric on Bhārata Varsha it is mentioned as one of the distinguishing advantages of that division of Jambudvīpa that sacrifice is performed there, though, a little further on, it is said to be practised in Śālmali dvīpa also.

It would at first sight appear from the preceding passage (ii. 3, 11) of the Vishṇu Purāṇa (as well as from others which we shall encounter below), to be the intention of the writer to represent the inhabitants of Bhārata Varsha as a different race, or, at least as living under quite different conditions, from the inhabitants of the other dvīpas, and even of the other divisions (*varshas*) of Jambu dvīpa itself. From the use

of the word *mānushya* (humanity) here applied to the inhabitants of Bhārata Varsha, viewed in reference to the context, it would seem to be a natural inference that all the people exterior to it were beings of a different race. Yet in the descriptions of Kuśa dvīpa and Pushkara dvīpa (see below) the words *manujāḥ* and *mānavāḥ* "descendants of Manu," or "men," are applied to the dwellers in those continents. In the passage of the Jātimālā, moreover, translated by Mr. Colebrooke (Misc. Essays, ii. 179), we are told that "a chief of the twice-born tribe was brought by Vishṇu's eagle from Sāka dvīpa; thus have Sāka dvīpa Brāhmans become known in Jambu dvīpa." According to this verse, too, there should be an affinity of race between the people of these two dvīpas. It is also to be noted that the descendants of Priyavrata became kings of all the dvīpas, as well as of all the varshas of Jambu dvīpa (see above, pp. 489, 491). And in the passage quoted above, p. 478, from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 11, 3, it is said of Arjuna, son of Kṛitavīrya, that he was "lord of the seven dvīpas," "that he ruled over the earth with all its dvīpas."[9] If, however, the kings were of the human race, it is natural to infer the same of the people.

But, in a subject of this sort, where the writers were following the suggestions of imagination only, it is to be expected that we should find inconsistencies.

Jambu dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of salt water (Wilson, V.P. ii 109); and that sea again is bounded on its outer side by the dvīpa or continent of Plaksha running all round it. (V.P. ii. 4, 1. *Kshārodena yathā dvīpo Jambu-sanjno 'bhiveshṭitaḥ | saṁveshṭya kshāram udadhim Plaksha-dvīpas tathā sthitaḥ*). According to this scheme the several continents and seas form concentric circles, Jambu dvipa being a circular island occupying the centre of the system.

Plaksha dvīpa is of twice the extent of Jambu dvīpa. The character and condition of its inhabitants are described as follows:

V. P. ii. 4, 5. *Na chaivāsti yugāvasthā teshu sthāneshu saptasu* | 6. *Tretā-yuga-samaḥ kālaḥ sarvadaiva mahāmate | Plaksha-dvīpādishu brahman S'ākadvīpāntākeshu vai* | 7. *Pancha-varsha-sahasrāṇi janāḥ jīvanty anāmayāḥ | dharmāḥ panchasv athaiteshu varṇāśrama-vibhāga-jāḥ* |

[9] Purūravas is said to have possessed *thirteen* islands (dvīpas) of the ocean (above p. 307).

varṇās tattrāpi chatvāras tān nibodha gadāmi te | *Aryyakāḥ Kuravaś chaiva Vivāśāh Bhāvinaś cha ye* | *vipra-kshattriya-vaiśyās te śūdrāś cha muni-sattama* |

"In those seven provinces [which compose Plaksha dvīpa] the division of time into Yugas does not exist: but the character of existence is always that of the Tretā age. In the [five] dvīpas, beginning with Plaksha and ending with Śāka, the people live 5000 years, free from sickness. In those five dvīpas duties arise from the divisions of castes and orders. There are there also four castes, Āryyakas, Kurus, Vivāśas, and Bhāvins, who are the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras," and whose worship is thus described:

9. *Ijyate tattra bhagavāns tair varṇair Aryyakādibhiḥ* | *soma-rūpī jagat-srashṭā sarvaḥ sarveśvaro Hariḥ* | "Hari who is All, and the lord of all, and the creator of the world, is adored in the form of Soma by these classes, the Āryyakas, etc."

The inhabitants of this dvīpa receive different names in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, being there called (v. 20, 4) "Hansas, Patangas, Ūrdhvāyanas, and Satyāngas, four castes, who, purified from passion and darkness by the touch of the waters of these rivers, live a thousand years, resemble the gods in their appearance and in their manner of procreation, and worship with the triple Veda the divine Soul, the Sun, who is the gate of heaven, and who is co-essential with the Vedas" (*Yāsām jalopasparśana-vidhūta-rajas-tamaso Haṁsa-patangorddhvāyana-satyānga-sanjnāś chatvāro varṇāḥ sahasrāyusho vibudhopama-sandarśana-prajananāḥ svarga-dvāraṁ trayyā vidyayā bhagavantaṁ trayīmayaṁ sūryam ātmānaṁ yajante*).

In regard to Plaksha and the other four following dvīpas, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, ibid. para. 6, that "their men are all alike in respect of natural perfection as shewn in length of life, senses, vigour, force, strength, intelligence, and courage" (*Plakshādishu panchasu purushāṇām āyur intriyam ojaḥ saho balam buddhir vikramaḥ iti cha sarveshām autpattikī siddhir aviśesheṇa varttate* |).

Plaksha dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of sugar-cane juice of the same compass as itself. ii. 4, 9, *Plaksha - dvīpa - pramāṇena Plaksha - dvīpaḥ samāvṛitaḥ* | *tathaivekshu-rasodena pariveśānukāriṇā* | Round the outer margin of this sea, and twice as extensive, runs Śālmala dvīpa (verse 11. *S'ālmalena samudro 'sau dvīpenekshu - rasodakaḥ* | *vistara-*

dvigunenātha sarvataḥ saṁvṛitaḥ sthitaḥ |). It is divided into seven Varshas, or divisions. Of their inhabitants it is said:

V. P. ii. 4, 12. *Saptaitāni tu varshāṇi chāturvarṇya-yutāni cha* | *S'ālmale ye tu varṇāś cha vasanti te mahāmune* | *kapilāś chāruṇāḥ pītāḥ kṛishṇāś chaiva pṛithak pṛithak* | *brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś chaiva yajanti te* | *bhagavantaṁ samastasya Vishṇum ātmānam avyayam* | *Vāyubhūtam makha-śreshṭhair yajvino yajna-saṁsthitam* | 13. *Devānām attra sānnidhyam atīva sumanoharam* |

"These seven Varshas have a system of four castes. The castes which dwell there are severally the Kapilas, Aruṇas, Pītas, and Kṛishṇas (or the Tawny, the Purple, the Yellow, and the Black). These, the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras, worship with excellent sacrifices Vishṇu, the divine and imperishable Soul of all things, in the form of Vāyu, and abiding in sacrifice. Here the vicinity of the gods is very delightful to the soul."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa says of this dvīpa, v. 20, 11: *Tad-varsha-purushāḥ S'rutadhara-vīryyadhara-vasundhareshundhara-sanjnāḥ bhagavantaṁ vedamayaṁ somam ātmānaṁ vedena yajante* | "The men of the different divisions of this dvīpa, called S'rutadharas, Vīryadharas, Vasundharas, and Ishundharas, worship with the Veda the divine Soul Soma, who is co-essential with the Veda."

This dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of wine of the same compass as itself (v. 13. *Esha dvīpaḥ samudreṇa surodena samāvṛitaḥ* | *vistārāch chhālmalasyaiva samena tu samantataḥ*). The exterior shore of this sea is encompassed by Kuśa dvīpa, which is twice as extensive as S'ālmala dvīpa (v. 13. *Surodakaḥ parivṛitaḥ Kuśadvīpena sarvataḥ* | *S'ālmalasya tu vistārād dviguṇena samantataḥ*). The inhabitants of Kuśa dvīpa are thus described, V.P. ii 4, 14:

Tasyāṁ vasanti manujāḥ saha Daiteya-dānavaiḥ | *tathaiva deva-gandharva-yaksha-kimpurushādayaḥ* | *varṇās tattrāpi chatvāro nijānushṭhāna-tatparāḥ* | *Daminaḥ S'ushmiṇaḥ Snehāḥ Mandehāś cha mahāmune* | *brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś chānukramoditāḥ* | 15. *Yathokta-karma-kartṛitvāt svādhikāra-kshayāya te* | *tattra te tu Kuśa-dvīpe Brahma-rūpaṁ Janārddanam* | *yajantaḥ kshapayanty ugram adhikāram phala-pradam* |

"In this set of Varshas (of Kuśa dvipa) dwell men with Daityas, Dānavas, Devas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Kimpurushas, and other beings.

There, too, there are four castes, pursuing their proper observances, Damins, S'ushmins, Snehas, and Mandehas, who in the order specified are Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras. In order to destroy their right [to reward] derived from the performance of these works, they worship Janārdana in the form of Brahma, and so neutralize this direful merit which brings rewards."

Of Kuśa dvīpa the Mahābhārata tells us, Bhīshmaparvan, verses 455–7: *Eteshu deva-gandharvāḥ prajāścha jagatīśvara | viharante ramante cha na teshu mriyate janaḥ | na teshu dasyavaḥ santi mlechha-jātyo 'pi vā nṛipa | gaura-prāyo janaḥ sarvaḥ sukumāras cha pārthiva |* "In these (Varshas of Kuśa dvīpa), gods, Gandharvas, and living creatures, amuse and enjoy themselves. No one dies there. There are no Dasyus or Mlechhas there. The people are fair, and of very delicate forms." The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, v. 20, 16, says, "The people of this dvīpa are called Kuśalas, Kovidas, Abhiyuktas, and Kulakas" (*Kuśa-dvīpaukasaḥ Kuśala-kovidābhiyukta-kulaka-sanjnāḥ* |).

Kuśa dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of clarified butter, of the same circumference as itself.

Around this sea runs Krauncha dvīpa which is twice as large as Kuśa dvīpa. The V. P. says, ii. 4, 19: *Sarveshv eteshu ramyeshu varsha-śaila-vareshu cha | nivasanti nirātankāḥ saha deva-gaṇaiḥ prajāḥ | Pushkarāḥ Pushkalāḥ Dhanyās Tishmāś chāttra mahāmune | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś chānukramoditāḥ |* "In all these pleasant division-mountains of this dvīpa the people dwell, free from fear, in the society of the gods. [These people are] the Pushkaras, Pushkalas, Dhanyas, and Tishmas, who, as enumerated in order, are the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras." The inhabitants of this dvīpa are called in the Bhāgavata Purāna, v. 20, 22, ". . . . Purushas, Ṛishabhas, Draviṇas, and Devakas" (*Purusharshabha-draviṇa-devaka-sanjnāḥ*). This dvīpa is encompassed by the sea of curds, which is of the same circumference as itself. The sea again, on its exterior edge, is surrounded by S'āka dvīpa,[10] a continent twice the size of Krauncha dvīpa.

Of S'āka dvīpa it is said in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, ii. 4, 23 ff.:

Tattra puṇyāḥ janapadāś chāturvarṇya-samanvitāḥ | nadyaś chāttra mahāpuṇyāḥ sarva-pāpa-bhayāpahāḥ | . . . . tāḥ pibanti mudā yuktāḥ Jaladādishu ye sthitāḥ | varsheshu te janapadāḥ svargād abhyetya me-

[10] In the M. Bh. (Bhīshmap. v. 408 ff.) S'ākadvīpa comes next after Jambudvīpa.

dinīm | 24. *Dharma-hānir na tesho asti na sangharshaḥ parasparam* | *maryādā-vyutkramo nāpi teshu deśeshu saptasu* | 25. *Magāś cha Māgadhāś chaiva Mānasāḥ Mandagāś tathā* | *Magāḥ brāhmaṇa-bhūyishṭhāḥ Māgadhāḥ kshattriyās tu te* | *Vaiśyās tu Mānasāḥ jneyāḥ śūdrās teshām tu Mandagāḥ* | 26. *S'ākadvīpe tu tair Vishṇuḥ sūrya-rūpa-dharo mune* | *yathoktair ijyate samyak karmabhir niyatātmabhiḥ* |

"There there are holy countries, peopled by persons belonging to the four castes; and holy rivers which remove all sin and fear. . . . The people who dwell in these divisions, Jalada, etc. [of S'āka dvīpa], drink these rivers with pleasure, even when they have come to earth from Svarga. There is among them no defect of virtue; nor any mutual rivalry; nor any transgression of rectitude in those seven countries. [There dwell] Magas, Māgadhas, Mānasas, and Mandagas, of whom the first are principally Brāhmans; the second are Kshattriyas; the third are Vaiśyas, and the fourth are S'ūdras. By them Vishṇu, in the form of the Sun, is worshipped with the prescribed ceremonies, and with intent minds."

Of this dvīpa the Mahābhārata tells us, Bhīshmaparvan, verse 410, that the "people there are holy, and no one dies" (*tattra puṇyāḥ janapadāḥ na tattra mriyate naraḥ*). One of the mountains there is called S'yāma (black), "whence men have got this black colour" (verse 420. *Tataḥ śyāmatvam āpannāḥ janāḥ janapadeśvara*). Dhṛitarāshṭra then says to his informant Sanjaya that he has great doubts as to "how living creatures have become black." Sanjaya promises in the following lines, the sense of which is not very clear, to explain the mystery: 422. *Sarvesho eva mahārāja dvīpeshu Kuru-nandana* | *gauraḥ krishṇaś cha pātango yato varṇāntare dvijāḥ* | *śyāmo yasmāt pravṛitto vai tat te vakshyāmi Bhārata* | But as he proceeds no further, we lose the benefit of his solution of this interesting physiological problem. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, v. 20, 28, gives the four classes of men in this dvīpa the names of Ṛitavratas, Satyavratas, Dānavratas, and Anuvratas (*tadvarsha-purushāḥ Ṛitavrata-Satyavrata-Dānavratānuvrata-nāmānaḥ*).

This S'āka dvīpa is surrounded by the ocean of milk as by an armlet. This ocean again is encompassed on its outer side by Pushkara dvīpa, which is twice as extensive as S'āka dvīpa.

Of Pushkara dvīpa it is said, Vishṇu Purāṇa, ii. 4, 28 ff.:

Daśa-varsha-sahasrāṇi tattra jīvanti mānavāḥ | *nirāmayāḥ viśokāścha*

rāga-dvesha-vivarijjitāḥ | *adhamottamau na teshv āstām na badhya-badhakau dvija* | *nershyā 'sūyā bhayam rosho dosho lobhādiko na cha* | . . . . 29. *Satyānṛite na tattrāstām dvīpe Pushkara-sanjnite* | . . . . 30. *Tulya-veśāś tu manujāḥ devais tattraika-rūpiṇaḥ* | 31. *Varṇāśramāchāra-hīnam dharmācharaṇa-varjjitam* | *trayī-vārttā-daṇḍanīti-śuśrūshā-rahitam cha yat* | 32. *Varsha-dvayam tu maittreya bhauma-svargo 'yam uttamaḥ* | *sarvasya sukha-daḥ kālo jarā-rogādi-varjjitaḥ* |

"In this dvīpa men live ten thousand years, free from sickness and sorrow, from affection and hatred. There is no distinction among them of highest and lowest, of killer and slain; there is no envy, nor ill-will, nor fear, nor anger, nor defect, nor covetousness, nor other fault; there is there neither truth nor falsehood. Men there are all of the same appearance, of one form with the gods. The two divisions of this dvīpa have no rules of caste or orders, nor any observances of duty; the three Vedas, the Purāṇas (or, trade), the rules of criminal law and service do not exist. This [dvīpa] is a most excellent terrestrial heaven; where time brings happiness to all, and is exempt from decay, sickness, and all other evils."[11]

Of all the dvīpas together, the Mahābhārata says, Bhīshmaparvan, verses 468 ff.:

Evam dvīpeshu sarveshu prajānām Kuru-nandana | *brahmacharyyeṇa satyena prajānām hi damena cha* | *ārogyāyuḥpramāṇābhyām dviguṇam dviguṇam tataḥ* | *eko janapado rājan dvīpeshv eteshu Bhārata* | *uktāḥ*

[11] In the same way as Pushkara, the remotest dvīpa, is here described to be the scene of the greatest perfection, we find Homer placing the Elysian plains on the furthest verge of the earth:

ἀλλά σ' ἐς 'Ηλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης
ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς 'Ραδάμανθυς,
τῇπερ ῥηΐστη βιοτὴ πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν.
οὐ νιφετὸς, οὔτ' ἂρ χειμὼν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνείοντας ἀήτας
'Ωκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους. Odyssey Δ. 563-568.

"Thee, favoured man, to earth's remotest end,
The Elysian plain, the immortal gods shall send,—
That realm which fair-haired Rhadamanthys sways,
Where, free from toil, men pass their tranquil days.
No tempests vex that land, no rain, nor snow;
But ceaseless Zephyrs from the ocean blow,
Which sweetly breathe and gently stir the air,
And to the dwellers grateful coolness bear."

janapadāḥ yeshu karma chaikam pradṛiśyate | īśvaro daṇḍam udyamya svayam eva Prajāpatiḥ | dvīpānāṁ tu mahārāja rakshaṁs tishṭhati nityadā | sa rājā sa śivo rājan sa pitā prapitāmahaiḥ | gopāyati nara-śreshṭha prajāḥ sa-jaḍa-paṇḍitāḥ | bhojanaṁ chāttra Kauravya prajāḥ svayam upasthitam | siddham eva mahābāho tad hi bhuñjanti nityadā |

"Thus in all these dvīpas each country doubly exceeds the former one in the abstinence, veracity, and self-restraint, in the health and the length of life of its inhabitants. In these dvīpas the people is one, and one sort of action is perceivable. Prajāpati, the lord, wielding his sceptre, himself governs these dvīpas. He, the king, the auspicious one (*śiva*), the father, along with the patriarchs, protects all creatures, ignorant as well as learned." (So there are differences of intellectual condition in these dvīpas after all!) "All these people eat prepared food, which comes to them of itself."

Pushkara is surrounded by a sea of fresh water equal to itself in compass. What is beyond is afterwards described:

V.P. ii. 4, 37. *Svādūdakasya parato dṛiśyate loka-saṁsthitiḥ | dviguṇā kānchanī bhūmiḥ sarva-jantu-vivarjjitā* | 38. *Lokālokas tataḥ śailo yojanāyuta-vistṛitaḥ | uchchhrāyeṇāpi tāvanti sahasrāṇy achalo hi saḥ | tatas tamaḥ samāvṛitya taṁ śailaṁ sarvataḥ sthitam | tamaś chāṇḍa-kaṭāhena samantāt pariveshṭitam* |

"On the other side of the sea is beheld a golden land of twice its extent, but without inhabitants. Beyond that is the Lokāloka mountain, which is ten thousand yojanas in breadth, and as many thousands in height. It is on all sides invested with darkness. This darkness is encompassed by the shell of the mundane egg."[13]

In a following chapter, however, (the seventh) of this same book, the

[13] See Manu, i. verses 9 and 12, quoted above, p. 35. The thirteenth verse is as follows: *Tābhyāṁ sa śakalābhyāṁ cha divam bhūmiṁ cha nirmame | madhye vyoma diśaś chāshṭāv apāṁ sthānaṁ cha śāśvatam* | "From these two halves of the shell he fashioned the heaven and the earth, and in the middle (he formed) the sky, and the eight quarters, and the eternal abode of the waters." In regard to the darkness (*tamas*) with which the mountain Lokāloka is said to be enveloped, compare Manu iv. 242, where the spirits of the departed are said to pass by their righteousness through the darkness which is hard to be traversed (*dharmeṇa hi sahāyena tamas tarati dustaram*); and Atharva-veda, ix. 5, 1, "Crossing the darkness, in many directions immense, let the unborn ascend to the third heaven" (*tīrtvā tamāṁsi bahudhā mahānti ajo nākam ā kramatāṁ tṛitīyam*). See Journal Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 298, note 2, and p. 304.

shell of the mundane egg is said to be outside of the seven spheres of which this system is composed:

V.P. ii. 7, 19. *Ete sapta mayā lokāḥ Maittreya kathitās tava | pātālāni cha saptaiva brahmāṇḍasyaisha vistaraḥ | etad aṇḍa-kaṭāhena tiryak chorddhvam adhas tathā | kapitthasya yathā vījam sarvato vai samāvṛitam |*

"These seven spheres have been described by me; and there are also seven Pātālas: this is the extent of Brahmā's egg. The whole is surrounded by the shell of the egg at the sides, above, and below, just as the seed of the wood-apple (is covered by the rind)."

This system, however, it appears, is but a very small part of the whole of the universe:

Ibid. verse 24. *Aṇḍānām tu sahasrāṇām sahasrāṇy ayutāni cha | īdṛiśānām tathā tattra koṭi-koṭi-śatāni cha |*

"There are thousands and ten thousands of thousands of such mundane eggs; nay hundreds of millions of millions."

Indian mythology, when striving after sublimity, and seeking to excite astonishment, often displays an extravagant and puerile facility in the fabrication of large numbers. But, in the sentence last quoted, its conjectures are substantially in unison with the discoveries of modern astronomy; or rather, they are inadequate representations of the simple truth, as no figures can express the contents of infinite space.

APPENDIX.

Page 6, *line* 24.

Professor Wilson's analyses of the Agni, Brahma-vaivartta, Vishṇu and Vāyu Purāṇas, were originally published, not in the "Gleanings in Science," but in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. i.; and are reprinted in the 3rd vol. of Wilson's Collected Works, edited by Dr. R. Rost.

Page 37, *line* 1.

"Abodes of gods." Böhtlingk and Roth in their Sanskrit Lexicon, *s.v. nikāya*, shew that in other passages, if not here also, the compound word *deva-nikāya* should be rendered "classes, or assemblages, of gods."

Page 50, *line* 25.

Compare the passage, quoted below, in the note on p. 115, from the Śāntiparvan of the M. Bh., verses 6130 ff.

Pages 90 ff.

The representations of the Kṛita yuga are not always consistent. In the Droṇaparvan, verses 2023 ff. a story is told of King Akampana, who lived in that age, and who was yet so far from enjoying the tranquillity generally predicated of that happy time that he was overcome by his enemies in a battle, in which he lost his son, and suffered in consequence severe affliction.

Page 97, *note* 190.

It is similarly said in the Droṇaparvan, verse 2395: *Kshatād nas trāyate sarvān ity evaṁ kshattriyo 'bhavat* | "He (Pṛithu) became a Kshattriya by delivering us all from injuries." See also Śāntiparvan, verse 1031.

Page 115, *line* 13.

The S'āntiparvan of the M. Bh., verses 6130 ff., gives a similar description of the original state of all things, and of the birth of Brahmā. Bhīshma is the speaker: *Salilaikārṇavaṁ tāta purā sarvam abhūd idam* | *nishprakampam anākāśam anirdeśya-mahītalam* | *tamasā vṛitam asparśam api gambhīra-darśanam* | *niśśabdaṁ vā 'prameyaṁ cha tattra jajne Pitāmahaḥ* | *so 'sṛijad vātam agniṁ cha bhāskaraṁ chāpi vīryyavān* | *ākāśam asṛijach chorddhvam adho bhūmiṁ cha nairṛitīm* | *nabhaḥ sa-chandra-tāraṁ cha nakshattrāṇi grahāṁs tathā* | *saṁvatsarān ṛitūn māsān pakshān atha lavān kshaṇan* | *tataḥ śarīraṁ loka-sthaṁ sthāpayitvā Pitāmahaḥ* | *janayāmāsa bhagavān puttrān uttama-tejasaḥ* | 6135. *Marīchim ṛishim Attriṁ cha Pulastyam Pulahaṁ Kratum* | *Vaśishṭhāngirasau chobhau Rudraṁ cha prabhum īśvaram* | *Prachetasas tathā Dakshaḥ kanyāḥ shashṭim ajījanat* | *tāḥ vai brahmarshayaḥ sarvāḥ prajārtham pratipedire* | *tābhyo viśvāni bhūtāni devāḥ pitṛi-gaṇās tatha* | *gandharvāpsarasaś chaiva rakshāṁsi vividhāni cha* | . . . . 6149. *Jajne tāta jagat sarvaṁ tathā sthāvara-jangamam* | 6150. *Bhūta-sargam imaṁ kṛitvā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ* | *śāśvataṁ veda-paṭhitaṁ dharmam prayuyuje tataḥ* | *tasmin dharme sthitāḥ devāḥ sahāchāryya-purohitāḥ* | *ādityāḥ vasavo rudrāḥ sa-sādhyāḥ marud-aśvinaḥ* | "This entire universe was formerly one expanse of water, motionless, without æther, without any distinguishable earth, enveloped in darkness, imperceptible to touch, with an appearance of (vast) depth, silent, and measureless. There Pitāmaha (Brahmā) was born. That mighty god created wind, fire, and the sun, the æther[1] above, and under it the earth belonging to Nirṛiti, the sky, with the moon, stars, constellations, and planets, the years, seasons, months, half-months, and the minute sub-divisions of time. Having established the frame of the universe, the divine Pitāmaha begot sons of eminent splendour, (6135) Marīchi, the rishi Attri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vaśishṭha, Angiras, and the mighty lord Rudra. Daksha, the son of Prachetas, also begot sixty daughters, all of whom were taken by the Brahmarshis[2] for the purpose of propagating offspring. From these females, all beings, gods, pitṛis, gandharvas, apsarases, and various kinds of rākshases, ... (6149) this

[1] And yet it is elsewhere said (Anuśāsanap. 2161, quoted above in p. 130) that the æther (*ākāśa*) cannot be created.

[2] Here this word must mean "rishis, sons of Brahmā."

entire world, moving and stationary, was produced. 6150. Having formed this creation of living beings, the parent of all worlds established the eternal rule of duty as read in the Veda. To this rule of duty the gods, with their teachers and domestic priests, the Âdityas, Vasus, Rudras, Sâdhyas, Maruts, and Aśvins conformed."

Another account of the creation is given in the same book of the M. Bh., verses 7518 ff., where it is ascribed to Vishṇu in the form of Govinda, or Keśava (Kṛishṇa), who is identified with the supreme and universal Purusha. Resting on the waters (7527) he created by his thought Sankarshaṇa, the first-born of all beings. Then (7529) a lotus sprang from his (either Sankarshaṇa's or Vishṇu's) navel, from which again (7530) Brahmâ was produced. Brahmâ afterwards created his seven mind-born sons, Marîchi, Attri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Daksha (7534).

Compare Bhîshmaparvan, verses 3017 ff.

Page 122, *note* 223.

Compare the passage quoted in the last note from the Śântiparvan, verse 6135.

Page 128, *line* 20.

The Śântiparvan, verses 7548 ff. ascribes the creation of the four castes to Kṛishṇa: *Tataḥ Kṛishṇo mahâbhâgaḥ punar eva Yudhishṭhira* | *brâhmaṇânâṁ śataṁ śreshṭham mukhâd evâsṛijat prabhuḥ* | *bâhubhyâṁ kshattriya-śataṁ vaiśyânâm ûrutaḥ śataṁ* | *padbhyâṁ śûdra-śataṁ chaiva Keśavo Bharatarshabha* | "Then again the great Kṛishṇa created a hundred Brâhmans, the most excellent (class), from his mouth, a hundred Kshattriyas from his arms, a hundred Vaiśyas from his thighs, and a hundred Śûdras from his feet."

Compare Bhîshmaparvan, verse 3029.

Page 128, *note* 238.

In another place also, verses 6208 f., the Anuśâsanaparvan ranks purohitas with Śûdras: *Śûdra-karma tu yaḥ kuryâd avahâya sva-karma cha* | *sa vijneyo yathâ śûdro na cha bhojyaḥ kathanchana* | *chikitsakaḥ kâṇḍapṛishṭhaḥ purâdhyakshaḥ purohitaḥ* | *sâṁvatsaro vṛithâdhyâyî sarve te śûdra-sammitâḥ* | "He, who, abandoning his own work, does the work of a Śûdra, is to be regarded as a Śûdra, and not to be invided to a feast. A physician, a kâṇḍapṛishṭha (see above, p. 442), a

city governor, a purohita, an astrologer, one who studies to no purpose, —all these are on a level with S'ūdras."

Pages 144 ff.

See above, note on pp. 90 ff.

Page 150, *line* 4.

Compare Droṇaparvan, verse 2397.

Page 220, *line* 14.

I am indebted to Professor Max Müller for pointing out to me two passages in Indian commentators in which Manu is spoken of as a Kshattriya. The first is from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā, iv. 1. The words of the text are these: *S'rī-Bhagavān uvācha | imaṁ Vivasvate yogam proktavān aham avyayam | Vivasvān Manave prāha Manur Ikshvākave 'bravīt | evam paramparā-prāptam imaṁ rājarshayo viduḥ | sa kāleneha mahatā yogo nashṭaḥ parantapa | sa evāyam mayā te 'dya yogaḥ proktaḥ purātanaḥ | bhakto 'si me sakhā cheti rahasyam etad uttamam* | "The divine Being (Krishṇa) said: I declared to Vivasvat (the Sun) this imperishable Yoga-doctrine. Vivasvat told it to (his son) Manu; and Manu to (his son) Ikshvāku. Thus do royal rishis know it as handed down by tradition. Through lapse of time however it was lost. I have to day therefore revealed to thee (anew) this ancient system, this most excellent mystery; for thou art devoted to me and my friend."

On this Madhusūdana remarks: "*Vivasvate*" *sarva-kshattriya-vaṁśa-vīja-bhūtāya Ādityāya proktavān* | "'I declared it to Vivasvat' *i.e.* to Āditya (the Sun) who was the source of the whole Kshattriya race."

The second passage is from Someśvara's ṭīkā on Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's Mīmānsa-vārttika. I must, however, first adduce a portion of the text of the latter work which forms the subject of Someśvara's annotation. For a copy of this passage, which is otherwise of interest, I am indebted to Professor Goldstücker, who has been kind enough to copy it for me.[3] The first extract refers to Jaimini's Sūtra, i. 3, 3; where the question under discussion is, in what circumstances authority can be assigned to

[3] See Professor Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 79 f. where this passage is partly extracted and translated. See also the same author's Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii. pp. 338 ff.

the Smṛiti when the Sruti, or Veda, is silent. After some other remarks Kumārila proceeds: *S'ākyādi-vachanāni tu katipaya-dama-dānādi vachana-varjjaṁ sarvāṇy eva samasta-chaturdaśa-vidyā-sthāna-viruddhāni trayī-mārga-vyutthita-viruddhācharaṇaiś cha Buddhādidhiḥ praṇītāni trāyī-bāhyebhyaś chaturtha-varṇa-niravasita-prāyebhyo vyāmūḍhebhyaḥ samarthitāni iti na veda-mūlatvena sambhāvyante | svadharmātikrameṇa cha yena kshattriyeṇa satā pravaktṛitva-pratigrahau pratipannau sa dharmam aviplutam upadekshyati iti kaḥ samāśvāsaḥ | uktaṁ cha "para-loka-viruddhāni kurvāṇaṁ dūratas tyajet | ātmānaṁ yo visaṁdhatte so 'nyasmai syāt kathaṁ hitaḥ" iti | Buddhādeḥ punar ayam evātikramo 'laṅkāra-buddhau sthito yena evam āha "kali-kalusha-kṛitāni yāni loke mayi nipatantu | vimuchyatāṁ tu lokaḥ" iti | sa kila loka-hitārtha-kshattriya-dharmam atikramya brāhmaṇa-vṛittim pravaktṛitvam pratipadya pratishedhātikramāsamarthair brāhmaṇair ananuśishṭaṁ dharmam bāhya-janān anuśāsad dharma-pīḍām apy ātmano 'ngīkṛitya parānugrahaṁ kṛitavān ity evaṁvidhair eva guṇaiḥ stūyate | tad-anuśishṭānusāriṇaś cha sarve eva śruti-smṛiti-vihita-dharmātikrameṇa vyavaharanto viruddhāchāratvena jnāyante | tena pratyakshayā śrūtyā virodhe grantha-kāriṇāṁ grahītrācharitṛīṇāṁ grantha-prāmāṇya-bādhanam | na hy eshām pūrvoktena nyāyena śruti-pratibaddhānāṁ sva-mūla-śruty-anumāna-sāmarthyam asti |* "But the precepts of Sakya and others, with the exception of a few enjoining dispassion, liberality, etc., are all contrary to the fourteen classes of scientific treatises, and composed by Buddha and others whose practice was opposed to the law of the three Vedas, as well as calculated for men belonging mostly to the fourth caste who are excluded from the Vedas, debarred from pure observances, and deluded:—consequently they cannot be presumed to be founded on the Veda. And what confidence can we have that one (*i.e.* Buddha) who being a Kshattriya,[3] transgressed the obligations of his own order, and assumed the function of teachingand the right to receive presents, would inculcate a pure system of duty? For it has been said: 'Let everyone avoid a man who practises acts destructive to future happiness. How can he who ruins himself be of any benefit to others?' And yet this very transgression of Buddha and his followers is conceived as being a feather in his cap; since he spoke thus, 'Let all the evils resulting from the sin of the Kali age fall upon me; and let the world be redeemed.' Thus, abandoning the

[3] Compare Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. 312.

duties of a Kshattriya, which are beneficial to the world, assuming the function of a teacher which belongs only to the Brāhmans, and instructing men who were out of the pale in duty which was not taught by the Brāhmans who could not transgress the prohibition (to give such instruction), he sought to do a kindness to others, while consenting to violate his own obligations; and for such merits as these he is praised! And all who follow his instructions, acting in contravention of the prescriptions of the Sruti and Smṛiti, are notorious for their erroneous practices. Hence from the opposition in which the authors of these books, as well as those who receive and act according to them, stand to manifest injunctions of the Veda, the authority of these works is destroyed.[4] For since they are by the above reasoning opposed by the Veda, the inference that they rest upon independent Vedic authority of their own possesses no force."

The next passage is from Kumārila's Vārttika on Jaimini's Sūtra, i. 3, 7: *Vedenaivābhyanujnātā yeshām eva pravaktṛitā | nityānām abhidheyānām manvantara-yugādishu | teshāṁ viparivartteshu kurvatāṁ dharma-saṁhitāḥ | vachanāni pramāṇāni nānyeshām iti niśchayaḥ | tathā cha Manor ṛichaḥ sāmidhenyo bhavanti ity asya vidher vākya-śeshe śrūyate "Manur vai yat kinchid avadat tad bheshajam bheshajatāyai"*[5] *iti prāyaśchittādy-upadeśa-vachanam pāpa-vyādher bheshajam* | "It is certain that the precepts of those persons only whose right to expound the eternal meanings of scripture in the different manvantaras and yugas has been recognized by the Veda, are to be regarded as authoritative, when in the revolutions (of those great mundane periods) they compose codes of law. Accordingly by way of complement to the Vedic passage containing the precept (*vidhi*) beginning 'there are these *sāmidheni* verses of Manu' it is declared, 'whatever Manu said is a healing remedy;' *i.e.* his prescriptions in regard to expiatory rites, etc., are remedies for the malady of sin."

[4] The Nyāya-mālā-vistara, i. 3, 4, quotes Kumārila as raising the question whether the practice of innocence, which S'ākya (Buddha) inculcated, was, or was not, a duty from its conformity to the Veda, and as solving it in the negative, since cow's milk put into a dogskin cannot be pure (*S'ākyoktāhiṁsanaṁ dharmo na vā dharmaḥ śrutatvataḥ | na dharmo na hi pūtaṁ syād go-kshīraṁ śva-dṛitau dhṛitam*).

[5] These words are quoted by Böthlingk and Roth, *s.v. bheshajatā*, as taken from the Panchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, 23, 16, 7. A similar passage occurs in the Taitt. Sanh. ii. 2, 10, 2.

From Someśvara's elaborate comment on the former of these two passages I need only extract the following sentences: *Etad abhiyukta-vachanena draḍhayati "uktaṁ cha" | Manos tu kshattriyasyāpi pravaktṛitvam "yad vai kinchid Manur avadat tad bheshajam" iti vedānujnâtatvād aviruddham ity āśayaḥ* | "This he confirms by the words of a learned man which he introduces by the phrase 'for it has been said.' But although Manu was a Kshattriya, his assumption of the office of teacher was not opposed to the Veda, because it is sanctioned by the Vedic text 'whatever Manu said was a remedy:' Such is the purport."

Page 254, *line* 12.

Yas tityāja sachi-vidam, etc. This verse is quoted in the Taittirīya Âraṇyaka (pp. 159 f. of Cal. edit.), which, however, reads *sakhi-vidam* instead of *sachi-vidam*. An explanation of the passage is there given by the Commentator.

Page 264, *line* 14.

Professor Weber considers (Indische Studien, i. 52) that "the yaudhāḥ and the arhantah were the forerunners of the Râjanyas and the Brāhmans." See the whole passage below in the note on p. 366.

Page 268, *note* 51.

Compare Âśvalāyana's Śrauta-Sūtras, i. 3, 3 and 4, and commentary (p. 22 of Cal. edit.). Pṛithī Vainya is, as I find from Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.*, referred to also in the Atharva-veda, viii. 10, 24. The words are these: *Sā udakrāmat sā manushyān āgachhat | tām manushyāḥ upāhvayanta "irāvaty ehi" iti | tasyāḥ Manur Vaivasvato vatsaḥ āsīt pṛithivī pātram | tām Pṛithī Vainyo 'dhok tāṁ kṛishiṁ cha sasyaṁ cha adhok | te kṛishiṁ cha sasyaṁ cha manushyāḥ upajīvanti ityādi* | "She (*i.e.* Virāj) ascended: she came to men. Men called her to them, saying, 'Come, Irāvatī.' Manu Vaivasvata was her calf, and the earth her vessel. Pṛithī Vainya milked her; he milked from her agriculture and grain. Men subsist on agriculture and grain."

See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i. pp. 183 ff., where Pṛithu's (this is the Puranic form of the word) reign is described. It is there stated that this king, "taking the lord Manu Svāyambhuva for his calf, milked from the earth into his own hand all kinds of grain from a desire to benefit his subjects" (V.P. i. 13, 54. *Sa kalpayitvā vatsaṁ tu*

Manuṁ Svāyambhuvam prabhum | sve pāṇau pṛithivī-nātho dudoha pṛithivīm Pṛithuḥ | 55. Sasya-jātāni sarvāṇi prajānāṁ hita-kāmyayā). See also the passage quoted from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa by the editor Dr. Hall in pp. 189 ff. The original germ of these accounts is evidently to be found in the passage of the Atharva-veda, from which the short text I have cited is taken.

Pṛithu's reign is also described in the Droṇaparvan, 2394 ff., and S'āntiparvan, 1030 ff.

Page 286, *line* 8 *from the foot.*

The Sṛinjayas are mentioned in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii. 9, 3, 1 ff. and 13 (see Weber's Indische Studien, i. 207), as opposing without effect the celebration of a sacrifice which was proposed to be offered for the restoration of Dushṭarītu Paunsāyana to his ancestral kingdom.

Page 345, *line* 24.

Professor Aufrecht has pointed out to me a short passage in the Taittirīya Sanhitā, iii. 1, 7, 2, in which Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni are mentioned together as contending with Vasishṭha: *Viśvāmitra-Jamadagnī Vasishṭhena asparddhetām | sa etaj Jamadagnir vihavyam apaśyat | tena vai sa Vasishṭhasya indriyaṁ vīryyam avṛinkta | yad vihavyaṁ śasyate indriyam eva tad vīryyaṁ yajamāno bhrātṛivyasya vṛinkte | yasya bhūyāṁso yajna-kratavaḥ ity āhuḥ sa devatāḥ vṛinkte* | "Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni were contending with Vasishṭha. Jamadagni beheld this vihavya text, and with it he destroyed the vigour and energy of Vasishṭha. When the vihavya is recited, then the sacrificer destroys the vigour and energy of his enemy. He whose oblations and all attendant ceremonies are superior destroys the gods (of his opponent)."

Page 366, *note* 164.

In a notice of Lāṭyāyana's Sūtras, in Indische Studien, i. 50, Professor Weber observes: "At the same time I remark here that the presence of S'ūdras at the ceremonies, although on the outside of the sacrificial ground, was permitted—a point which results from the fact that during the dīkshā they were not to be addressed (iii. 3). Here and there a S'ūdra appears as acting, although in a degraded position. Compare iv. 3, 5: *āryo* (i.e. *vaiśyaḥ*, according to the commentator Agnisvāmin) *antarvedi . . . . bahirvedi śūdraḥ | āryābhāve yaḥ kaś*

cha âryyo varṇaḥ (*brâhmaṇo vâ kshattriyo vâ*, Agnisvâmin). Thus their position, like that of the Nishâdas, was not so wretched as it became afterwards. Toleration was still necessary; indeed the strict Brahmanical principle was not yet generally recognized among the nearest Arian races. This is shown by the following fact. Before entering on the Vrâtya-stomas, Lâṭyâyana treats, viii. 5, of an imprecatory rite called Syena (the falcon), which is not taught in the Panchavimśa, but in the Shaḍvimśa (iv. 2). The tribes mentioned by Pâṇini, v. 3, 112 ff., are there described: *Vrâtînânâm*[6] *yaudhânâm puttrân anûchânân ṛitvijo vṛiṇîta śyenasya* | "*arhatâm eva*" *iti S'âṇḍilyaḥ*[7] | ("Let the learned sons of warriors, who live by the profession of Vrâtas, be chosen as priests for the Syena. 'The sons of arhats only' [should be chosen] says S'âṇḍilya"). "Whilst," proceeds Prof. W., "in the beginning of the Sûtra nine things are required for a ṛitvij (priest), viz. that he should be (1) ârsheyaḥ (*â dasamât purushâd avyavachhinnam ârsham yasya*, 'able to trace his unbroken descent for ten generations in the family of a rishi'); (2) anûchânaḥ (*śishyebhyo vidyâ-sampradânam yaḥ kṛitavân*, "one who has imparted knowledge to pupils'); (3) sâdhucharaṇaḥ (*shaṭsu brâhmaṇa-karmasv avasthitaḥ praśasta-karmâ*, 'one who has practised the six duties of a Brâhman, a man of approved conduct'); (4) vâgmî (eloquent); (5) anyûnângaḥ (without deficiency in his members); (6) anatiriktângaḥ (without superfluous members); (7) dvesataḥ (equal in length above and below the navel); (8) anatikṛishṇaḥ; (9) anatiśvetaḥ (*na atibâlo na ativṛiddhaḥ*, 'neither too young nor too old'),—Lâṭyâyana here contents himself with putting forward one only of these requirements, the second (*i.e.* that the priest should be 'learned'), as essential. The title Arhat for teacher, which was at a later period used exclusively by the Buddhists, is found in the Satapatha Brâhmaṇa, (iii. 4, 3, 6) and the Taittirîya Araṇyaka,[8] and

[6] *Nânâ-jâtîyâḥ aniyata-vṛittayaḥ utsedha-jîvinaḥ sanghâḥ vrâtâḥ* | (Patânjali, quoted by Weber) "Vrâtas are the various classes of people who have no fixed profession, and live by violence." *Vrâtena śarîrâyâsena jîvati vrâtînaḥ* (Comm. on Pâṇini, v. 2, 21) "He who lives by bodily labour is a *vrâtîna*." The word means "he who lives by the labour usual among Vrâtas," according to another comment cited by Weber.

[7] *Arhatâm eva varaṇam karttavyam iti S'âṇḍilyaḥ* | "Arhats only are to be chosen, says S'âṇḍilya" (Agnisvâmin, quoted by Weber).

[8] It also occurs in Ait. Br. i. 15 (see Böthlingk and Roth, *s.v.*). To his translation of this passage Dr. Haug appends the following note: "The term is *arhat*, a word

is known in the Gaṇa Brāhmaṇa (Pāṇini, v. 1, 124). The Yaudhāḥ and Arhantaḥ are the forerunners of the Rājanyas and the Brāhmans.' According to Professor Weber, Ind. St. i. 207, note, a Sthapati "means, according to Kātyāyana's Srauta Sūtras, xxii. 11, 11, a Vaiśya, or any other person (according to Kātyāyana, i. 1, 12, he may even be a Nishāda) who has celebrated the Gosava sacrifice, after being chosen by his subjects to be their ruler."

Page 378, *lines* 1–3.

Compare Droṇaparvan, verse 2149: *nanv eshāṁ niśchitā nishṭhā nishṭhā saptapadī smṛitā* |

Page 400, *line* 9 *from bottom.*

If further proof of this sense of *brahmarshi* be wanted, it may be found in the words *viprarshi* and *dvijarshi*, which must be regarded as its synonymes, and which can only mean "Brāhman-rishi."

Page 423, *line* 12, *and foot-note.*

The same verse with some variations is repeated in the Anuśāsanaparvan, verse 6262: *Rājā Mitrasahaś chaiva Vaśishṭhāya mahātmane* | *Madayantīm priyām bhāryyāṁ datvā cha tridivaṁ gataḥ* | "And king Mitrasaha, having bestowed his dear wife Madayantī on the great Vaśishṭha, went to heaven." Here, it will be observed, the name Madayantī is correctly given.

Page 423, *line* 17.

This stanza is repeated in Anuśāsanaparvan, verse 6250, with the following variation in the second line: *arghyam pradāya vidhival lebhe lokān anuttamān* |

Page 436, *line* 5 *from the foot.*

I find that two other instances of Brāhmans receiving instruction from Rājanyas are alluded to by Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. x. 117.

well known, chiefly to the students of Buddhism. Sāyaṇa explains it by "a great Brāhman, or a Brāhman (in general)." In reference to another part of the sentence in which this word occurs, Dr. Haug adds: "That cows were killed at the time of receiving a most distinguished guest is stated in the Smṛitis. But as Sāyaṇa observes (which entirely agrees with opinions held now-a-days), this custom belongs to former yugas (periods of the world). Thence the word *goghna*, *i.e.* 'cowkiller,' means in the more ancient Sanskrit books 'a guest' (see the commentators on Pāṇini, 3, 4, 73) for the reception of a high guest was the death of the cow of the house."

The first is recorded in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 6, 1, 2 ff.; where it is stated that six Brāhmans, who were at issue with one another regarding Vaiśvānara (Agni), and were aware that king Aśvapati the Kaikeya was well informed on the subject, repaired to him for instruction and requested that he would treat them as his pupils. He first asked them 'if they were not themselves learned in the Veda as well as the sons of learned men, and how they could in that case come to consult him' ("*Yan nu bhagavanto 'nūchānāḥ anūchāna-putrāḥ* | *kim idam" iti*). They, however, persisted in their request, when he asked them severally what they considered Vaiśvānara to be, expressed his concurrence in their replies, though all different, as partial solutions of the question, and ended by giving them some further insight into the subject of their enquiry. The second instance is taken from the Chhāndogya Upanishad, i. 8, 1, which commences thus: *Trayo ha udgīthe kuśalāh babhūvaḥ S'ilakaḥ S'ālāvatyaś Chaikitāyano Dālbhyaḥ Pravāhaṇo Jaivalir iti* | *te ha ūchur "udgīthe kathāṁ vadāma" iti* | 2. "*Tathā" iti ha samupaviviśuḥ* | *sa ha Pravāhaṇo Jaivalir uvācha "bhagavantāv agre vadatām* | *brāhmaṇayor vadator vāchaṁ śroshyāmi" iti* | "Three men were skilled in the Udgītha, S'ilaka Sālāvatya, Chaikitāyana Dālbhya, and Pravāhaṇa Jaivali. They said, 'We are skilled in the Udgītha; come let us discuss it.' (Saying) 'so be it,' they sat down. Pravāhaṇa Jaivali said, 'Let your reverences speak first; I will listen to the discourse of Brāhmans discussing the question.'" S'ilaka S'ālāvatya then asked Chaikitāyana Dālbhya a series of questions; but was dissatisfied with his final reply. Being interrogated in his turn by Chaikitāyana, S'ilaka answered; but his answer was disapproved by Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, who finally proceeded to supply the proper solution.

In two other passages the same Upanishad, as quoted above in p. 195, and explained by the commentator, recognizes the fact of sacred science being possessed, and handed down, by Kshattriyas. See also the note on p. 220, above, p. 508. The doctrines held by Rājanyas are not, however, always treated with such respect. In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, viii. 1, 4, 10, an opinion in regard to breath (*prāṇa*) is attributed to Svarijit Nāgnajita, or Nagnajit the Gāndhāra, of which the writer contemptuously remarks that "he said this like a Rājanya" (*Yat sa tad uvācha rājanyabandhur iva tv eva tad uvācha*); and he then proceeds to refute it (see Weber's Indische Studien, i. 218). It appears that the Smṛiti

recognizes the possibility of a Brāhman becoming in certain circumstances the pupil of a Rājanya or a Vaiśya. Thus Manu says, ii. 241: *Abrāhmaṇād adhyayanam āpat-kāle vidhīyate* | *anuvrajyā cha śuśrūshā yāvad adhyayanaṁ guroḥ* | 242. *Nābrāhmaṇe gurau śishyo vāsam ātyantikaṁ vaset* | *brāhmaṇe chānanūchāne kānkshan gatim anuttamām* | 241. "In a time of calamity it is permitted to receive instruction from one who is not a Brāhman; and to wait upon and obey such a teacher during the period of study. 242. But let not a pupil, who aims at the highest future destiny, reside for an excessive period with such a teacher who is not a Brāhman, or with a Brāhman who is not learned in the Veda." Kullūka explains this to mean that when a Brāhman instructor cannot be had a Kshattriya may be resorted to, and in the absence of a Kshattriya, a Vaiśya.

Page 457, *note* 241.

When I wrote this note, I did not advert to the difficulty presented by the word *didāsithā*, which has at once the form of a desiderative verb, and of the second person of the perfect tense. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. dā*, on a comparison of the two parallel passages, suppose that the present reading of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is corrupt as regards this word, which, as they quote it, is *didāsithā*. May not the correct reading be *dādāsithā* from the root *dās?*

Page 461, *line* 14.

The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 4, 4 f., says of Prajāpati: *So 'surān asṛijata* | *tad asya apriyam āsīt* | 5. *Tad durvarṇaṁ hiraṇyam abhavat* | *tad durvarṇasya hiraṇyasya janma* | . . . . *sa devān asṛijata tad asya priyam āsīt* | *tat suvarṇasya hiraṇyasya janma* | "He created Asuras. That was displeasing to him. 5. That became the precious metal with the bad colour (silver). This was the origin of silver. . . . . He created gods. That was pleasing to him. That became the precious metal with the good colour (gold). That was the origin of gold."

INDEX OF PRINCIPAL NAMES AND MATTERS.

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[1] A large number of texts are referred to in pp. 45, 163, 170, 171, 241, 243, 245, 259, 329, etc., but as they have not been translated they are not included in this list.

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